

THE
TOWNS
OF
ROMAN BRITAIN

ROUTLEDGE



JOHN WACHER

SECOND EDITION • FULLY REVISED

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THE TOWNS OF ROMAN BRITAIN

To S.S.F.

but for whom this book would never have been started
and to S.M.W.

but for whom it would never have been finished

THE TOWNS OF ROMAN BRITAIN

Second edition, fully revised

JOHN WACHER

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1975 by B.T. Batsford Ltd

Second edition 1995

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

First issued in hardback 2016

Transferred to Digital Printing 2004

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Typeset by Servis Filmsetting Ltd

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-0-415-17041-3 (pbk)

ISBN 978-1-138-16577-9 (hbk)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book was written between 1970 and 1973, and incorporates as much up-to-date information as possible which was available to the end of 1972. I should have been quite unable to do so without the ready cooperation of a large number of archaeologists and field-workers, who willingly made available the results of their most recent work, and discussed it where necessary. It is gratifying to record that only two requests for information met with a blank refusal, and it is therefore one of my most pleasurable duties to be able to thank all those who have helped, and who have made my task easier and more worthwhile: Michael Apted, Martin Biddle, George Boon, John Casey, Dorothy Charlesworth, David T.-D. Clarke, John Collis, Christina Colyer, Barry Cunliffe, Alec Down, Paul Drury, Rosalind Dunnett (Mrs Niblett), Aileen Fox, Barbara Green, Michael Griffiths, Henry Hurst, Barri Jones, Jeremy Knight, Don Mackreth, Alan McWhirr, Peter Marsden, Jean Mellor, Ralph Merrifield, David Neal, Bill Putnam, Herman Ramm, Hugh Thompson, Graham Webster, Ben Whitwell and John Peter Wild. More especially, I owe a very real debt of gratitude to both Sheppard Frere and Joyce Reynolds, who read the full text in draft, and who were able to suggest many improvements.

No book of this type can be written without the inclusion of thoughts and ideas unconsciously

gleaned in the course of conversation with friends and colleagues. If someone among this unacknowledged band should recognize one for his own, I hope he will accept my sincere apologies.

In addition, I am most grateful for all those museums, government departments and other people who have so kindly allowed me to reproduce drawings or photographs, often in advance of their own publications, and who are acknowledged individually elsewhere. I must thank Mrs Chris Boddington for producing the finished drawings for each town plan, and Mrs P. A. Walker for devoting so much care to the typescript.

Despite all the help which I have received, I must reserve to myself all errors or omissions which may appear, as the result of holding my own opinions in the face of opposition. In archaeology, as in most subjects, it is impossible to agree with everyone all the time.

Finally, I would like to thank the University of Leicester for giving me a term's leave of absence so that I was able to complete this book within a reasonable time.

J. S. WACHER

Leicester
6 December 1972

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO SECOND EDITION

Not only has the face of urban archaeology changed since 1972, but so have the people involved in it. So, while renewing thanks to those listed above, it is now necessary to record an even greater list of people and institutions who have given most freely and willingly of their time and unparalleled knowledge and who have thus made the work of revision lighter and more rewarding; without their combined assistance it would have been an impossible task. For the sake of convenience they are placed in the same order as the towns listed in the table of Contents to which they contributed:

The Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London, John Schofield, Peter Rowson, Brian Yule and Julie Carr; Colchester Archaeological Trust and Philip Crummy; City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit and Michael Jones; Gloucester City Excavations Unit and Malcolm Atkin; York Archaeological Trust, Peter Addyman, Patrick Ottaway and Jason Monaghan; Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Paul Bennett and Simon Pratt; Joyce Reynolds, Essex County Council Planning Department and David Buckley, Patrick Allen, Nicholas Wickenden and Raphael Isserlin; Sheppard Frere, St Albans Museums and Rosalind Niblett; Norfolk Museums Service, John Davies and Derek Edwards; Michael Fulford; Winchester Museums Service, Paul McCulloch, John Zant and Graham Scobie; Cotswold Archaeological Trust and Neil Holbrook; Wessex Archaeology and Susan Davies; Museum of Exeter Archaeological Field Unit and Christopher Henderson; Leicestershire Archaeological Unit, Jean Mellor and R. Pollard; Graham Webster; Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum of Wales and Richard Brewer; Dyfed Archaeological Trust and Heather James; Humberside Archaeology Unit, Ben Whitwell, Ken Steedman and M. P. T. Didsbury.

I am also exceedingly grateful to all those individuals and institutions who have provided material for the production of new illustrations, or

who have given permission for the reproduction of their own drawings or photographs for the second edition: Orange Museum: fig. 5; The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office: figs 23, 24, 73, 75, 80, 146, 147, 148, 149, 159, 171, 185; Scala Instituto Fotografico Editoriale: fig. 25; Roger Wood Studios: fig. 18; Ashmolean Museum: fig. 36; The British Museum: figs 19, 35, 41, 45, 63, 135; The Vatican Museum: fig. 51; Museum of London: figs 34, 39, 42, 44; Colchester and Essex Museum: figs 54, 55; Philip Crummy and the Colchester Archaeological Trust: figs 46, 47, 48, 50, 53; Society of Antiquaries of London: figs 58, 127, 167, 176, 178; Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma: fig. 64; City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit: figs 56, 61, 62; Gloucester City Museum: figs 67, 68; York Archaeological Trust: figs 78, 79, 86; The Yorkshire Museum: figs 74, 76, 77, 82, 83, 84, 85; Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux: fig. 80; Richard Wright and the Clarendon Press, Oxford: fig. 81; Entwhistle, Canterbury: figs 87, 90; Sheppard Frere: figs 89, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 113, 127; Tim Tatton-Brown and the Canterbury Archaeological Trust: fig. 92; Canterbury Archaeological Trust: figs 88, 93; Chelmsford Borough Museums Service: figs 94, 96, 97; Rosalind Niblett: figs 98, 99, 100, 101, 110; St Albans Museums: fig. 103; Norfolk Museums Service Landscape Archaeology Section and Derek Edwards: figs 111a and b; Chichester Civic Society Excavations Committee: fig. 120; Chichester Photographic Service Ltd: fig. 118; Chichester City Museum: fig. 119; Alec Down: fig. 121; Michael Fulford: fig. 122; Reading Museum: figs 128, 130; Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge: fig. 129; Winchester Museums Service Archaeology Unit: figs 131, 132, 133, 134; Corinium Museum: figs 137, 140, 143; Alan McWhirr: fig. 142; The Roman Society: figs 139, 173; Christopher Green: figs 149, 150; Exeter City Library: fig. 153; Robert Turner and Exeter Archaeological Field Unit: fig. 152; David Neal: fig. 156; Arnold Baker: figs 166, 168; Philip Barker: fig. 169; Hull Museums: fig. 177; Colin Dobinson: fig. 179.

Again though, despite all this help, I must take responsibility for any errors or omissions and for sometimes continuing to hold opinions contrary to others.

Finally, nothing would have been achieved but for the invaluable assistance of Adam Sharpe and Jacqueline Nowakowski who prepared the new drawings for this edition; of Christine Mahany who undertook the unenviable task of collating a complete new bibliography and index; and of

Barbara Kane who, by operating a word processor so efficiently, reduced an appalling jumble of text, corrections, inserts, excisions and footnotes to a comprehensible state. Also, to Charlotte Kilenyi for enabling all this to appear as a printed book. I owe them all a great deal of gratitude.

J. S. WACHER

St Ives

5 August 1993

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NOTE

Numerals in square brackets refer to the page numbers on which the relevant notes can be located.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

A great deal has taken place in urban archaeology since this book was first written twenty years ago, not least in the positive explosion of published material which has been the product of the many excavations during that time. But this research has not covered all towns evenly; great advances have been made in our knowledge of some, while in others surprisingly little has changed. In the end, though, all needed bringing up-to-date to a greater or lesser degree. As far as possible, information down to October 1992 has been incorporated, although in some instances available information and references have been included to December 1994. The footnotes have been entirely revised and an author-based bibliography has this time been compiled. All the town plans have been brought up to date and other drawings have been revised as necessary. Some new illustrative material has also been used.

When this book was first written it was intended that it should follow very much the traditional style of earlier writers on Romano-British matters. That intention has been consciously retained and no great changes have been made. The only departure has been the omission of the original Chapter 9, which dealt with probable later additions to the ranks of civitas capitals: Carlisle, Ilchester and Water Newton. These towns have been quite recently considered elsewhere and repetition was not thought necessary (Burnham and Wachter 1990). Consequently,

in retaining the earlier format, the reader will look in vain for all the fashionable trappings of modern archaeology: no tables, no schematic diagrams, no distribution maps, no graphs or histograms, no revisionism from 'politically motivated perversity rather than sound scholarship' (*The Times*, 6 January 1993), and above all no statistics which are seldom meaningful except to the eye of the presenter. Seldom has such a useful tool in the archaeologist's workshop been so consistently misused as the latter. Contrary to the popular aphorism that you can prove anything with statistics, the reverse is true: nothing can ever be *proved* with them, since they are purely exercises in probability. Yet in many places we see the figures derived from statistical analyses being quoted as evidence, or even indeed as proof. By all means let them be recognized for what they are: useful probabilities, but much greater caution is needed in the handling of the information so produced. Neither has any attempt been made to compute populations. Figures which have been produced for those of Roman Britain vary so wildly as to make it a relatively useless calculation, based more on guesswork than anything else (from $\frac{1}{2}$ million to 6 million quoted by Millett 1990, 182. To arrive at his calculated figures for the urban population of between 183,971 and 290,057 is a prime example of meaningless over-accuracy). Archaeology is not an exact quantitative science and it is doubtful it ever will be.

INTRODUCTION

The aims of this book are threefold: to examine and define the functions of towns in Roman Britain and to apply the definition so formed to Romano-British sites; to consider the towns' foundation, political status, development and decline; and to illustrate where possible both their individual characters and their surroundings. It is not, and has never been, the intention to provide a complete inventory of all discoveries, which can in most cases readily be obtained from published sources; full references are given wherever possible in the hope that readers will no longer quote information contained in this book as a source of primary reference, but will consult them in the original.

It has been thought necessary to define the term *town* as applied to Roman Britain because of the confusion which seems to reign in many quarters about what can or cannot be called a town. To a great extent, the definition so developed can be applied to most provinces of the western Empire, because it is based on criteria associated with their functions. Providing *all* these criteria are satisfied for a particular site it is probably safe to call it a town, although there are bound to be borderline cases. It should not be thought, however, that the Roman Empire was necessarily conscious of the functions now attributed to its towns by the process of modern geographical reasoning, or that the towns were necessarily planned with these functions in mind.

In many cases they were assumed long after foundation had taken place.

A note of caution might perhaps be sounded here. No quantitative methods have been used to define the relative importance or spheres of influence of any towns. Some attempts have been made to do so without conspicuous success.¹ Such methods can only be successful if the calculations are, to a great extent, based on factual observations. Analysis all too readily shows that many of the so-called 'facts' about Romano-British towns are compounded of a mixture of inference, analogy, extrapolation, surmise and presumption. In no aspect is this more so than when dealing with questions of economics and population. To apply quantitative methods in our present state of knowledge is, therefore, not only misguided but probably also misleading, since it cloaks the information that we have with a spurious authenticity.

Much of the confusion over what can or cannot be called a town arises from the actual terminology. In the descriptions of Latin authors and in other sources, no less than six different words with urban connotations are applied to sites in Britain, to which we can add one Greek word used by Ptolemy. These can be briefly considered:

1. *Civitas* means primarily citizenship, either of a Roman or of any peregrine (e.g. non-Roman) community. It was also used to describe the communities themselves, and, under the principle, it was very commonly used to describe

peregrine communities.

2. *Colonia*, in the early Empire, was used to describe towns inhabited either by Roman or Latin citizens,² who might be retired army veterans. The constitution, based in that of Rome itself, was governed by a charter. Increasingly, as time passed, towns of lower grade were sometimes promoted to this rank.

3. *Municipium*, again in the early Empire, described towns whose constitution was likewise governed by charter. The inhabitants would have been of Roman or Latin status according to the grade of the municipium. Later, however, a town with only Latin rights might have received full Roman rights and subsequent promotion to *colonia* was not uncommon.

4. *Oppidum*, although meaning literally a town, was used loosely by Caesar and other authors to describe fortified native sites in Britain and Gaul. As normally used in the principate, it had no precise legal meaning.

5. *Urbs* is normally translated as city, and it was used to describe a settlement of higher status than one which might be called an *oppidum*. It was also used to describe Rome.

6. *Vicus* has probably the widest range of meanings yet considered. It can refer to districts or quarters of a town; to villages, particularly where evidence connects them with forts, or to private or imperial estates. It was also used to describe the central towns of some peregrine civitates. It had, therefore, the lowest legal status accorded to a built-up area, as distinct from a *pagus*, which formed a country district. Arguments have taken place as to whether a *vicus* (district) can exist in a *vicus* (*civitas capital*).

7. *πόλις*, was originally used to describe the city states of Greece. Consequently, ancient historians have tended to equate it with *civitas* when it is used by authors writing under the Roman principate. As applied to Britain, its use was more in the manner of *oppidum*. It is here, when Greek overtones are added to the Roman notions of a British town, that confusion is at its worst.

The above section summarizes urban terms, both legal and other, which were applied, some-

times not too accurately, to British sites. It is in trying to equate them with modern terminology that there is the greatest difficulty, for in English there are just as many terms to describe the status, function and inhabitants of urban settlements: town, city, urban district, municipality, county borough, borough; citizen, citizenship.³ Of these, the first has no specific legal meaning and is applied generally to urban sites, but not to villages. Citizen and citizenship have many shades of meaning in both modern and Roman worlds. The remaining urban terms are only applied to towns with the appropriate status in the modern local government hierarchy; some, though, since local government reorganization in Britain, have become defunct. Since, however, they have quite specific meanings, it seems wrong that any should be applied to ancient sites, which had their own quite different organizations. Instead, therefore, of applying the English word city to distinguish certain types of ancient site from other towns, as is done by some classical archaeologists and ancient historians, it seems better to use only the word town to describe *all* urban settlements of the period, leaving the Latin or Greek terms to define themselves from their characteristic functions and institutions. This approach has been adopted in the following pages; all classes of urban settlements have been called towns.

We are then left with finding an appropriate terminology for the large number of minor settlements, such as those which are euphemistically called 'small towns' and those which are nucleated but unfortified. Many, but not necessarily all, probably held the status of *vicus*; others for the present defy definition. But, if we require an English equivalent, it is probably better that they should be referred to as villages, and they can be further distinguished by calling them fortified or unfortified, as may be.

I am quite aware that many scholars and students will not necessarily agree with these proposals, but they are at least a start in clearing up confusion and misunderstanding. If further refinements or more credible alternatives can be suggested, so much the better.



WHAT WERE TOWNS AND HOW DID THEY DEVELOP?

There are three types of town to be considered in this book. They are those which had a certain status as administrative centres and were therefore genuinely urban in ancient eyes: they can be classified as *coloniae*, *municipia* and the planned *vici* which became *civitas* capitals.

During the later years of the Republic it had become the custom often to give allotments of land to retiring legionaries. Augustus introduced the practice of cash gratuities, although land allotments were still made. In order to regulate these grants when a large number of men were discharged in the same area simultaneously, special towns called *coloniae* were founded from time to time as acts of government policy; each legionary would receive a plot of land in the town together with another in the *territorium*, the country surrounding the town and attributed to it, the size of the plots depending on rank. The population of a *colonia* was essentially of Roman citizens, although a non-Roman element, called *incolae*, was sometimes present as well. On foundation these towns probably received a 'charter' (*lex coloniae*) from the central government (but see Chapter II, footnote 4, p. 36), and their institutions and administration were based on those practised in early imperial Rome itself. In AD 49, the first *colonia* in Britain was established at Colchester for veterans of one or perhaps more of

the legions then serving in the province. It is unlikely that this, the *colonia* (*Claudia*?) *Victricensis* (p. 112), was deliberately intended to be the provincial administrative capital of Britain; a variety of factors prevented it from adequately fulfilling this function and it was soon replaced by London (p. 82). Later in the first century two more *coloniae* were founded: supposedly between AD 96 and 98 at Gloucester (*colonia Nervia Glevensium*) for veterans of Legio XX Valeria Victrix or Legio II Augusta (p. 150), and, probably slightly earlier, at Lincoln (*Lindum colonia*) for veterans of Legio IX Hispana (p. 132). It should be noted that all three occupied the actual sites of earlier legionary fortresses, so that their foundation would primarily have involved land which had been expropriated by the government, and was already imperial property.

Apart from establishing *coloniae* as new towns, it was also the practice to promote existing settlements which would then be constituted into communities organized on the Roman model. This had been done extensively by Julius Caesar in Gallia Narbonensis, and ultimately it became a fairly common practice to upgrade tribal towns and some other *vici* to the rank of *municipium*, followed perhaps by promotion later to *colonia*. At York, an extra-mural settlement, probably distinct from the *canabae*, had grown on the

opposite bank of the River Ouse to the legionary fortress. It is known to have been a *colonia* by AD 237, but it is likely that the act of promotion was made earlier by Septimius Severus in the first decade of the third century (p. 167). What is not known for certain, however, is whether the grant of colonial status had been preceded, at some time in the second century, by intermediate promotion to a *municipium*, as often happened elsewhere in the Empire.¹ A reference by Aurelius Victor, in his account of the death of Severus, describes it as such, but it is not entirely reliable.²

Another town which may have been treated in the same way as York was the provincial capital of London (p. 90). While there is no epigraphic evidence relating to its civic status, it would seem inconceivable that a site which became one of the largest towns in the western Empire, which, from about AD 60, became the headquarters of the imperial procurator, and, by the early second century at latest, had become the seat of the provincial governor, and which had a fort specially provided for soldiers attached to the governor's staff, should not have received a 'charter'. The most likely suggestion to make, in the absence of detailed evidence, would be that it became a *municipium* in the first or early in the second century, followed by promotion to a *colonia* perhaps in the late second or early third century to account for the additional title of *Augusta*, which it is known to have held by the fourth.

It will have been gathered from the paragraph above that a *municipium*, although still a 'chartered' town, was lower in rank than a *colonia*. There were, however, additional differences, as *municipia* could either have full Roman rights or only Latin rights and, in addition, could retain some native laws alongside the *ius civile* of Rome. The former were towns inhabited mainly by Roman citizens, and therefore differed only in degree from *coloniae*, although it should be remembered that some *coloniae* had no more than Latin rights. But promotion to municipal status with only Latin rights could be achieved by an

existing town whose inhabitants were predominantly non-citizens. Citizenship would, however, be given to the town's magistrates, together with their families, so in time the number of citizens might be expected slowly to grow. From the second century, grants were also made in which citizenship might be conferred on the whole council in addition to the magistrates.

Verulamium is the only town in Britain for which there is some evidence suggesting the grant of a municipal 'charter', probably with Latin rights (p. 219). Although it probably received its 'charter' in the first century, the precise date is not known. According to Tacitus it was a *municipium* at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion in AD 60,³ and Frere has suggested⁴ that promotion was given under Claudius. However, he argues elsewhere⁵ that the physical indication of the higher classes of a self-governing community, at least in Britain, was the possession of a forum with basilica, and it is known that these buildings at Verulamium date to the early Flavian period.⁶ Was there an earlier forum, not yet touched by excavation, perhaps smaller in size than the later, and of timber, which had been burnt by Boudicca and which was being rebuilt, like some other parts of the town, after a considerable delay, or was the promotion perhaps not given until early in Vespasian's principate? Rivet suggested that Tacitus may have been using the word anachronistically⁷ of a town which was a *municipium* by the time he was writing, but not at the time of the event he was writing about. It must be admitted that, even given very rapid development of the town in the first few years after the conquest, there cannot, under Claudius, have been a great deal in existence to promote. It might be better to consider that municipal status was conferred by Vespasian on a definite, established town, as was usually the case, than by Claudius on a town in embryo.⁸ It is also known that Vespasian was responsible for urban promotions on other provinces, *Aventicum* being but one example. He was especially active in Spain, where he granted Latin status to all communities not hitherto promoted.

It would be surprising if some other towns in Britain had not been equally promoted in later years. Some indeed may have been, but the evidence is slight and unsatisfactory. In the Antonine Itinerary, a route-list compiled for official purposes in the early third century, the majority of civitas capitals are listed, together with their distinctive tribal suffixes, such as *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent). There are, however, a small number which lack these suffixes: Verulamium, Canterbury, Dorchester, Leicester and Wroxeter, and this is sometimes considered as a pointer to promotion. Since Verulamium is included, there may be some substance in the suggestion, as we have seen that it was probably a municipium. It should be noted that Cirencester is unfortunately omitted from the list altogether, but there are other reasons which might suggest that it too had received promotion (see p. 314).

Normally a municipium, like a colonia, would have a territorium attributed to it. Unfortunately in Britain there is no evidence for the size of these land allotments. Rivet has drawn attention to the fact that the chief concentrations of villas tend to lie in areas adjacent to fortified 'small towns' and not in the areas around civitas capitals.⁹ He goes on to suggest that the land around the capitals was worked actually from the towns, which is a distinct possibility. But it could mean only that this land was organized in larger estates, and larger estates could mean fewer and more widely scattered villas.

We have so far used 'town' to describe the first two classes of sites of which we are writing: coloniae and municipia. It remains to justify its use for the third class, the civitas capitals, or planned vici, and it is here that confusion can arise because of misconception.

The word 'town' as applied to settlements in Roman Britain has become synonymous with fortified places of civilian character.¹⁰ This umbrella definition, though popular, leaves much to be desired. In the Roman world the nearest equivalent, oppidum, has no strict legal meaning. 'Town' can, therefore, be used to cover everything

urban, or else artificially restricted to that class in the hierarchy below the chartered coloniae and municipia (usually now more appropriately called cities), i.e. the civitas capitals. Unfortunately, the habit is gradually creeping in whereby the latter are also called cities, despite the very clear-cut legal distinction between them and the chartered towns. This problem of definition is not helped by contemporary Greek and Latin authors being equally imprecise in their use of terms. Ptolemy described many sites in Britain, including hill-forts, as *πολεις* (cities), while Pliny refers to them as oppida (towns), when few can have had higher legal status than that of vicus or village. This difficulty becomes even more acute when comparing civitas capitals with so-called 'small' towns, and the latter with unfortified nucleated civilian settlements of similar or even larger size. There seems no good reason why a settlement covering no more than a few acres, but bounded by a defensive bank or wall, should be called a town, when one undefended, of similar or perhaps greater size, is not. The meaning of 'small' town has recently been clarified elsewhere, probably as far as it can be on present evidence,¹¹ with distinctions being drawn between it and lower grades of settlement, for which the word village is not inappropriate. Yet such distinctions are somewhat artificial, since in the Roman world all would legally have been classed as vici, as would also most of the civitas capitals.

What then is the difference between a civitas capital and a 'small' town, given that both probably at first possessed the same legal status? As far as the provinces of Gaul, Germany and Britain were concerned, the principal distinctive element was planning, with the civitas capitals possessing, almost from their first foundation, a regular pattern of streets usually set at right-angles to one another, in marked contrast to most 'small' towns, where the street systems grew in an uncoordinated and haphazard manner. Other, less clearly marked differences also existed, such as an administrative function and the possession of a level of amenity which was seldom found in the

'small' towns; but these will be considered more fully below (p. 33).

The establishment of *civitas* capitals in Britain to act as the administrative centres for local government closely followed the pattern already established by the Romans in Gaul. Most of the newly constituted *civitates* were formed from Iron Age tribal groups. The selection of a site as the centre for a *civitas* may therefore be seen as a deliberate act, involving the choice of what was either a pre-existing native centre or a newly formed village outside a fort. Moreover, it was probably the residence of the most important tribal leaders. Since they were already there, it is not surprising which site was the obvious choice for an administrative capital when the time came. Subsequently, development was chiefly left to the inclinations of the natives, although some governors, notably in the Flavian period, pursued a more active policy of Romanization and showed greater concern over the rate of progress.¹² The chief physical difference therefore between a *vicus* which grew for purely economic reasons and one selected for development as a *civitas* capital is likely, as noted above, to be in planning. It is obvious from the plans of those British capitals which are known that conscious efforts were made from the first to produce towns cast in the Mediterranean mould, even if the final result fell short of expectations. These plans contrast sharply with the haphazard and piecemeal development of the 'small' towns and villages.¹³ The evidence for coordinated planning provided by *civitas* capitals entitles them to be called towns, even if their earliest legal status was still that of a *vicus*. Indeed, some recent studies have attempted to show that Roman systems of land measurement, employing either the *pes monetalis* or the *pes Drusianus*, were used in laying out not only the street grid, but also some of the principal buildings, in a number of towns.¹⁴ Apart from planning, these 'developed' *vici* were also conceived, probably not consciously, as towns which possessed certain functions: administrative and political, protective, economic and educational,

while also containing provisions for the amenities that were considered an essential part of Roman urban life. For the latter, Mediterranean usage was probably adapted to a newly conquered and largely unRomanized province.

But it can be argued that even 'small' towns often possessed one or more of these functions; they were undoubtedly economic and protective, while some may also have played a part in provincial or local administration. To arrive, then, at a definition of a town that includes the *civitas* capitals but excludes 'small' towns and lesser settlements in the urban hierarchy, it is necessary to strip away all points of similarity and concentrate on the true differences. Reduced to essentials, these are coordinated planning, as noted above, and the provision of amenities. Most *civitas* capitals possessed a public bath-house, while many had colonnaded or arcaded streets, covered as well as open-air markets, a supply of running water and adequate drainage, comfortable town houses, theatres or amphitheatres and sometimes both. Seldom were any of these to be found in 'small' towns. It was the quality of life, therefore, which made the difference, and which had little or nothing to do with size or population.

If the selection of *civitas* capitals owed much to official policy, then the variations in plan which occur between one capital and another must be a measure of local wealth and opinion, otherwise there would have been a greater degree of standardization between sites. This is an argument against the imposition of a standard plan, and illustrates the degree to which the natives were allowed to pursue their own course, with minimum interference from above. To effect a true comparison, however, between the sizes of towns and, for instance, their public buildings, it is necessary to know the position of the town boundary when the buildings were erected. It is not strictly accurate, for instance, to associate the Flavian forum at Cirencester, measuring 550ft (167m) by 345ft (105m), with a town of 250 acres (101ha), for that was the area enclosed only by the second-century defences. It is not yet known if

Flavian Cirencester was the same size. But it is known that the area of some towns, as enclosed by successive systems of fortifications, altered radically over the years. That being so, it would be unwise to infer that an early town boundary was always the same as that on which defences were erected, often more than a hundred years after the town's foundation. Verulamium is one of the very few towns where successive sizes at various times can be estimated: the Flavian town is known to have covered 119 acres (48ha), the Antonine town expanded to 225 acres (91ha), and the third- and fourth-century town contracted to an area of 200 acres (81ha), each defined by a different line of fortification. These changes show growth or contraction caused by varying economic pressures which must have superseded official policy as the controlling factor after foundation, and to which in the end would be owed the familiar shapes and sizes of the towns of Roman Britain. While a town possessed no fortifications, or at best only an earthwork, there was little to prevent its expansion. But once it was ringed with a stone wall, it became crystallized apart from any suburbs; so the provision of walls would have made further expansion possible only at great cost. An example is, of course, Lincoln, where the lower town was walled separately and at a later date. After walls were built, economic forces would tend no longer to affect the size of a town, but only the standard, size and density of its internal structures.

These remarks about the *civitas* capitals have indicated the course development took, but it should be noted that the choice of a suitable site for one was influenced by more varied causes than lay behind the foundation of a *colonia*.

Of the twenty-three tribal areas for which there is evidence in Britain during the Roman period, at least sixteen seem to have been released wholly or in part from military control and became self-governing *civitates peregrinae*. At least three of these (Belgae, Reg(i)ni and Cantiaci) seem to have been artificially formed either by joining together a number of smaller tribes, or by carving out an

area from a larger tribal territory. But only eleven *civitas* capitals are directly attested: *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester), *Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester), *Durovernum Cantiacorum* (Canterbury), *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter), *Isurium Brigantum* (Aldborough), *Noviomagus Reg(i)norum* (Chichester), *Ratae Corieltavorum*¹⁵ (Leicester), *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester), *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor-by-Norwich), *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent) and *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter). Three more can be suggested with reasonable certainty: *Petuaria* (Brough-on-Humber) for the Parisi, *Durnovaria* (Dorchester) for the Durotriges and *Moridunum* (Carmarthen) for the Demetae. That leaves two other *civitates*: the Catuvellauni, who were probably administered from the *municipium* at Verulamium, and the Trinovantes. It is not yet known with certainty if the latter had their own centre, and opinion is divided. *Caesaromagus* (Chelmsford) may have started as the capital,¹⁶ but it is not impossible that later the *civitas* was administered from the *colonia* at Camulodunum, while remaining separate from the *territorium*, as happened very probably with the Helvetii and Ubii. A third but less likely alternative might envisage the whole tribal area, perhaps as a punishment for their part in the Boudiccan rebellion, being attributed to the *colonia*, as happened to the Salassi in northern Italy.

Some *civitates* were subdivided into smaller units at a later date, perhaps by the promotion of *pagi* to the full rank of *civitas*, as seems to have happened in Gaul. The *civitas Carvetiorum* is an example which was probably formed from the north-west section of the Brigantes,¹⁷ with a centre at Carlisle. Another possible subdivision may have affected the northern part of the Catuvellauni, which with part of the Corieltavi may have been fused to form a *civitas*, perhaps with a centre at Water Newton. The Durotriges also seem to have been split into two sections, with the *Durotrages Lindinienses* presumably formed into a separate *civitas* centred on Ilchester.¹⁸ Other examples may well be forthcoming in the future as more evidence is gathered.

conditions which probably differed only in degree from those which had been enforced under direct military occupation. The same people, who in the main were the tribal rulers and who had received orders from local military commanders, probably continued to hold sway over the *civitas*, subject, of course, to the governor's veto on undesirable persons; at lower levels in society the changes were probably negligible in practice, and would have made little difference to the general way of life. Moreover, there were ever present the demands of the imperial procurator and the threat of government interference in local affairs, or even, in extreme cases, of the reimposition of military occupation, as must have happened in parts of Brigantia during the second century. A provincial governor had very arbitrary powers in this respect, but in a small province like Sardinia, he sometimes had difficulty in exacting obedience over obstreperous municipalities, even if he had the force to do so.²⁰

Two opposing views on the nature of *civitates* have been argued, which are to some extent a revival of the contrasting but not contemporary opinions of Th. Mommsen and A. H. M. Jones. Rivet contends that *civitates* existed physically both before and after the conquest; Frere argues that they were only constituted after military control had been removed from an area.²¹ The truth probably lies, as always, somewhere between these two extremes, although it is not easy to grasp, and it will have depended on the Roman ability to adopt and compromise. Despite the strong element of continuity which can be envisaged as having existed, there was an unquestionable distinction between an area under direct military occupation and a *civitas* constituted after that occupation had ceased. Some major modifications can be observed in the administrative and social structure, leading to the formation, from the tribal aristocracy, of a specific Romanizing class – the *curiales* – and the introduction of the higher grades of magistracies. Also, under military control, much discretion would have been allowed to local commanders and instructions from the

imperial government were probably relayed through them, whereas later they could be sent by the governor direct to the magistrates and council, who would be expected to assume a greater degree of responsibility. At this stage the *civitas peregrina* would become, as A. H. M. Jones has pointed out, formally recognized as a responsible organization within the provincial framework of administration, with closely prescribed legal rights and duties, although any of them might be subject to revoke by the governor. The newly constituted *civitas* was matched by the concentration of local government in its capital, with buildings designed appropriately for administrative purposes. Here we might argue, as Frere has done,²² but in a modified form, that the *forum* and its attached *basilica* was the physical manifestation of this particular level of local government under the Roman provincial administration in Britain, at least during the first and second centuries. It might be more correct to say that the *curia* was the necessary visible evidence, especially in the earlier decades. But it should be remembered that the reverse was not always true. At least one *colonia* and one, and possibly other, *civitates* managed seemingly for a time without a forum, so that its absence cannot be taken to imply the non-existence of a self-governing community.

The early situation in Britain was, however, complicated by the acceptance of two tribal states as client kingdoms (fig. 2): the Iceni, ruled by Prasutagus or, perhaps at first, by a predecessor, and the kingdom of Cogidubnus. Since these kingdoms were probably only subject to the governor, they are unlikely to have been constituted as *civitates peregrinae*, and would have only become so on their dissolution, which, with the Iceni, took place in AD 60–61. The kingdom of Cogidubnus, enlarged during the sixties, was split into three parts on his death in the Flavian period to form the *civitas Reg(i)norum*, the *civitas Atrebatum* and the *civitas Belgarum*.

If allowance is made for these two client kingdoms, then the remaining areas to have been freed from military control soon after the invasion



2 Claudio-Neronian civitates and client kingdoms

were those occupied by the Trinovantes, the south-eastern part of the Catuvellauni and the smaller tribes of Kent. We have already seen that the land of the Trinovantes was the first in Britain to be selected for an exercise in urbanization with the foundation of the colonia at Colchester in AD 49. Direct military control may have been removed, but control by army veterans was apparently no less severe, as Tacitus makes clear.²³

The establishment of a separate civitas is perhaps doubtful, but nevertheless should be considered as a possibility. The treatment of the Trinovantes was, however, exceptional in Britain. The period which saw the foundation of the new colonia probably saw also the constitution of the *civitas Catuvellaunorum* in the south-east midlands, and the *civitas Cantiacorum*, a new unit formed out of the tribes living in Kent (fig. 2). Both civitates were

provided with capitals: at Verulamium and Canterbury respectively. On these grounds alone Verulamium might have had a pre-Boudiccan curia, even if it was not then a municipium (see p. 18, above). Canterbury too might be expected to have had one as early, although no satisfactory evidence has yet been found. Nevertheless the foundation of these two towns enables us to see some of the reasons behind the choice of site for a civitas capital. In Kent at the time of the conquest there were several Iron Age centres, of which Rochester and Canterbury were but two of the most important. Both lay close to river crossings, and both were associated with gaps through the North Downs. Geographically therefore there was little to choose between the two sites, except perhaps that Canterbury, with its easier connexion by water direct to the supply base and port of Richborough, may have had a slight advantage. This advantage would undoubtedly have been strengthened when the roads to Richborough, Dover and Lympne were constructed,²⁴ as all three met at Canterbury, so creating an important road junction. So the reasons behind the selection of Canterbury as the new civitas capital begin to emerge: it was already a native settlement of some consequence probably containing tribal rulers, and set in a good geographical position; more important, this position coincided with the new requirements imposed by communications along road and river. Rochester simply did not have this combination of factors.

The choice of Verulamium must have depended on very similar reasons. However, slight differences can be detected here. The native centre had overflowed from a low hill, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (1.2km) from the River Ver, down into the valley below. For a time a fort was seemingly held only a short distance from the river and presumably inside the native settlement; the new main road, Watling Street, was apparently aligned on this fort. The duration of the military occupation though was probably too short to have had any profound local effect, so that, with the fort's evacuation, the new town was planned to overly much the same area

as the native settlement on the lower slopes of the hill. Again we see the combination of an important native centre possibly containing a regal residence with a good geographical position, although in this case the latter was slightly adapted to meet the new requirements. Compared, however, with some other examples, the migration was very slight.

The period between about AD 50–70 probably saw the constitution of only one new civitas, as the frontier region based on the Severn–Trent line was comparatively stable. When the client king Prasutagus died in c. AD 60, the absorption of the Icenii into the province, presumably as a new civitas peregrina, led directly to the Boudiccan rebellion. After the rebellion had been suppressed, the tribe would have been in no fit state for self-government. A period of direct military occupation may be envisaged although the forts known in or near Icenian territory would seem to have been intended to control the tribe by isolating them from their neighbours rather than by occupation. However, the civitas capital for the Icenii does not seem to have been developed much before the end of the first century, if indeed by then. Therefore an intermediate period, perhaps under a *praefectus civitatis*, an army officer, under whose direction the tribal leaders would acquire the arts of local government as understood by Rome, might be envisaged after full military occupation had ceased.²⁵ Not enough is yet known about the early history of the site at Caistor-by-Norwich (*Venta Icenorum*) for the reasons which lay behind its choice to be examined.

Two events in the Flavian period probably led to the constitution of at least eight more civitates peregrinae (fig. 3). The death of Cogidubnus c. AD 80 would have caused the splitting-up of his kingdom, its absorption into the province and the emergence of the *civitas Reg(i)norum*, the *civitas Atrebatum* and the *civitas Belgarum*. The resumption of the military advance into the north and west under the first three Flavian governors, and the repercussions which followed, would have required the release of an increasing number of



3 Flavian and Hadrianic civitates. It is unlikely that the Belgae reached as far as the Bristol Channel

army units from rearward areas, both to make up the necessary campaign forces and also to provide garrisons for the new conquests. By this time, the tribes in the south-west and in the midlands had probably accepted a degree of Romanization. The provincial administration would, therefore, have

had to set up self-governing civitates, to take over from the military authorities, before these regiments could be released for service elsewhere. The *civitates* then to emerge were the *civitas Dumnoniorum*, the *civitas Durotrigum*, the *civitas Dobunorum*, the *civitas Corieltaavorum* and slightly later

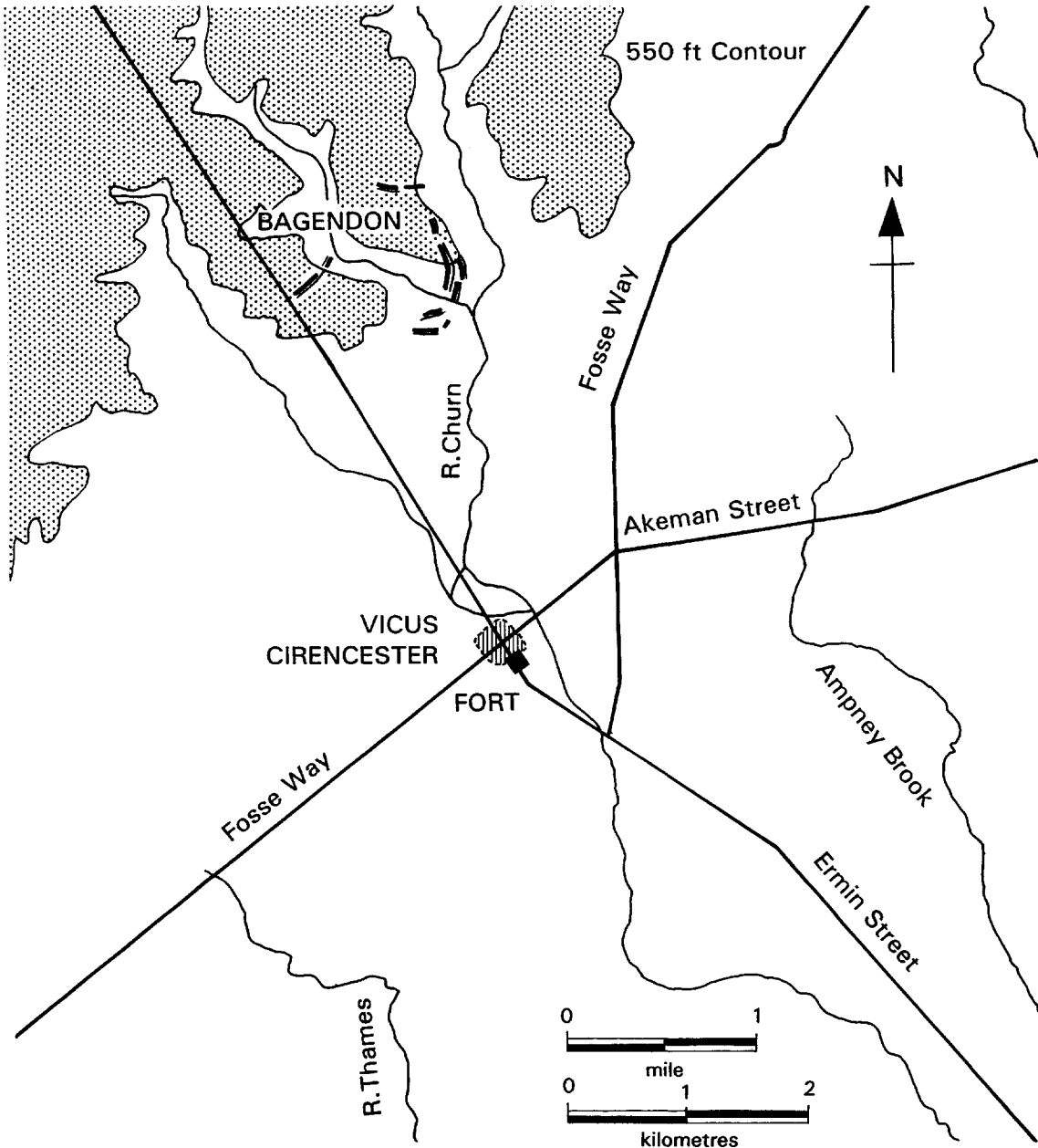
the *civitas Cornoviorum*. The extra work following these actions could well have swamped successive governor's staffs, especially as major military campaigns were being carried out for much of the time. It is not surprising therefore that we find two lawyers, each of some eminence and seniority, being appointed successively to the newly created post of *legatus iuridicus*, or law-officer, to the governor's staff between AD 80 and 86, just when this work would be starting. Suggestions have already been made that these appointments were to do with the fragmentation of the kingdom of Cogidubnus into three *civitates*,²⁶ after his death. Holders of the office were not only to be found in Britain; but, when it is realized that in the last twenty years of the first century no less than eight *civitates* were probably being set up, together with the *coloniae* at Lincoln and Gloucester, then the presence of these law-officers in Britain would have been doubly necessary, not only to resolve the initial legal problems, particularly connected with the *coloniae*, but also to cope with the large amount of extra judicial work involved.

These eight new *civitates* would also require capitals, and the sites chosen illustrate even better the varied reasons, already partly discussed for Verulamium and Canterbury, which led to their selection.

In the kingdom of Cogidubnus the three sites selected were Chichester (*Noviomagus Reg(i)-norum*), Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) and Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), and it is not difficult to see the reasons behind the choice. Both Silchester²⁷ and Winchester²⁸ had been major Iron Age settlements before the conquest, and both had become principal centres of the new kingdom, receiving defences when few other contemporary sites in Britain were fortified. By AD 80 Silchester already had the makings of a town, and may have possessed a public bath-house. That both sites also occupied excellent geographical situations, capable of being integrated into the new road system without change, must have been an added attraction, and in neither case can there have been much difficulty of choice. Chichester was slightly

different. There is a little evidence for pre-Roman occupation of the site and it lay within an extensive dyke system;²⁹ the recent discovery of a large cremation cemetery at Westhampnett, dating from 50 BC, would also indicate the presence nearby of a considerable settlement. Alternatively the settlement at Selsey may be seen as its Iron Age predecessor. But by the new standards, Selsey was inconveniently placed near the end of a promontory jutting out into the English channel. In the first few years after the invasion, a harbour and supply base grew at Fishbourne at the head of an inlet west of Selsey Bill. It is not surprising therefore that Cogidubnus selected for his capital a new site about a mile (1.6km) east of the harbour with all its facilities, rather than isolated Selsey. Such evidence as there is of early Chichester has been taken to suggest rapid progress towards Romanization, following a military occupation, and many of the inhabitants of Selsey would probably have drifted gradually to the new town (see Cirencester below, p. 29). When the time came for the Reg(i)ni to adopt a *civitas* capital, Chichester was the obvious and only choice.

In the other five new *civitates* outside Cogidubnus' kingdom, military occupation would have been continuous from the conquest, with forts placed at intervals throughout their territories. As the siting of some of these forts affected later developments, they must be considered first. There is definite evidence for forts or fortresses having been built at Exeter,³⁰ Cirencester,³¹ and Wroxeter,³² while others might be implied by finds of military equipment at Leicester³³ and Dorchester.³⁴ These forts and fortresses would have been envisaged in or near their respective positions in accordance with the general strategy pursued by the two governors of Britain, Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula, in laying out and consolidating a zone of protection for the first conquests. Their actual placing would nevertheless have owed much to the tactical requirements of the locality in which they were put. At Leicester, for instance, it may have coincided almost exactly with a major native settlement, but



4 The oppidum at Bagendon, roads, fort and vicus at Cirencester

such a coincidence must have been largely accidental, as can be seen from the other four examples, and probably played only a secondary part in siting the fort. At Cirencester, Dorchester and Wroxeter the tactical requirements dictated

their being placed some miles away from principal native settlements, while at Exeter no obvious site anywhere near can be interpreted as a native capital. How then did these five sites emerge as *civitas* capitals? The way is probably best shown

by considering the specific example of Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*).

A fort, or possibly a campaign camp,³⁵ was established at Cirencester a year or so after the invasion, and a study of the earliest roads in the vicinity shows that they were probably aligned on it (fig. 4). About AD 50 a new fort was built, ostensibly for a cavalry regiment. These forts fitted strategically into a series placed along, behind and in advance of the Fosse Way to form a military zone of some depth. The nearest neighbour seems to have been the fort, and later the fortress, at Gloucester. The tactical siting of the fort would have been influenced by a number of local factors, the most important being geography, and another the political situation. Geographically the fort was built in a position often favoured by Roman military engineers: on a low plateau connected with higher ground to the south and west, but overlooking lower, possibly marshy ground elsewhere. The meeting of the Fosse Way with Akeman Street and an intersection with Ermin Street also created an important road junction. Additionally there would have been a bridge carrying the Fosse Way over the River Churn to be guarded. The political factors would have been centred on the large native oppidum at Bagendon (*Corinion?*), about 3 miles (4.8km) north of Cirencester. Mrs Clifford's excavations³⁶ have shown it to be almost certainly the capital of the eastern half of the Dobunni, whose king Boduocus was one of the first to surrender to Plautius in AD 43. According to Professor Hawkes this piece of diplomacy may have earned for him a short continued reign and the status of an ally. North and south of his kingdom lay the possibly less philo-Roman part of the Dobunni, with their king Corio [. . .],³⁷ who may have met the Romans with force. The placing of a fort at Cirencester would therefore have fulfilled all the tactical requirements and, at the same time, would have been able to supervise the local capital while protecting it from any possible attack by hostile people to the west.

Although no attempt seems to have been made

to move the inhabitants from Bagendon, we can be sure that a cavalry fort only 3 miles (4.8km) away would have had a profound economic effect on them. Cavalrymen were better paid than auxiliary infantrymen and, by native standards, they would have had a considerable sum of money to spend on local goods and services. At first the natives might have travelled periodically to the fort to sell their goods, but it would not have been long before the advantages of living closer were recognized. Excavation has shown that from about AD 60, or perhaps slightly earlier, timber-framed buildings and huts were being erected and streets laid out in the area immediately north-west of the fort.³⁸ At least one of the streets was constructed parallel to the fort defences; either a degree of official encouragement and help or native imitation of Roman ways might be implied, so that, when the settlement became large enough, it would probably have been given the legal status of a vicus, and allowed to manage its own purely internal affairs under the supervision of the commander of the fort. It can hardly be coincidence that, roughly at the time when it can be shown that the vicus was expanding, Mrs Clifford's excavations have shown that occupation at Bagendon was declining.³⁹ Bagendon was ultimately deserted in favour of the new vicus. No compulsion would have been needed save the money in the soldiers' pockets, which, then as now, provided the incentive wherever a garrison of troops has been established for any length of time. So, when the fort was evacuated, probably in the mid seventies, a flourishing trading settlement would have been in existence and it is likely that it already acted as a market for any nearby farms. Its direct links with the old capital, the connexions which the majority of the tribal notables from Bagendon would have had and the fact that they lived there, plus its excellent position with respect to the new road system, would have made it the obvious choice for a capital when the *civitas Dobunnorum* was set up. Within little more than a decade the new town had been laid out, which, with its regular street-pattern and numerous new

shops and houses, had extended over both the vicus and the abandoned fort, so showing complete transfer of government land to the civitas. At the centre, the forum and basilica were built, perhaps with more haste than good judgement (see p. 306), on a scale which outstripped in size all others in Britain except London. Even at this early stage the Dobunni were investing lavishly in 'romanitas'.

At Dorchester, Exeter and Leicester similar processes, but with minor variations, can be discerned. The great hillfort at Maiden Castle is only just over 2 miles (3.2km) from where the first fort may have been built at Dorchester (*Durnovaria*). Unfortunately, the site of the latter is proving more than usually elusive: it is probably to be located in the south-west quarter of the later town, but, so far, little but Neronian material has been found there, so it may not have been among the first established in the region. Nevertheless, military equipment is widely scattered on a number of sites in the town. It is often claimed that there is no evidence on which to assume that Maiden Castle was the chief Durotrigian centre, as so many other large hillforts are known in their territory. Such claims may or may not be correct, but they cannot deny the hillfort's size and relative importance. It is also possible to surmount these claims by arguing backwards from the foundation of the civitas capital. Given a number of sites of equal potential, that most likely to be selected would probably have been one where a preponderance of influential tribal notables were already living, as suggested above for Cirencester. If a vicus at Dorchester was chosen as the capital then it would probably follow that the most important tribesmen came originally from Maiden Castle and not, for instance, from Hod Hill, Badbury Rings or Ham Hill.⁴⁰

At Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*) the same forces would have been at work with an added simplification: there was no obvious native centre to perpetuate. Moreover, a legionary fortress would have exerted more influence than an auxiliary fort

and consequently may have attracted a larger vicus.

The coincidence of a probable fort and native centre at Leicester (*Ratae Corieltaavorum*) will also have reduced the possibilities, although the constitution of the *civitas Corieltaavorum* may have been complicated by the foundation of *Lindum colonia* in the northern sector of the tribal region. Emphasis would in consequence have been placed on the southern half, with the selection of a capital at Leicester rather than at some other major centre such as Old Sleaford. It is probable that the military occupation of the Corieltavi ended at about the same time as that of their south-western neighbours and any fort at Leicester would not have been occupied much after AD 75.⁴¹ Presumably, as in other cases, the constitution of the civitas would have been carried out on the removal of military control. But although some of the streets of *Ratae* seem to have been laid out before the end of the first century, a greater time elapsed before the construction of public buildings. An insula in the centre appears to have been kept deliberately free of buildings, and became the site of the forum built in the Hadrianic-Antonine period.⁴² But forum or no, a legally constituted authority must already have been in existence to account for the planned streets, while a military diploma of AD 106 refers to a Roman citizen's *origo* as *Ratis*.⁴³

If Frere is right in his suggestion that Legio XX did not leave Wroxeter until c. AD 90,⁴⁴ as seems likely, then the *civitas Cornoviorum* cannot have been formed before the last decade of the first century, or possibly even later. The reasons for the choice of Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*) as the civitas capital were much the same as those which applied to Dorchester. Although the legionary fortress was not far from the Wrekin, there is less evidence to suggest the pre-eminence of this hillfort among Cornovian native sites than there was for Maiden Castle. The date of completion of the forum at Wroxeter, as provided by the inscription dedicated to Hadrian, is AD 129/

30.⁴⁵ If we accept that the provision of a basilica is the physical evidence of local self-government at civitas level, then the gap of thirty or more years which elapsed between the earliest possible date for the foundation of the two civitates of the Corieltavi and Cornovii and the completion of their fora is difficult to explain. Certainly some allowance must be made for the planning and construction of a major building, for which ten years would seem to be enough; but for a generation and a half, or more, to elapse, would seem to point to other reasons for delay. It is difficult to plead for these two civitates, as perhaps we might for the Iceni, that poverty was the reason for the time-lag, as both had developed rich and flourishing capitals by the mid second century. Possibly sheer inertia, coupled with the slackening of interest in Britain under Trajan, was the cause. Perhaps only in the more bracing atmosphere following Hadrian's visit to Britain was interest revived and work resumed. Other alternatives might envisage the continuation of military government for the Cornovii and delay until the Hadrianic period of the award of self-government, while the Corieltavi may have been, for a short time, administered from the colonia at Lincoln.

Doubt must also surround the date at which the *civitas Silurum* was formed. It has been suggested⁴⁶ that Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) was established c. AD 75, but this must be viewed with caution, since the evidence would apply just as well to a fort with an attached vicus as to a town.⁴⁷ The Silures were openly hostile to Rome until they were finally defeated by Julius Frontinus between AD 75 and 79. Full military occupation would certainly have been maintained for a time, which, in view of their hostility, might be expected to have been longer than for a friendly tribe. Indeed, at least one new fort, at Gelligaer, was being built in their territory soon after the turn of the first century⁴⁸ and, while it is conceivable that this construction was intended to help protect the civitas from the unruly elements

of central Wales, there is certainly no good reason to suggest its constitution before the second century at the earliest. Too little is still known about the early history of Caerwent for sound reasons to be advanced for the choice of site, although it has been suggested that Llanmelin was its native predecessor (but see p. 379).

The last group of principal civitates to be considered is that containing the Parisi, Brigantes and Demetae (see fig. 3). That the civitas capital of the Parisi was for a time situated near Brough-on-Humber (*Petuarium*) is now almost certain,⁴⁹ in spite of attempts to show that the tribe was divided into four parts, each with its own centre. The selection of *Petuarium* as the capital followed closely the reasons already set out for Cirencester. A fort was established by Petilius Cerealis c. AD 71–2 not far from a major native settlement at North Ferriby. After an initial evacuation and re-occupation, the fort was finally abandoned c. AD 125, by which time a vicus appears to have grown nearby. The *civitas Parisorum* was probably constituted shortly afterwards; it was almost certainly in existence by AD 144.⁵⁰

Not sufficient is yet known about the early history of Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantum*) for there to be any certainty as to the date of its foundation and the organizing of the *civitas Brigantum*. But there are sufficient similarities to Brough-on-Humber and the Parisi for an early or mid-Hadrianic date to be suggested. A date then would also be consistent with the evacuation of at least eight forts in Brigantian territory, especially in the area round the Vale of York, and the loosening of military control which this would imply.⁵¹

A little more can now be said about the Demetae. The suggestion that they were organized into the *civitas Demetarum* with a capital at Carmarthen (*Moridunum*) is of comparatively recent origin.⁵² Excavation has shown that there was a Flavian fort, that a vicus was connected with it, and that the vicus probably developed into the civitas capital early in the second century. The

most marked similarities exist between the Deme-tae and the scattered tribe of the Dumnonii, so that the choice of Carmarthen would have been made on much the same grounds as the choice of Exeter.

Two other possible *civitas* capitals, Carlisle (*Luguvalium*) and Ilchester (*Lindinis*) would have been the product of the later subdivision of the Brigantes and Durotriges respectively. As they were not from the first 'planned *vici*', they lie outside the scope of this book, especially since they have also been considered more recently elsewhere.⁵³

That there were certain common factors behind the foundation of each and every town in Roman Britain will, by now, be apparent. But, once founded, each town tended to assume its own individual pattern of development, which was

brought about by different circumstances in each case. The subsequent history of these towns is therefore discussed in later chapters under individual headings, although attention is drawn to such similarities as may exist between them. The only event of later years which should have affected all towns alike was the Edict of Caracalla in AD 212, which awarded Roman citizenship to the free-born inhabitants of the Empire. The Edict – the *constitutio Antoniniana* – would have made it necessary for all to give a specific town as *origo*, whereas before it had been sufficient for a non-citizen to give only his *civitas peregrina*. So would come about a subtle change in emphasis from a whole district to the town as its centre, which might in time assume an ascendancy in people's minds, even if it was not accompanied by a change in status.



WHAT PART DID TOWNS PLAY IN THE PROVINCE?

To many Romans civilized life was focused on the town. It was at once the centre for administration, education, trade, amusement, amenity and protection. Although country life may have appealed to some, such as Virgil, it had equally little attraction for many others. Indeed Pliny speaks out against such retirement; both Varro and Columella considered that it was necessary for a land-owner to know what was happening on his farms, although neither suggested that he should live there permanently. But this was the upper-class view, and not all would subscribe to it. The Roman world was full of people living permanently on farms, although even they would have recognized the importance of towns in their society; many of the inhabitants of towns also tilled the land outside the built-up areas, while farms and fields can be identified inside towns. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects of some recent surveys has shown that a great many towns in Britain have large, unbuilt-on areas within their defences, which must surely have been used for cultivation or pasture. Iron Age society in Britain, like that in many parts of Gaul, presented something of a contrast, revolving almost entirely round individual farms, fortresses and villages with only comparatively few larger collective settlements.

The geographer Strabo, writing at the turn of the first century BC and first century AD, implied

that the backwardness of western Europeans outside Italy was derived from their hunting, raiding way of life. Once they were converted to a settled, agricultural existence, urbanization would develop of its own accord. Admittedly, this process had already started in much of Gaul and also in the southern and eastern parts of Britain before the Romans arrived. From that it can be argued, and it has indeed been claimed, that the first towns were founded in Britain during the later Iron Age. It is likely that many hillforts and dyked enclosures had begun to take on some of the urban functions mentioned above, albeit in a rudimentary way. But compared with the Roman ideal they would have seemed extremely primitive, and could not justifiably be called towns in the Mediterranean sense; even the use of the word '*oppida*' by Caesar, Suetonius and other authors to describe them was, we cannot but feel, little more than a courtesy title for something for which the Romans were at a loss for a name. Pausanias, although writing in Greek, certainly knew a *πόλις* (city) when he saw one (p. 42), even if he still used *πόλεις* to describe the others. An oppidum or *πόλις*, therefore might have been a large area enclosed by a series of dykes, such as those at Camulodunum, Bagendon or Stanwick (N. Yorks.) or it might have been a hillfort like one of the twenty oppida which Vespasian, when legate

of Legio II Augusta, captured during his campaign in southern England immediately after the invasion. All attracted the same name at the hands of Latin authors, yet few, whether hillfort or dyked enclosure, would have contained more than a haphazardly-placed collection of huts, and none would have provided fully the functions which were expected of a town by the Roman provincial administration.

This radical difference in outlook could have been the cause of much friction between conquerors and conquered. It was natural that the imperial government would hope for the cooperation of the natives in establishing towns, for not only were they an essential part of the Roman way of life, which the natives were encouraged to emulate, but they also made the tasks of administration, tax collection, education and policing much easier. It might be claimed that one of the main achievements, by which the success of the Roman administration in Britain can be judged, was its ability to persuade a population, almost totally committed to a rural way of life, to accept the alien, urban settlements in its midst. Admittedly, the process of assimilation was not a new problem, having already been tried in other provinces, especially in Gaul, with general success; but Britain, although very similar to Gaul, was still different in many respects. Admittedly, all attempts at urbanization in Britain were not the unqualified success that no doubt the provincial administration hoped they would be. Admittedly also, there were mistakes and failures, especially at first, but there were more successes: and in this context a successful town represented a success for the provincial administration in pacifying the country. Conquest was only the start of Roman intervention in Britain; acceptance of the conquest by the native population was altogether another matter, and the growth of towns was proof of that acceptance. Equally, it might be said that continuance or re-imposition of military occupation represented a failure. A fort or fortress might have been occupied entirely by Roman citizens, but it was an island in, or on the edge of, potentially hostile foreign territory, which had refused to

accept Romanization except possibly at a very low level. A town might have been inhabited almost entirely by non-citizens, it might have been but a poor imitation of Rome in a very makeshift and diluted form, yet that town represented acceptance of Rome in a way that no fort or fortress could ever do.

Towns then were used to further the acceptance of the Roman conquest. In a province such as Britain, which was not too familiar with urbanization, this could only be done by the creation of models to serve as examples for the native population, and the first to be planned was the colonia at Camulodunum. Included in it were all the main types of buildings normally associated with civilized Roman town life.¹ If they dazzled and inspired awe among the natives and provided a local image of Rome's power and magnificence, so much the better. A secondary reason for the foundation of this particular colonia is also apparent. Only a year or so before work started, a minor revolt had broken out among the Iceni, and with the removal of the last major army unit, Legio XX, from the south-east in AD 49 it was necessary to replace it with a reliable reserve. These two principal functions of the colonia were not entirely compatible. The retired legionary veterans, who formed the main part of the population, did not make the best salesmen for model urban life; yet there was an undoubted need for their presence. That this same reserve of legionary veterans then failed to heed the warning signs of AD 60, and indeed added to the danger by their arrogant behaviour, cannot be taken as evidence for the failure of the policy which prescribed the model. The policy was not so much at fault as its executors; nevertheless the Boudiccan rebellion was a very serious set-back. These two functions were supplemented by a third, which was specific to Colchester. The provincial administration established there the headquarters of the imperial cult. By choosing a site close to the old capital of Cunobelin, it was probably felt that the loyalties of most British people would be perpetuated and transferred to the new town. The decision was not entirely



5 Centuriated area 17 miles (27km) north of Orange (Arausio) represented on the cadastre. The area lies east of the River Rhône, with the River Berre running east–west from top to bottom through it. The plots represented are DDXVI to DDXX and CKI to CKII (*Orange Museum*)

good; the administrative capital later grew in London (p. 83), even though the chief centre of the imperial cult probably remained at Colchester. The cult itself was yet another facet of imperial policy and tended to be something of a unifying force in a heterogeneous Empire. In consequence, an oath of loyalty to the emperor's *numen* or to the *Domus Divina* probably had both secular and religious meanings. The setting-up of a cult centre was therefore an important act in a new and uncivilized province. Once more the provincial administration followed precedents already established in Germany and also in Gaul, where the religious centre for the three northern Gaulish provinces had been founded on a site close to the colonia of Lyons (*Lugdunum*) in the confluence between the rivers Rhône and Saône. There was built first an altar and then a temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus, and the apparent success of this centre was probably the reason for the adoption of a similar scheme in Britain, even

though the German attempt at Rottweil (*Arae Flaviae*) had been a failure. But perhaps the British counterpart was carried through with too great an excess of zeal and officiousness, or perhaps the British were demonstrating once more the differences between themselves and the Gauls. The great temple and the associated altar which was constructed at Colchester attracted unwelcome attention even in Rome, while in Britain it seems to have become the focus of disenchantment for precisely those disruptive elements in the population which it was intended to unite.² Again it might be said that the executors were at fault and not imperial policy. The policy itself was vindicated when the temple had been rebuilt after the Boudiccan rebellion had destroyed it: in later years the cult is attested in a wide variety of contexts, showing that it had become generally accepted.

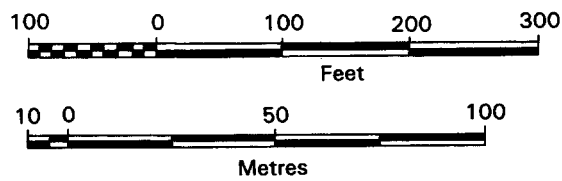
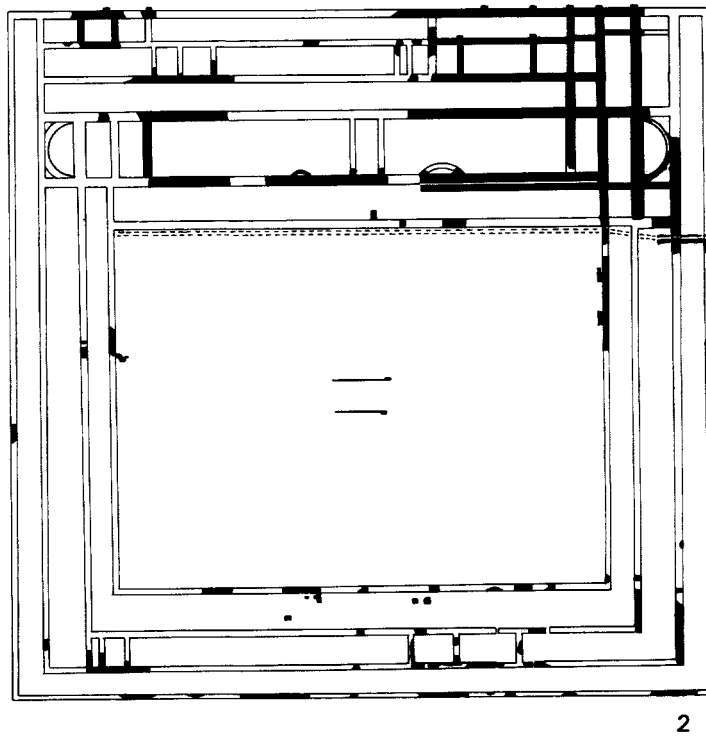
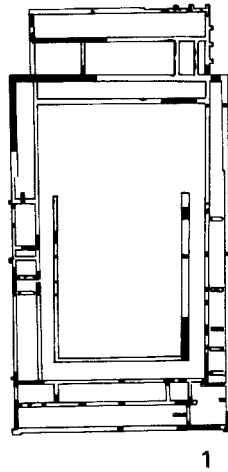
Except for its central religious role, the part played by the colonia at Colchester in forming a model for urban development was followed by

the two later foundations at Lincoln and Gloucester. The distribution of these three *coloniae* could not have been bettered, had it been intended deliberately to show the largest number of people in Britain the desirability of urban life. It might be said therefore that these three towns played an educational part in furthering urbanization in the province. Naturally, however, this role would have lessened as time went on, and as other towns were established and developed. Ultimately all towns, no matter what their status, would assume the basic functions which would vary only in very special circumstances: as indicated at the start of this chapter, they provided facilities for administration, education, trade, amusement, amenity and protection.

The administrative unit of a *colonia*, and probably also of a *municipium*, consisted of the town and its *territorium*, which was treated as being an extension of the town. The towns themselves were almost certainly divided into wards, also called *vici*, and possible evidence for two such *vici* is provided by inscriptions from Lincoln;³ others probably existed there and in the other two *coloniae*. The administration was regulated by a foundation 'charter' (*lex coloniae*) supposedly granted by the central government, but now believed mostly to have been concocted locally.⁴ We have no knowledge of the individual 'charters' of the British *coloniae*; but, by referring to examples from other provinces, in particular from Spain, and to the *Digest*, it is possible to draw tentative conclusions about the way in which they were administered. However, it should be remembered that each 'charter' was drafted separately and may have differed in detail from others, although all would probably have drawn heavily on established precedent.

The supreme authority in a town was nominally the *ordo*, a council of about 100 *decuriones*,⁵ elected from among citizens, who were normally at least 30 years old and who had a specified level of personal wealth and property.⁶ Initially, election was by the general assembly of the town, but by the second century the *ordo* and the magis-

trates had become virtually self-perpetuating. It is also probable that a *decurion* had to reside within a certain distance of the town.⁷ The *ordo* was responsible for the annual appointments of magistrates, of which there were two pairs. These pairs of officers, the *duoviri iuridicundo* and the *aediles* were the chief executives of the town. Ostensibly, they were subject to the *ordo* and apparently they could be called to account by the *decuriones* on any matter concerning public affairs. In practice they probably possessed greater powers than this arrangement suggests and at least one case is known from the *colonia Julia Vienna* (Vienne) where a *duumvir* exceeded his authority and ordered the complete abolition of the games. It was alleged on appeal to Rome that he had no power to make such an order, but his action was upheld.⁸ In contrast, if a *decurion* was accused of being unfit for his position, a *duumvir* could be called upon to pass judgment on him; if he gave an adverse decision that person ceased to be a *decurion* forthwith.⁹ The *duoviri* were the senior pair and it is probable that they would have been elected members of the *ordo* before appointment. They sat as magistrates in the local court trying cases of petty crime and civil cases on which an upper monetary limit was placed; serious criminal cases and civil cases involving sums of money above the limit were remitted for trial in the governor's assize courts (*conventus*). But by the later period hardly any power of correction in the criminal courts had been left to local magistrates. One or other also acted as chairman at meetings of the *ordo*, and they had various other legal and non-legal duties, such as those connected with the supervision of the imperial cult, public ceremonies, the local militia and supervision of the junior officers. For a decree of the *ordo* to be valid, the magistrates' presence was essential, although a right of appeal to the council lay with anyone fined in the courts. Every fifth year was deemed to be of special importance, when outstandingly eminent people were appointed as *duoviri* and received the title of *quinquennales*. They had extra duties to undertake, which included the filling of



6 Plans of fora: (1) ?London, first century; (2) London, second century

vacancies in the *ordo*, the renewal of public contracts and the assessment of new levels of tax liability, occasioned either by change of ownership or circumstances. Normally at this stage any ex-magistrates with the necessary qualifications, who were not already members, would have been elected to the *ordo*.

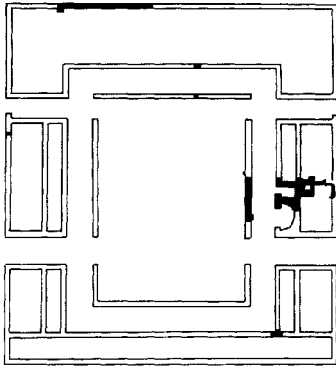
The junior officers or aediles could be appointed at the age of 25, so that simultaneous election to the *ordo* would not be automatic. They were mainly responsible for the upkeep of public buildings, roads and streets, the aqueduct and its distributive system, sewers and other works. Apparently an aedile could also sit as a magistrate in place of a *duumvir*,¹⁰ although the more normal practice was for a prefect to be appointed if the *duumvir* had to be absent for more than a day.

For some of the larger *coloniae* at least, there were probably a pair of financial officers (*quaestores*) whose duties were akin to the modern city treasurer and who were responsible to the *duoviri*. The duties and responsibilities of these grades of municipal officers, as well as the *decurions*, have been further illuminated by the discovery of another set of inscribed bronze tablets representing parts of the charter of an unknown *municipium* in southern Spain, probably called *Imi*.¹¹ It contains one interesting addition to our knowledge concerning the power which the *ordo* and *duoviri* possessed to create new rights of way or alter existing ones, whether by road or river, and to control the demolition and reconstruction of buildings.

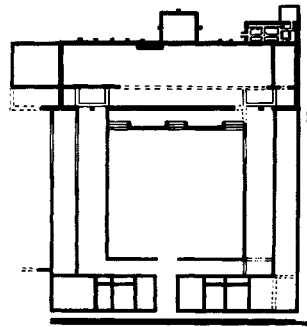
The *seviri augustales*¹² were in charge, under the magistrates' supervision, of ceremonies connected with the imperial cult. They were normally elected by the *decurions* from among the most wealthy of the freedmen in a town, who were prohibited from election either to magistracies or to the *ordo*. It was a post which required a considerable amount of personal expenditure on games and festivals and most holders of the office would have been rich merchants. Indeed, few of the officers mentioned above would have escaped such expenditure, for, on election, they not only had to pay a

fee to the municipal treasury, but they were also expected to donate a handsome gift to the town, which often took the form of some useful structure, or a public show.¹³ In order ostensibly to protect its wider interests a town, acting through its *decurions*, could elect patrons, who were usually influential in military or government affairs in Rome. Although patrons would be only honorary members of the *ordo*, they were often considerable benefactors to the town (cf. below p. 382). Hence a system by which most public works were erected and maintained by private subscription enabled local taxation to be kept at a low level. Revenues for the most part were obtained by renting land or buildings and, to a lesser extent, by selling water from the aqueduct to private consumers, by fines, and by dues on goods brought into the town.

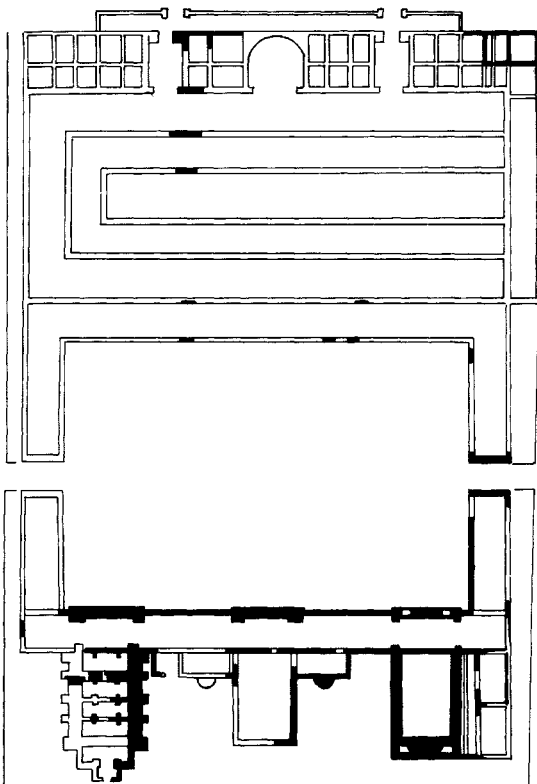
The *territorium* of a *colonia* or *municipium* would be organized and administered as part of the town. In a great many places in other parts of the Empire the land was divided up into plots by a rigid grid system of accommodation roads. The basic measurement was the *iugerum* ($\frac{5}{8}$ acre = 0.25ha), and 200 *iugera* made up one square *centuria quadrata*, with sides of 20 *actus* (776yds = 709m). Unfortunately, no satisfactory evidence seems to have survived for the existence of centuriation outside any of the British *coloniae*. Indeed, Richmond has gone so far as to suggest that it need not be expected at Colchester, as the land, as captive land, was distributed haphazardly among the veterans; any authorized person could take as much as he pleased.¹⁴ It is possible that the land apportionment was better regulated after the Boudiccan rebellion and the refounding of the *colonia*, but no reliable evidence is available, in spite of Haverfield's, and, later, Steven's attempts to show its existence.¹⁵ The same paucity of information applies to the other *coloniae*, although there the use of centuriation might be more readily expected. Whether centuriation existed or not, the plan of the *territorium* would probably have been recorded in the town archive, with possibly an engraved marble or bronze plan



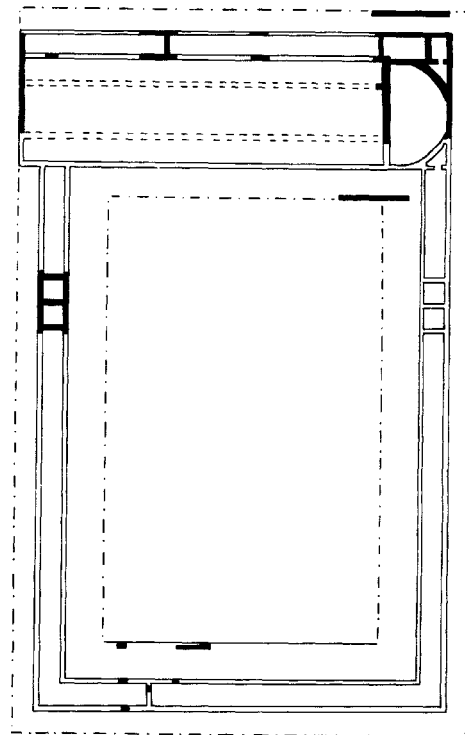
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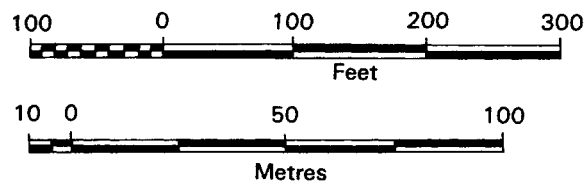
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7 Plans of fora: (3) Lincoln; (4) Caistor-by-Norwich; (5) Verulamium; (6) Cirencester

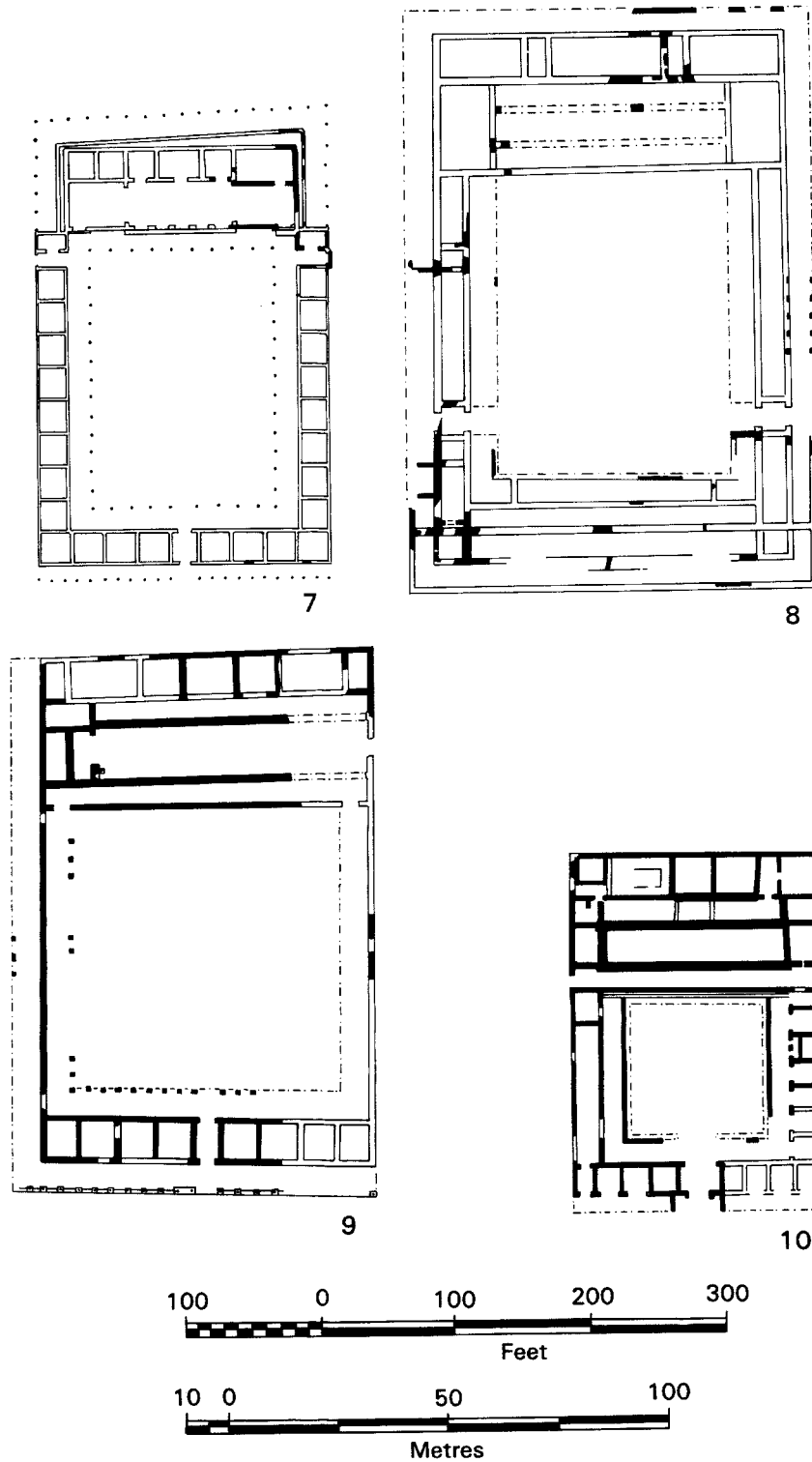
set up in the forum of the town. One example (fig. 5) of such a record comes from *colonia Arausio* (Orange) in Gallia Narbonensis.¹⁶ Dated to AD 77 in Vespasian's principate it is marked off in rectangular areas representing 200 iugera. Additional subdivisions are inscribed with the plot number, the legal description of the land, the individual landowner, where one existed, and sometimes its valuation and state – whether cultivated or not.

The administration of a municipium was almost identical with that of a colonia, except that a municipium could retain some of its native laws whereas a colonia had to use Roman law. It is probable that a basically similar system to that used in municipia, but normally lacking quaestores, would have been used for the civitates, although considerable variations are known.

The size of many civitates in both Britain and Gaul would have made necessary smaller units within them. A civitas was therefore usually split into a number of country districts or *pagi*, and, although there is no direct evidence for their existence in Britain,¹⁷ it is most likely that the Gallic practice was followed. In addition, the civitas capital and all the principal 'small' towns would have received the rank of vicus, but the former might, if large enough, be made up of a number of wards, which were also called vici, hence giving rise to some confusion in modern arguments.¹⁸ These vici were allowed a measure of self-government and were allowed to elect two magistri and possibly a council of *vicani*, while some civitas capitals certainly had aediles as well.¹⁹ A single civitas capital, therefore, would be representative of several levels of local government: the vicus, and possibly constituent vici, and the civitas, to which all vici and pagi would be subordinate. Civitates, like coloniae and municipia, were probably able to elect patrons, although none are known from Britain. Other benefactors must have existed; an inscription on a statue-base from Caerwent²⁰ records that it was set up 'by decree of the council of the *civitas Silurum*' to Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, who for a time was

legate of Legio II Augusta at Caerleon, before going on to be governor successively of Narbonensis, Lugdunensis and Britannia Inferior. It is probable that he formed connexions with the town during his service at Caerleon, and in some way became a benefactor, which was marked by a statue erected in his honour before he succeeded to his last post c. AD 220.

As time passed various changes took place in the functions and titles of the administration of towns and civitates. For instance, members of the *ordo* were more commonly referred to by the name *curiales* in the later Empire, although *decurio* never fully went out of use; occasionally a decurion is referred to as a senator, as on the tombstone of Flavius Martius, a council member of the *civitas Carvetiorum*.²¹ From the second century onwards a new post of *curator* was being created. At first these officers were occasional appointments to meet some special need in matters of finance; by the third century they were being appointed as regular magistrates and full-time officials, *curatores rei publicae* or *civitatis*, and by the fourth century they had become universal. Apart from being pre-eminent in financial matters they also took the place of the *duoviri* as chairmen of the *curiales*,²² and it is clear from other evidence that the decurions now had to refer all matters relating to public works and buildings to the curator before decisions could be reached. No *curatores* have been attested for Britain, but several inscriptions from Gallia Belgica show their existence in similar circumstances, and include also examples of *curatores vici*.²³ The growing tendency towards the appointment of imperial placemen instead of lay-magistrates and officials was, of course, being matched in other quarters, and by the fourth century the ranks of imperial, provincial and local government civil servants had all swollen considerably. The reorganization and fragmentation of certain provinces in the Empire, first under Septimius Severus and later again under Diocletian helped the process and resulted in the creation of a carefully graded hierarchy of officials and the multiplication of offices. Nevertheless, the



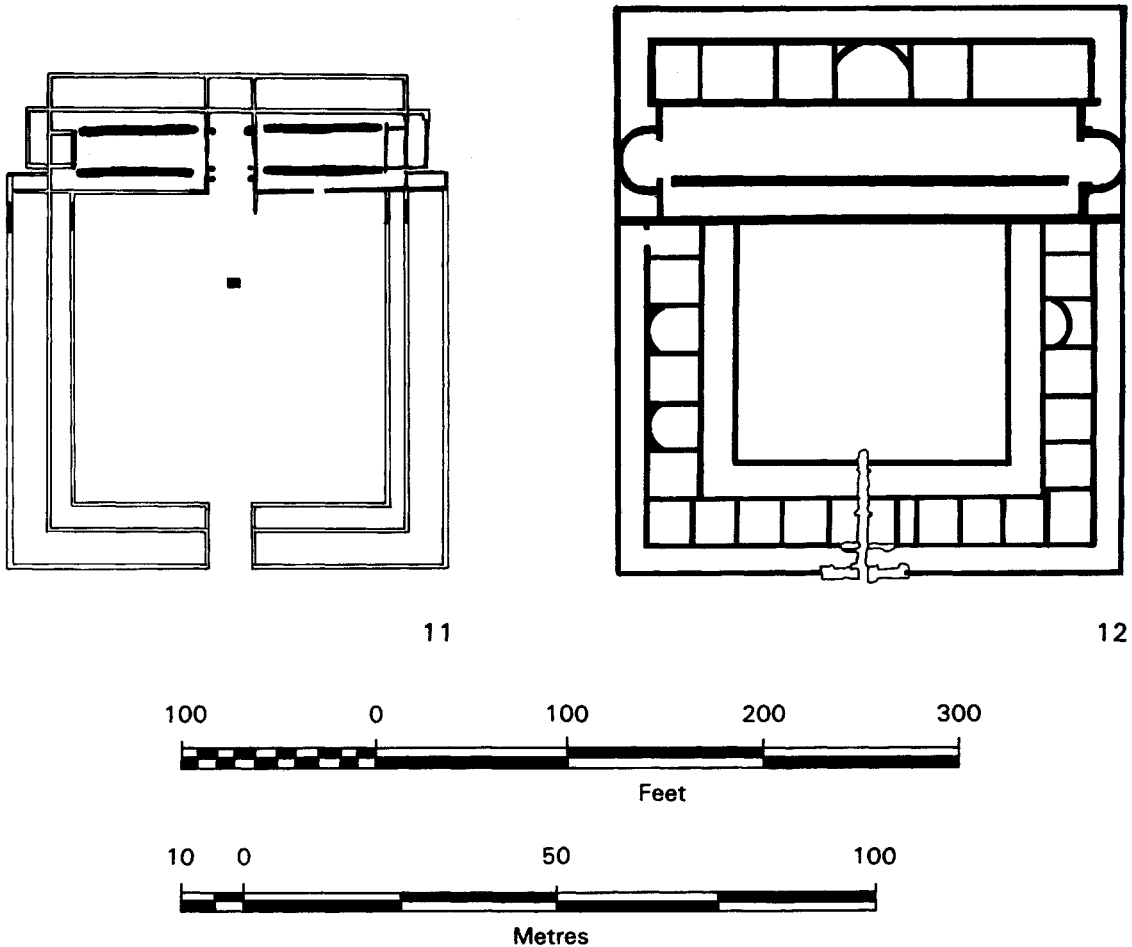
8 Plans of fora: (7) Exeter; (8) Leicester; (9) Wroxeter; (10) Caerwent

decurions seem to have retained their importance, although the post became increasingly unpopular. It has been argued that, at the moment when election to magistracies was carried out by the *ordo* and not by the popular assembly, the supply of purely voluntary candidates had dwindled almost to vanishing point. If too few or no candidates presented themselves, the magistrate was required to make out for election a list of sufficient and fit persons, who could in turn nominate others.²⁴ The decurions had always been responsible for the collection of taxes and for their forwarding to the proper authority. Under Diocletian, they were made personally liable for the deficits in tax payments of certain dependants. By now, also, the level of taxation had risen considerably and the number of people who could not meet their liabilities and so defaulted must have increased with it. Few persons would have voluntarily undertaken the duty of decurion with such personal and public liabilities, so that an office which for long had been compulsory for certain classes, now became virtually hereditary. In their anxiety to escape the burden, those who were still rich bought or bribed their way into the equestrian order, whose members, being of a higher social class, were exempt from service as *curiales*. Eventual bankruptcy must have been the fear of many who remained. It has been argued that the wealth of villas in Britain in the fourth century does not reflect a decline in wealth of the curial class. But the evidence is unbalanced; the villas belonged to those who either survived or escaped from their obligations. We cannot expect to find evidence of those who went bankrupt. There must have been at least 2000 decurions in Britain at any one time, and as we have already seen (p. 36) bankruptcy did not relieve them of their positions, while probably no more than about a thousand villas ever existed in Britain.

It has already been noted in Chapter I that the presence in a British town of a forum, with its associated basilica, probably indicates the existence of a self-governing community, and it is fortunate that most of the functions already

attributed to proper towns can be associated closely with structures specifically designed to meet these requirements. This fact was observed by the topographer Pausanias in Greece in the mid-second century, when referring to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, '... if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending from a fountain, but live in base shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine'.²⁵

The basilica was a large aisled hall stretching the full length of one end of the forum; it would certainly have been the chief administrative centre (figs 6–9). The hall itself would certainly have been used for public meetings and assemblies and also as a gathering place for litigants and witnesses waiting for cases to be heard. It also served as the law court itself, either for the local magistrates or, in the case of certain towns, which are not known in Britain, for the assizes (*conventus*) of the governor, the 'bench' being seated on a tribunal. The latter was placed at one end of the nave, and commonly it was matched by another at the opposing end. It is possible that the magistrates also had private offices, where business of a less judicial nature could be conducted, but which, no doubt, could also be used for hearing applications 'in chambers'. A series of rooms which ran down the basilica on the side away from the forum probably provided these offices; others served a variety of purposes. One room, by no means always the largest in the range, is usually placed symmetrically at the centre; it is sometimes called the *curia*, or council chamber, but Frere has pointed out²⁶ that in the majority of cases it would be too small to seat the members of the *ordo* even if their number was, as sometimes, less than a hundred. It is more likely to have been a shrine dedicated to the local deity and may also have contained imperial statues. Indeed the *curia* would probably have been the largest room of all, while the remainder would have served as offices and record rooms. At Wroxeter one such room was found to contain writing materials, traces of



9 Plans of fora: (11) Silchester, first-century timber; (12) Silchester, second-century masonry

wooden chests and part of a military diploma.²⁷ One interesting discovery made recently in Britain has been the existence of timber forums and basilicas pre-dating masonry buildings at Silchester, Exeter and possibly Lincoln. Exeter seems definitely to have been a temporary expedient, with the masonry forum constructed around the timber.²⁸

If towns acted principally as administrative centres their role in fostering civilized life was almost equally important. In the *coloniae*, civilized life was predominantly Romanized from the start, but in the early *civitas* capitals it was something

new, which the natives had to learn, and the life there might at first be better described as progress towards Romanization. The foundation of towns in Britain probably had the effect of siphoning off from the countryside the go-ahead, ambitious people, leaving the more conservative behind. We can see much the same process working today, with the foundation of new towns in various parts of the country. The increased opportunities offered are undoubtedly their main attraction. Such people would be more ready to accept the new standards, if by so doing they advanced their own prospects. This could be one of the reasons

why Romanization proceeded more rapidly in towns than in the country.

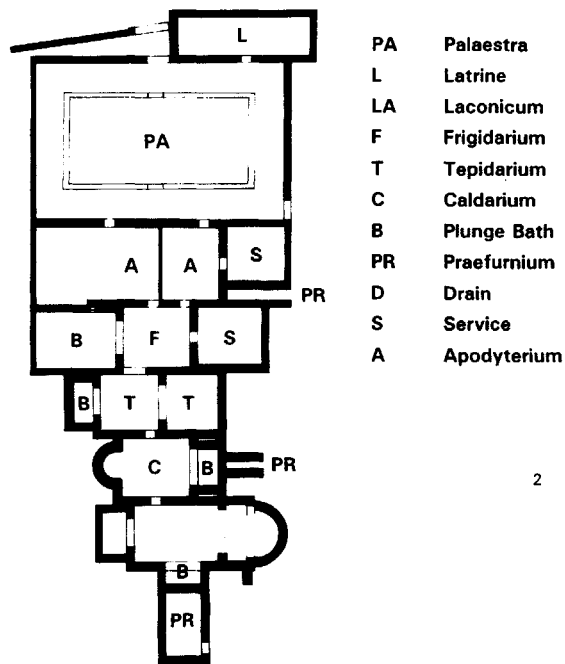
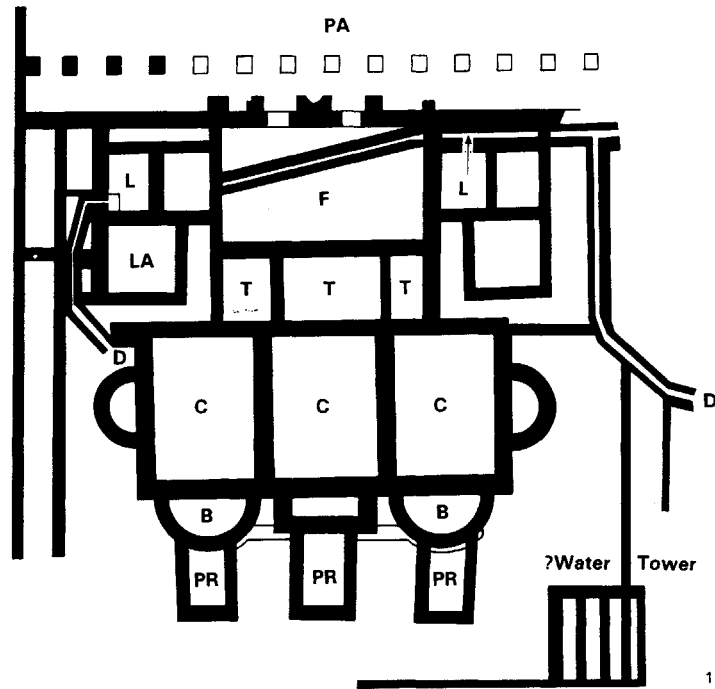
The new social classes which emerged in towns did not differ fundamentally from the oligarchic Celtic society of the Iron Age. What changes there were probably came about through a greater degree of social mobility, the creation of some new classes, such as merchants and shopkeepers, and finer distinctions between classes. We have already seen that the curial class was confined to free-born men possessing a certain level of wealth, but there was nothing in law to prevent the sons of a rich freedman from becoming members of that class and so reaching a higher social standing than their fathers. In the earlier years, too, both these classes would be cut across by the distinction between non-citizens and Roman citizens, who would, among other things, be bound by a different legal code. Among the lower classes there would be yet another distinction between free-born and slave. A slave who was manumitted and perhaps set up in business, either on his own account or as a tenant of his master, often had a greater chance of success than a free-born artisan or shopkeeper, and might in time accumulate great wealth. Often, also, a master who freed a slave and allowed him perhaps to become a tenant of a shop received a better return than if he had retained him as a slave. We can probably assume therefore that, at least during the first two centuries, a greater degree of social mobility occurred in Britain than had before. We do not know to what extent this was aided by the patronage system, so common in other parts of the Empire; a rich patron, in return for various gifts or services, would help to prosper a less wealthy client, who certainly stood lower in the social order. Changing economic patterns and far-reaching controls imposed from above may later have reduced mobility just as the general award of Roman citizenship in the early third century reduced the number of classes.

The rate at which Romanization proceeded is difficult to estimate. As Frere has most recently pointed out, the evidence is mainly material.²⁹ That it ultimately spread deeply in towns cannot

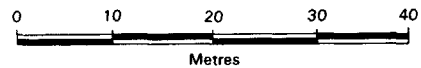
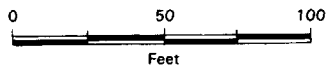
be doubted; it was the intention of Rome that it should. Nevertheless a degree of native British culture, which varied in strength from place to place, still remained and often fused completely with the Roman. Much has already been written about the use of Latin in Roman Britain, and several different conclusions have been reached.³⁰ The general opinion seems to be that it was the language of officialdom and cultured society, with many of the upper classes being bilingual, but that it was a language acquired by teaching at school; in the towns, artisans had some knowledge of Latin, but in the country little or none.

The test of how natural is a language to its user surely depends on the ability to think in that language, without first having to think in a different tongue and then translate the thoughts. Naturally this is difficult to assess, when little or nothing of these thoughts survive, but it might be argued that, if an adult could scratch obscene epithets in Latin on the wall of a derelict house in Leicester,³¹ then it is probable that he could swear in Latin speech. The use of expletives might be taken to suggest that the user was thinking in the same language, so in turn implying a familiarity stretching back to before the schoolroom. The widespread use of Latin names, even if some have Celtic stems, would seemingly point in the same direction. The cosmopolitan nature of many British towns and villages, where inscriptions attest the presence of Gauls, Germans, Greeks and Syrians, would of necessity require some common language, which Latin would best fulfil. Apart from language, it is probable that the people who came to Britain from other provinces of the Empire made a considerable contribution to the process of Romanization and transmitted ideas for the new way of life. Nevertheless the British language did survive, chiefly, we must assume, among countrymen, and there is much evidence of cross-fertilization between the two tongues, so that we might wonder whether the variety spoken at the end of the fourth century would have been intelligible to an inhabitant of pre-Roman Britain.

The spread of civilized manners and customs in



- | | |
|----|-------------|
| PA | Palaestra |
| L | Latrine |
| LA | Laconicum |
| F | Frigidarium |
| T | Tepidarium |
| C | Caldarium |
| B | Plunge Bath |
| PR | Praefurnium |
| D | Drain |
| S | Service |
| A | Apodyterium |



10 Plans of baths: (1) Leicester; (2) Silchester. The Key also applies to the next two figures

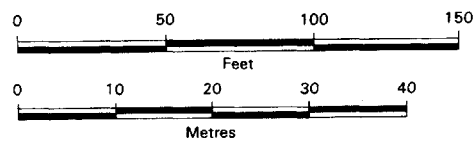
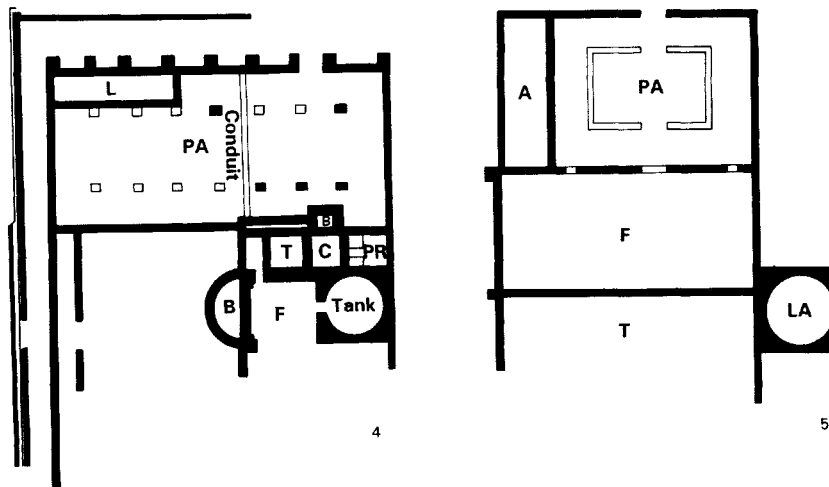
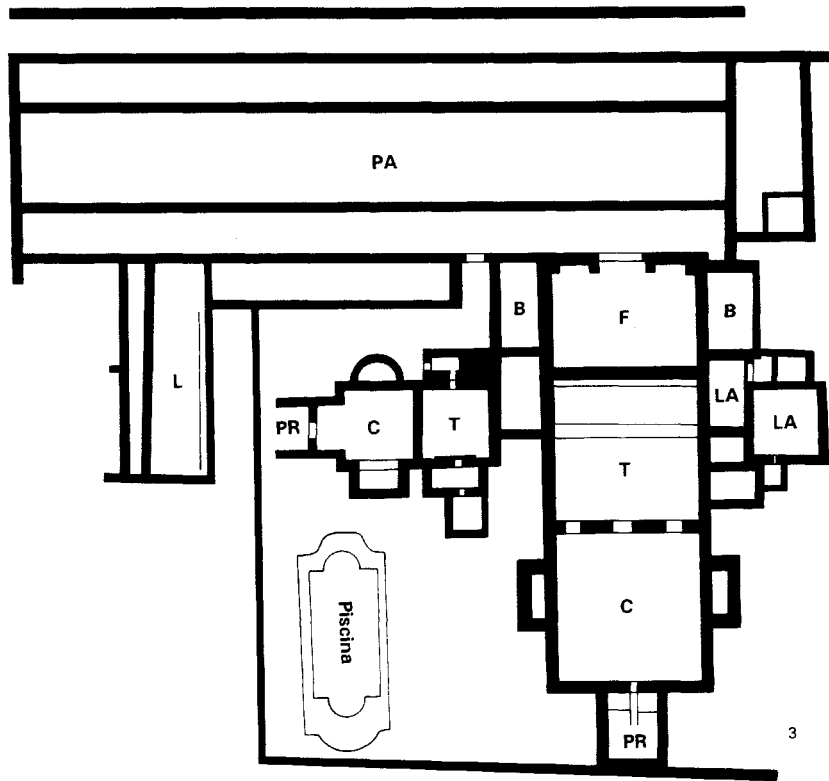
the towns could only take place with, and indeed would be encouraged by, the provision of amenities. High on the list ranked the public bath-house (figs 10–12) with its facilities for relaxation and exercise as well as hygiene; for, in the Roman world, the town baths were akin to a good club. Yet it is worth noting that Tacitus in his passage concerning early buildings in Britain does not mention *thermae*. These buildings have still to be identified in many of the earlier towns such as Canterbury, Colchester, Verulamium and Winchester, but at London, Chichester and Silchester baths were provided during the first century. Leicester, Wroxeter and Caistor-by-Norwich, in keeping with their later development as *civitas* capitals, did not possess them until the middle of the second century.

The size of some civic bath-houses in Britain has sometimes led to questions being asked about their operation. Suggestions have been made that they could not be maintained permanently in full operation, as the expense would be too great, and that there would not be the demand. But with an estimated population of about three or four thousand for Leicester, even a weekly visit on the part of each inhabitant to the Jewry Wall baths would mean nearly 500 people a day passing through its doors, or perhaps between 60 or 70 an hour. Moreover, such a massive building would require very large quantities of fuel initially to raise the temperature of the various rooms to their operating level. The thickness of the walls and roof would ensure minimum heat loss, so that once hot, much smaller quantities of fuel would be needed to maintain a level temperature. To light the fires intermittently would, in the long run, have wasted far more fuel than it would have saved.

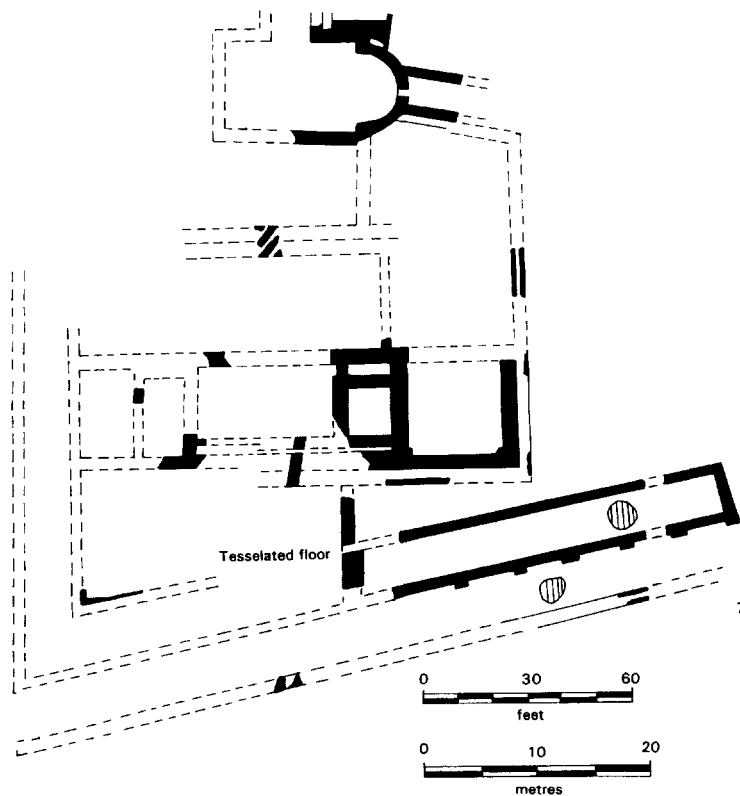
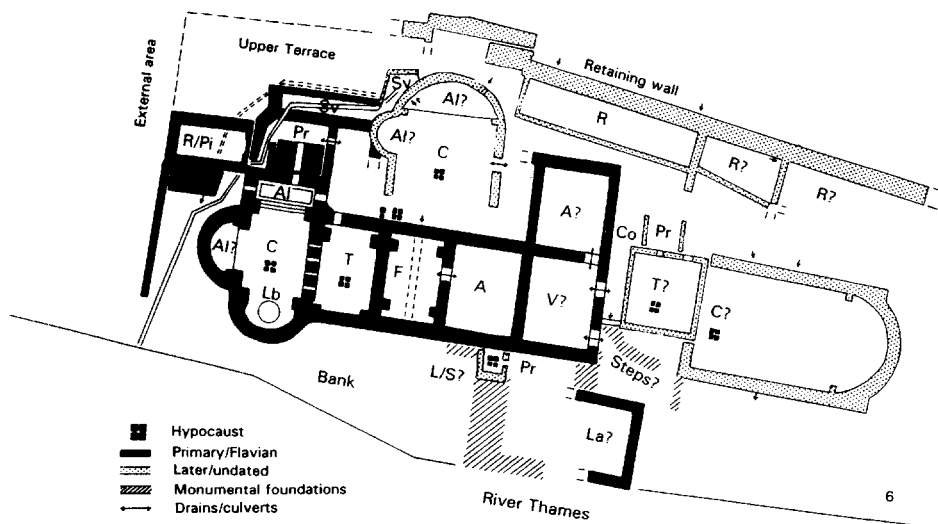
A large bath-house could only work satisfactorily if a copious supply of running water was available, so that, at the same time if not before, an aqueduct would be constructed, and urban aqueducts are known at Dorchester, Wroxeter, Leicester and Lincoln; others probably existed at least at London, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Silches-

ter, Cirencester, Caerwent and Verulamium, where the presence of the distribution pipes inside the towns is known. Once constructed they could be used to supplement other sources of domestic water, frequently drawn from wells; so public water tanks would be set up at intervals in the streets. Householders and shopkeepers might, if the flow was sufficient, and by payment of a fee, be supplied too, as at Wroxeter and Verulamium, while any excess was allowed to run into the sewers to ensure adequate flushing.³² Richmond has argued that few of the *civitas* capitals in Britain possessed proper sewers. One of the finest examples in any town is the system which ran beneath the streets of Lincoln, which also possessed an aqueduct. It should be remembered that if a free flow of water enters a town in an aqueduct, then sewers of almost equal capacity must be provided to carry away the surplus and the waste after use; the reverse is frequently true, and a high-capacity sewage system should imply the presence of an aqueduct, or at least a copious source within the town. That being so, any town with a proved aqueduct and distribution system, which has not yet produced evidence for sewers, would be worth re-examination. Not all sewers were constructed on the monumental pattern of Lincoln, and one found³³ running down the centre of part of Ermin Street in Cirencester had a cross-sectional area about 2ft sq. (0.2 sq. m) but had been lined entirely with timber. In the aerial photographs of some other towns, notably Caistor-by-Norwich, suspicious dark lines can be seen running centrally down some streets, and these might well represent sewers of the Cirencester type.

The comfortable town house, with its dining-room and separate servants' wing, must also have ranked high among the amenities. It has, however, been argued that the creation of complex urban domestic housing did not originate, but followed, the example set by rural housing in the first century, at least in south-east Britain.³⁴ Certainly the corridor house emerged then in the countryside, compared with an early to mid-second-century



11 Plans of baths: (3) Wroxeter; (4) Caerwent; (5) Caistor-by-Norwich



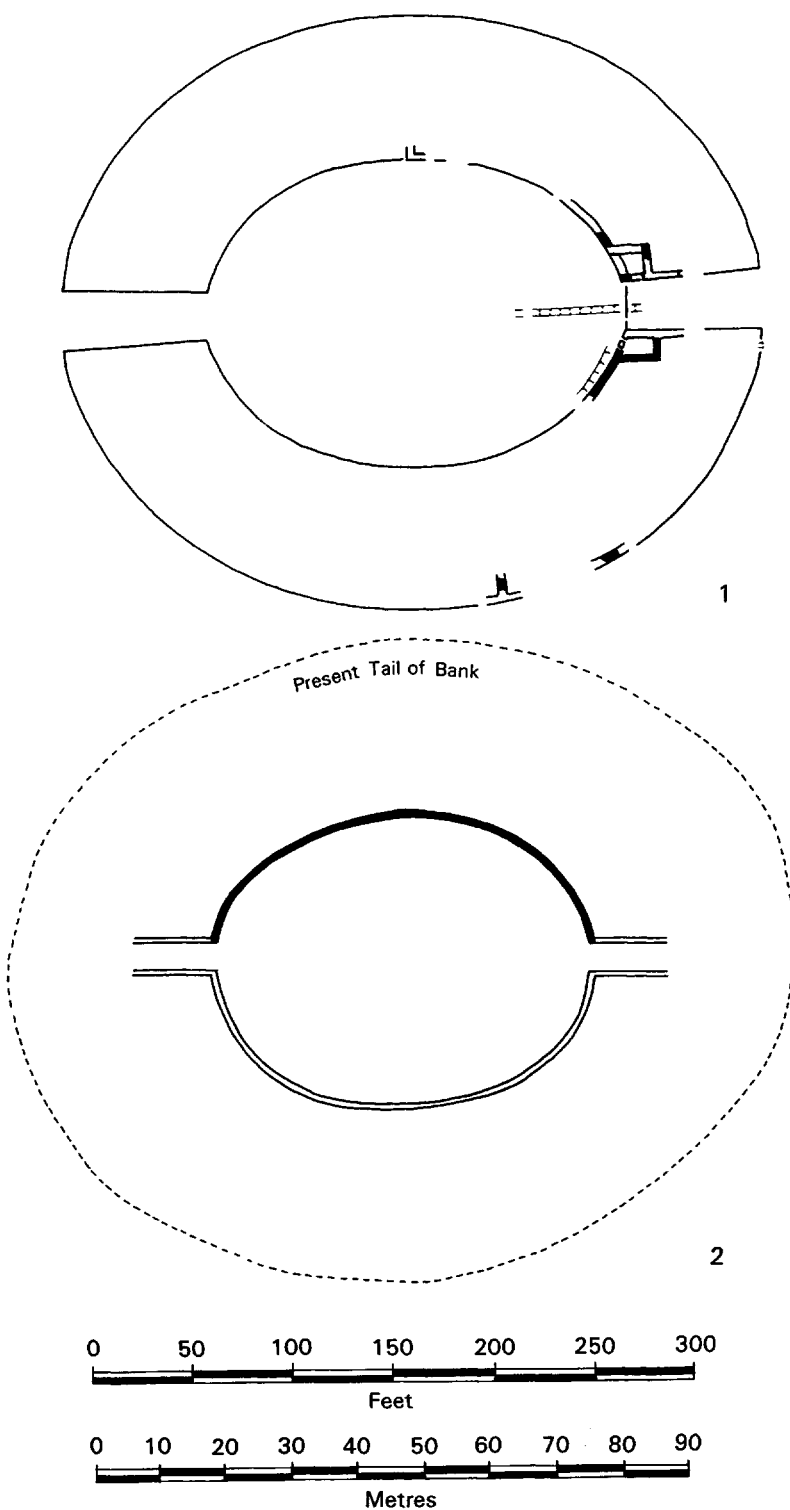
12 Plans of baths: (6) Huggin Hill, London; (7) St Margaret's Street, Canterbury

date in towns. Superficially, this may well be so, but the hypothesis fails to look deeply enough into the respective origins. The emergence of an isolated rural domestic residence must represent the point at which the farmyard and its occupants were consigned to their own separate quarters and yards: a highly desirable move and one to be achieved in the shortest possible time. But, in contrast, most urban dwellings were at first designed to accommodate commerce and industry, a connexion which, in many cases, often survived the transformation of the living quarters into larger and more luxurious surroundings: good examples of the latter can be seen in a number of towns, notably Colchester and Verulamium.³⁵ There may well have been less pressure to carry out the alterations; hence the slower rate of progress, which need have nothing to do with the respective degrees of Romanization.

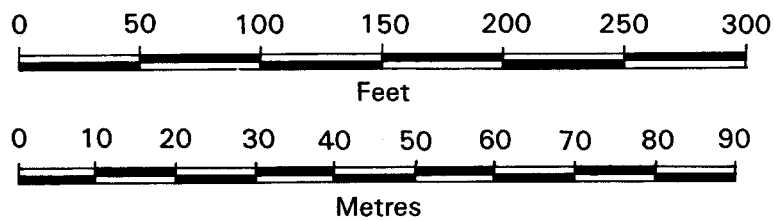
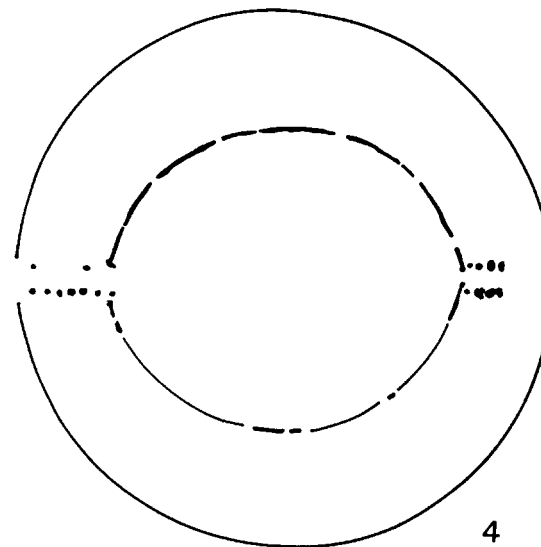
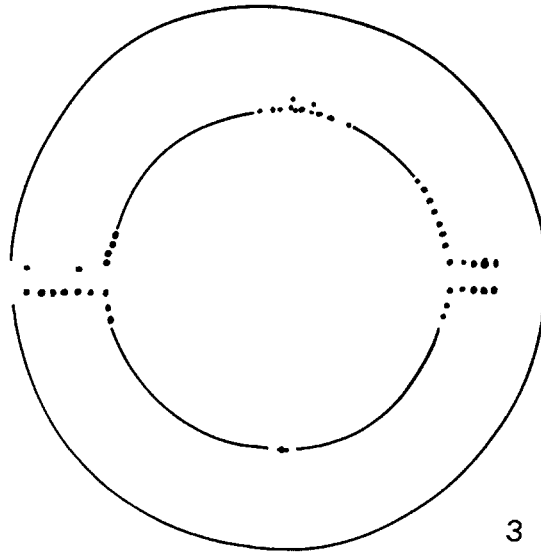
Certainly, not a great deal is known about urban domestic residences in the first century, but, by the second century, dwellings of the curial class become sufficiently distinctive in plan to be readily identifiable, even if, as noted above, some still retained links with commerce. Still in some cases constructed with timber frames and wattle and daub walls, they had to eschew the refinement of central heating. Nevertheless, mosaics and frescoes decorated the floors and walls at least of the dining-room; adequately warmed by braziers, the householder could entertain his guests to dinner in some degree of fashion and, while sampling the products of a more varied diet, they could discuss, in Latin, the subject of his new wall-painting. With the improvement of building materials and the use of more brick and stone in place of wood, the braziers could be replaced by ducted, underfloor heating with additional channels carrying the heat up through the walls, so helping to reduce condensation in winter. These houses, for all their comforts, rarely had private bath-wings, of the type which are associated with so many country villas. It does not appear to have been a question of wealth, but more one of fashion, since even the richest, like all other inhabitants of the town,

might have made use of the public baths, and a visit often assumed the guise of a social event. Even slaves might be sent to the baths by their master, while under a decree of Hadrian, and as the result of scandalous behaviour during mixed bathing, separate times of the day were set aside for the use of men and women.

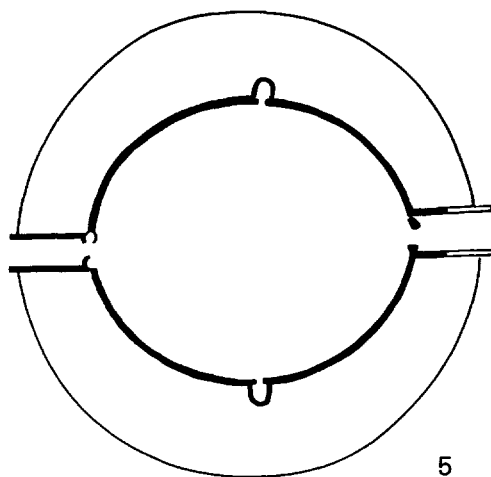
Civilized living required entertainment as well as amenity. In British towns the amphitheatre was the principal place of entertainment, with known examples at London, Cirencester, Dorchester, Silchester, Chichester, Carmarthen and probably Caerwent, and with others possibly implied at Colchester and at York and Leicester by inscriptions (figs 13–17). The size of these buildings often dictated that they should be constructed near the edges of a town's built-up area; consequently when towns, more especially in Britain but less so elsewhere, were walled they were often left outside the boundaries for reasons of economy, and it is not strictly true to say, as is still being done for London (p. 94), that amphitheatres were built outside them. The only example of an amphitheatre likely to post-date the construction of defences is that of Caerwent, and it is interesting that it should have been placed within the walls. Apart from the examples quoted above, other towns such as the *coloniae* would probably have been provided with them. They were sometimes of simple earth-bank construction with the banks and entrances revetted with wooden walls, which often survived for the life of the building, timbers being replaced as they rotted (e.g. Dorchester). In other examples such as that at Cirencester, the initial timber construction was replaced by masonry; but in both types the seating would have been of planks supported on the banks surrounding the arena. It is not known precisely what type of show was staged in these amphitheatres. A graffito on a sherd of pottery from Leicester attests a gladiator, while a gladiator's helmet has recently been found in Suffolk (fig. 18). There is also the mosaic from the villa at Bignor showing various scenes of cupids dressed as gladiators undergoing training, which is at least



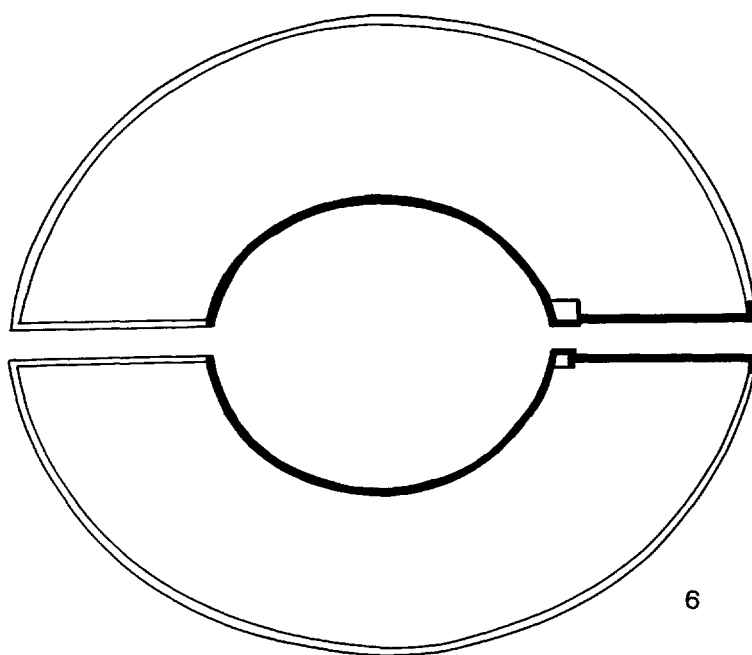
13 Plans of amphitheatres: (1) London; (2) Chichester



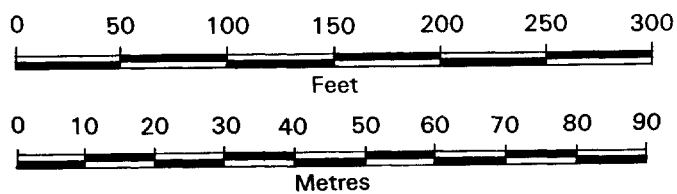
14 Plans of amphitheatres: (3) Silchester, first century; (4) Silchester, second century: both timber



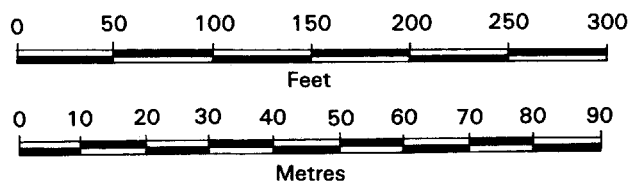
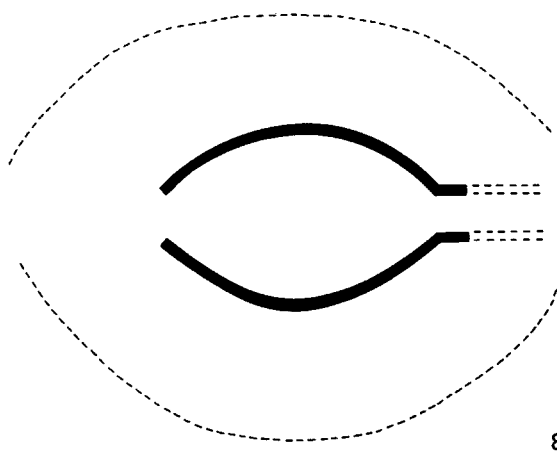
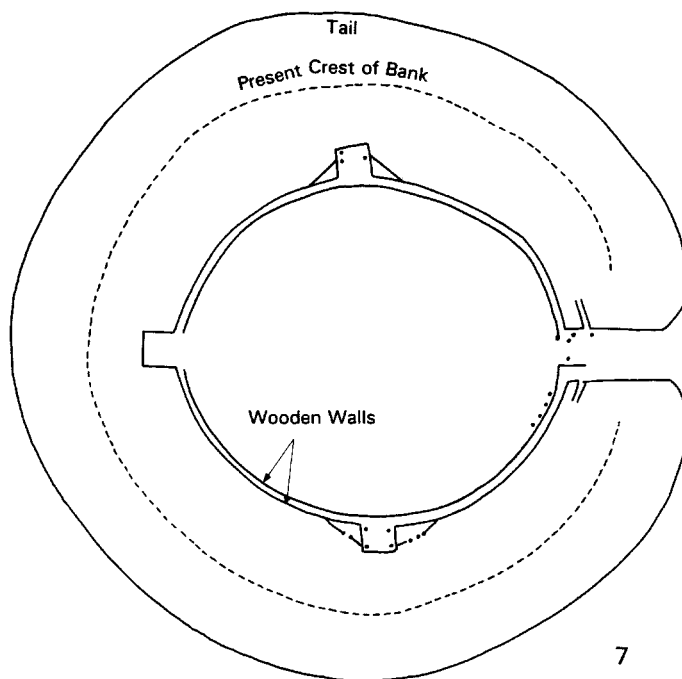
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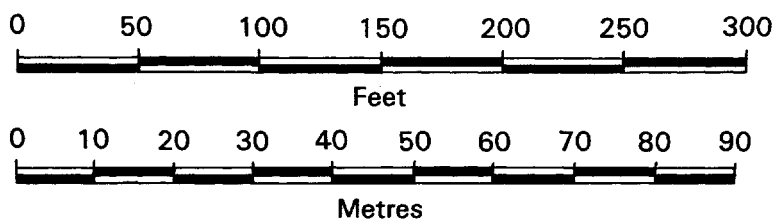
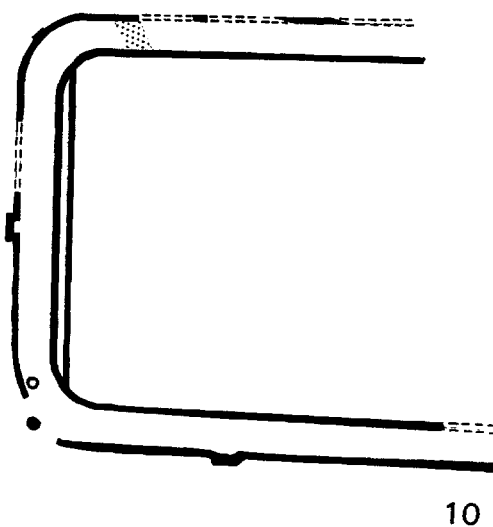
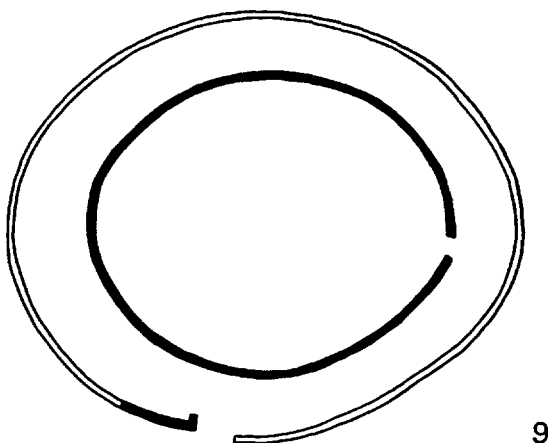
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15 Plans of amphitheatres: (5) Silchester, third century; (6) Cirencester



16 Plans of amphitheatres: (7) Dorchester; (8) Carmarthen



17 Plans of other buildings possibly associated with amusements: (9) Caerwent; (10) Wroxeter

evidence for an interest in these shows, even if it cannot be taken as evidence for the performances themselves. But such entertainments, being expensive, were probably rare in Britain, and the audiences would most likely have had to be content with bear-baiting and cheaper shows. However, it should not be forgotten that certain criminals were commonly condemned to death '*ad bestias*' (fig. 19) and the sentence carried out publicly in the amphitheatre; in a more robust age this was considered excellent entertainment.

The Roman theatre proper seems to have been

much rarer in Britain than the amphitheatre. The sites of only four, at Colchester, Canterbury, Verulamium and Gosbecks Farm, Colchester, are known (figs 20–2); a length of curving wall at Cirencester may imply a fifth (p. 308). That at Verulamium is an adapted form, while the fourth lies outside the colonia at Colchester and is not strictly a town theatre. The intramural theatre at Colchester is mentioned by Tacitus and has now been confirmed by excavation; another is attested by an inscription at Brough-on-Humber (see fig. 177). It would be natural to expect others at



18 Heavy bronze helmet, probably belonging to a gladiator, from Hawkedon, Suffolk (*British Museum*)

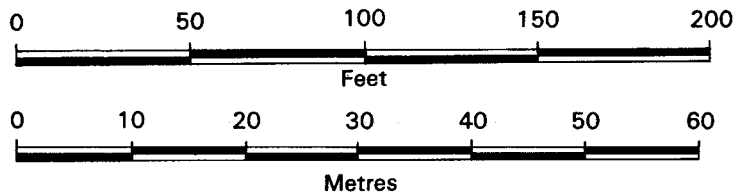
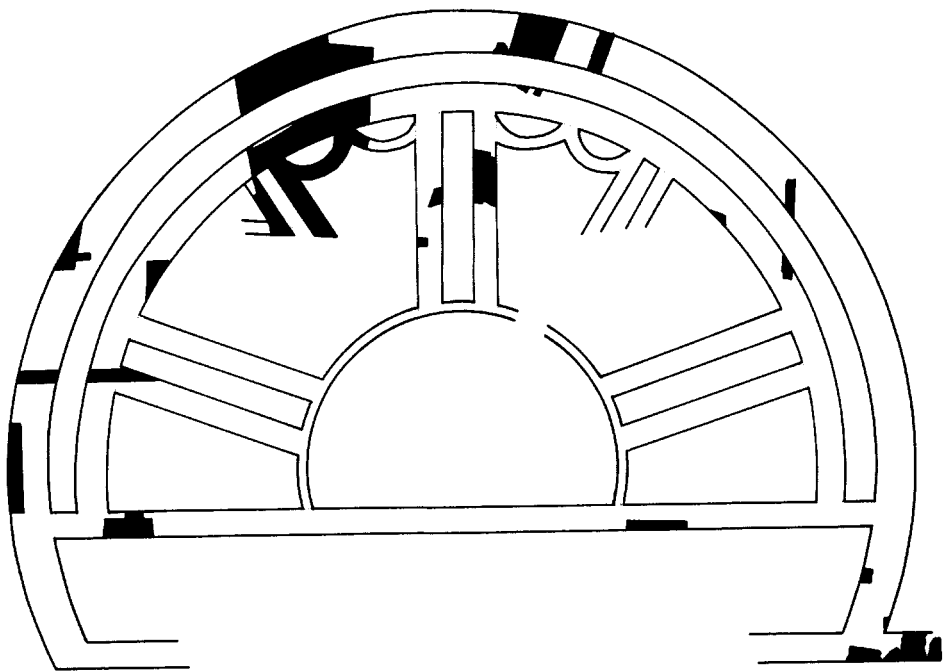
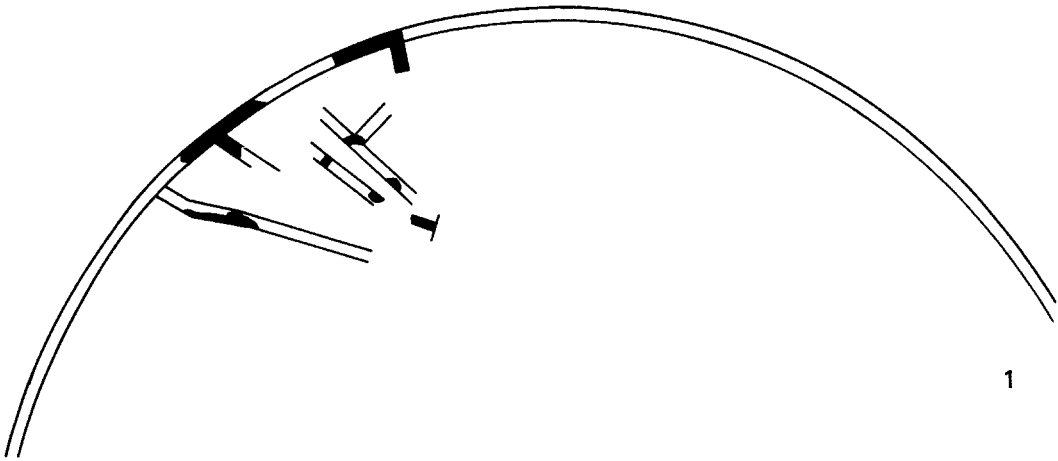


19 Mosaic from Zliten, Lepcis Magna, north Africa, showing criminals condemned 'ad bestias' (Roger Wood Studios)

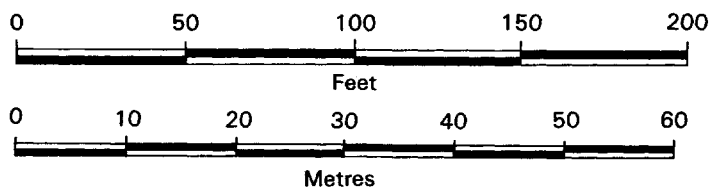
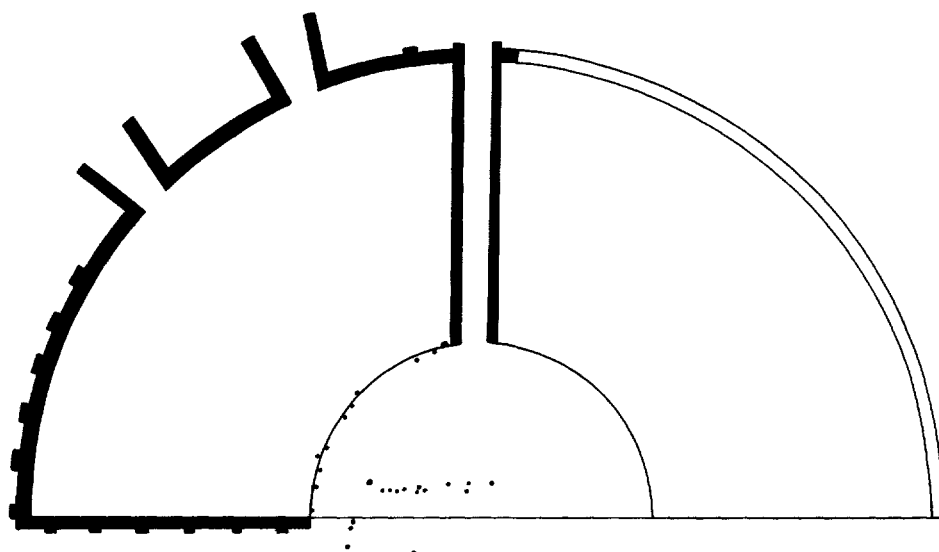
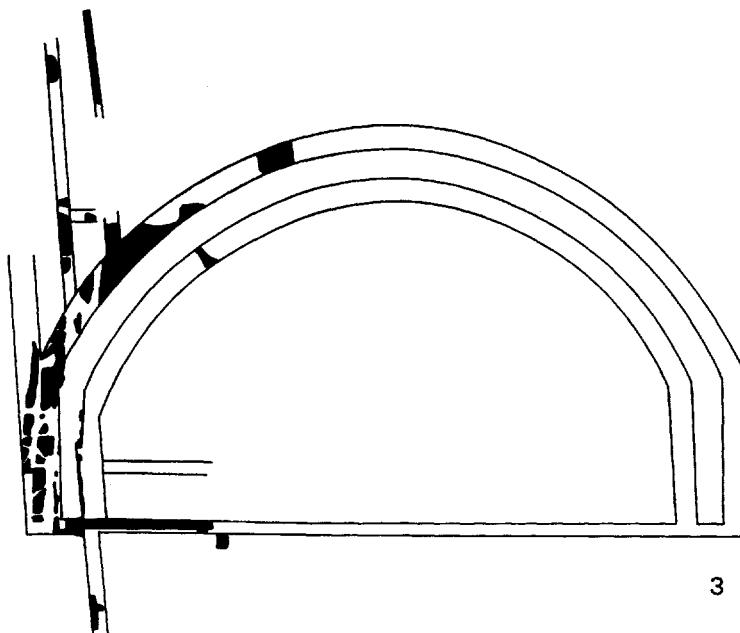
Lincoln and Gloucester, and probably also at London and York. Of the known examples, only the theatres at Colchester and the second theatre at Canterbury match the style of the larger Gallic theatres in both scale and construction. The theatre at Gosbecks Farm, although superficially of Roman plan, has a very small stage and no proper stage building; it also effects a compromise in the construction, the seating being carried on earth banks instead of masonry vaults, and the whole is reminiscent of Romano-Celtic types. The adapted form at Verulamium is a better British example of this type, which has a distribution mainly in north-west Gaul. The orchestra at Verulamium, instead of being semicircular as in the Roman theatre, was enlarged almost to a full circle with the stage forming a chord across one side; the position and arrangement of the entrances was also different. Another example of this type may yet be revealed at Caistor-by-Norwich. An aerial photograph of the area south-west of the town has shown the outlines of what

might be an amphitheatre or a theatre of Romano-Celtic form (see fig. 111a). Confirmation must await excavation, but its size would suggest the latter. It has been commonly assumed that this type of theatre was intended to double as an amphitheatre when necessary, and, if so, it would represent a wise economy for a town with perhaps limited means and uncertain of the reception which would be accorded other forms of entertainment. But at the same time it indicates a slightly higher degree of Romanization than the town with only an amphitheatre and little or no obvious interest in drama, mime, singing or recitation. Many theatres in the Empire were closely connected with shrines or temples, and at least three, and possibly four at Colchester, Canterbury, Verulamium and Gosbecks Farm, show the same affinity. Not enough is known about the theatre for there to be any certainty about a similar association at Brough-on-Humber.

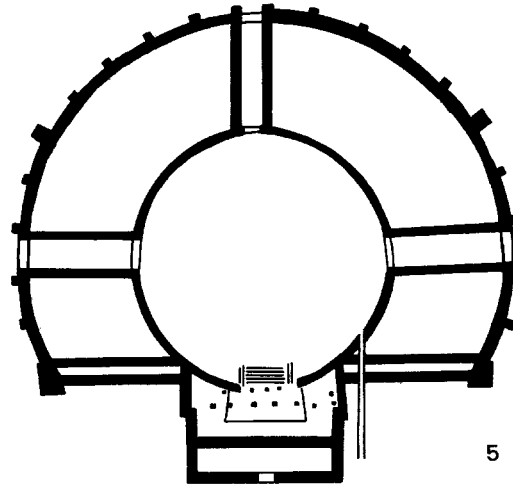
The interrelation of temple and theatre in so many cases was deliberate.³⁶ The theatre would



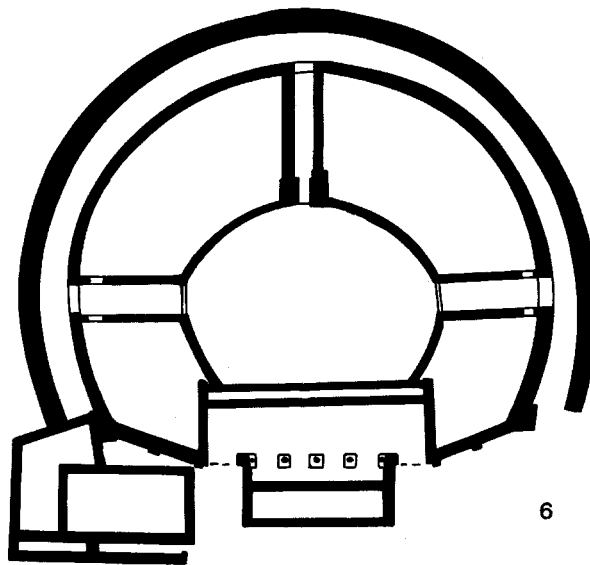
20 Plans of theatres: (1) Canterbury, first century; (2) Canterbury, third century



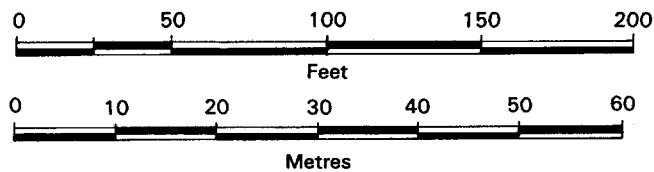
21 Plans of theatres: (3) Colchester colonia; (4) Colchester, Gosbecks



5



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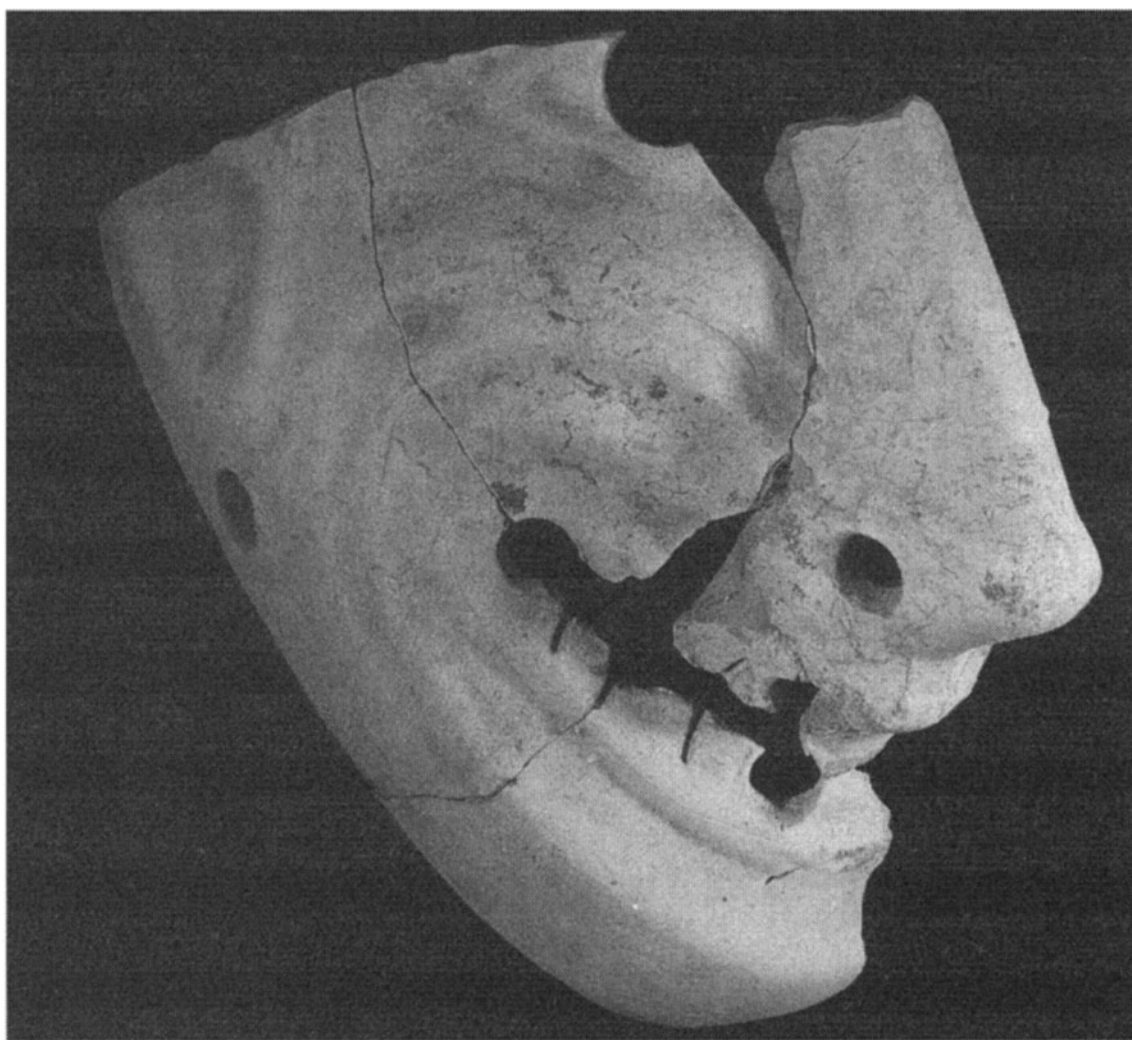


22 Plans of theatres: (5) Verulamium, second century; (6) Verulamium, fourth century

indicate the presence of large gatherings and the obvious popularity of the deity concerned. In three of the cases cited above – Canterbury, Verulamium and Gosbecks Farm – the association is with Romano-Celtic temples, implying a primary dedication to some native god or goddess perhaps coupled with a classical deity. It may be, therefore, that the characteristic plan of a Romano-Celtic theatre was the result of the adaptation of the classical form to the requirements of the native liturgy, and had nothing

whatever to do with combining a theatre and amphitheatre for the sake of economy.

Other indirect evidence for theatrical interest in the form of a miniature ivory tragic mask found at Caerleon, and certainly an import, implies perhaps the presence there of a travelling theatre company.³⁷ Other full-size masks are known from Catterick and Baldock (figs 23–4). A second-century house in Leicester was decorated with frescoes incorporating architectural features; at least two of the panels contained paintings of



23 Part of a ceramic theatrical tragic mask from Baldock (*Crown Copyright – reproduced by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office*)



24 Theatrical mask, in colour-coated ceramic, from Catterick (Crown Copyright – reproduced by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office)

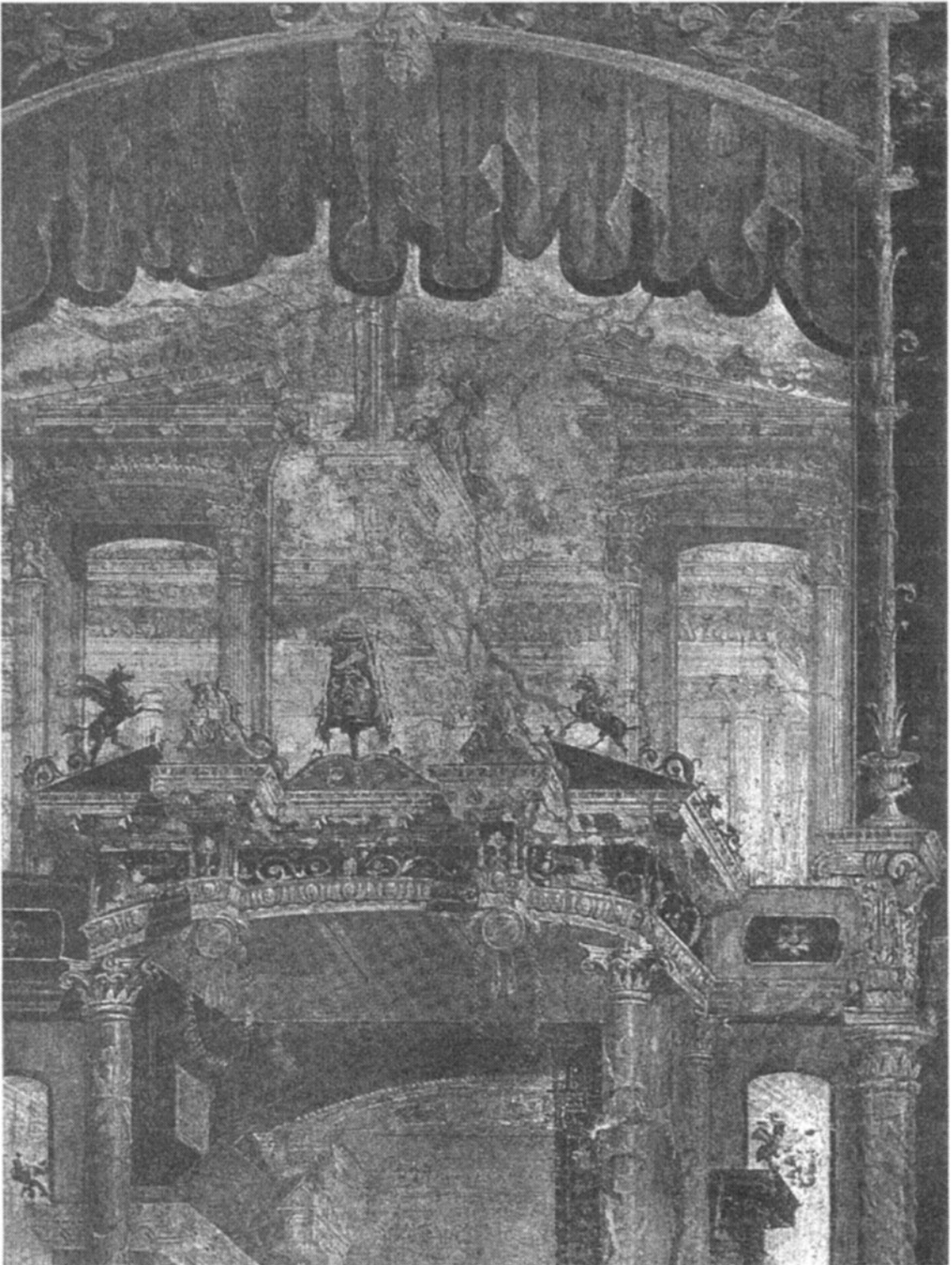
tragic masks (p. 352), and there is a strong resemblance to a theatrical fresco at Herculaneum,³⁸ perhaps suggesting an interest in dramatic spectacles on the part of the owner (fig. 25).

Another point of interest, when considered for Britain, is the capacity of theatres and amphitheatres. It is probably right to assume that an amphitheatre could seat most of the adult population of a town, probably together with visitors and people from the surrounding countryside; it is not difficult to imagine in them types of show which would attract a full house. But the second

theatre at Canterbury would, on the same basis, seat at least 7000 spectators. Even allowing for a greater population than Silchester,³⁹ it is hard to believe that so many would show an interest in purely dramatic spectacles. Either the theatre would have become a municipal white elephant, or, more likely, it was connected with important religious festivals originating in the adjacent temple precinct, and similar to the theatres at Gosbecks Farm, Verulamium and possibly Colchester, catering as well for the country population around the town. Further, it can be argued that the rebuilding on a massive scale in the early third century, of the first theatre at Canterbury, points not just to a continuing demand for accommodation but to a demand that was actually increasing.

The third form of popular entertainment in the Roman world was centred on the *circus*, used for chariot racing. No buildings for this sport have yet been identified in Britain; the only indications of interest in it are a mosaic graphically depicting a scene during a race from a villa at Horkstow (Lincs.),⁴⁰ which is now in the British Museum, and part of a relief showing a boy charioteer from the colonia at Lincoln,⁴¹ with other oblique references from the villa at Chedworth, and the colonia at York.⁴² There is, however, a curious building at Wroxeter, (see fig. 17) seemingly associated with a temple, which could be interpreted as some kind of race-course (p. 375).

The commercial life of a town, as we have already seen in Chapter I, was paramount in shaping its progress and development. No matter how much official help a town might have received at its inception, all would come to nothing unless there was a sound economic reason for its continued existence. The factors which governed a town's growth and decided whether it would increase or decrease in size, or perhaps even wither altogether, might therefore be different from those which governed the initial choice of a site. Much would depend on the potential wealth or otherwise, and the size, of the area it served; important too would be the drive and enthusiasm



25 Theatrical fresco from a house at Herculaneum (*Scala Istituto Fotografico Editoriale*)

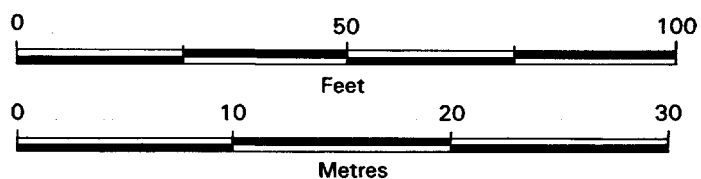
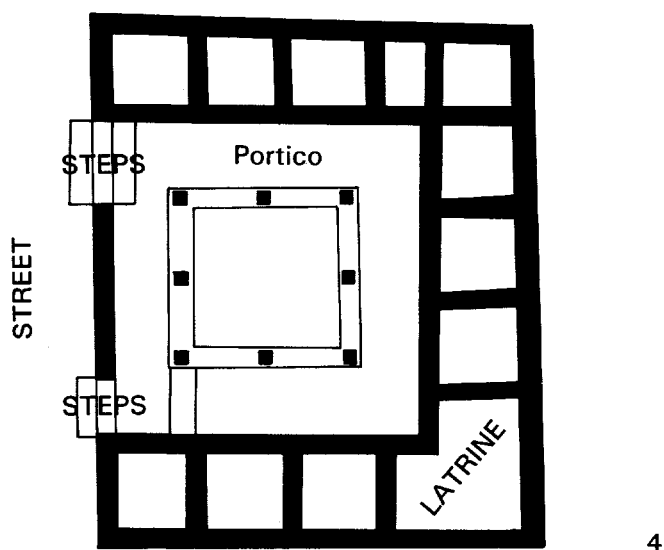
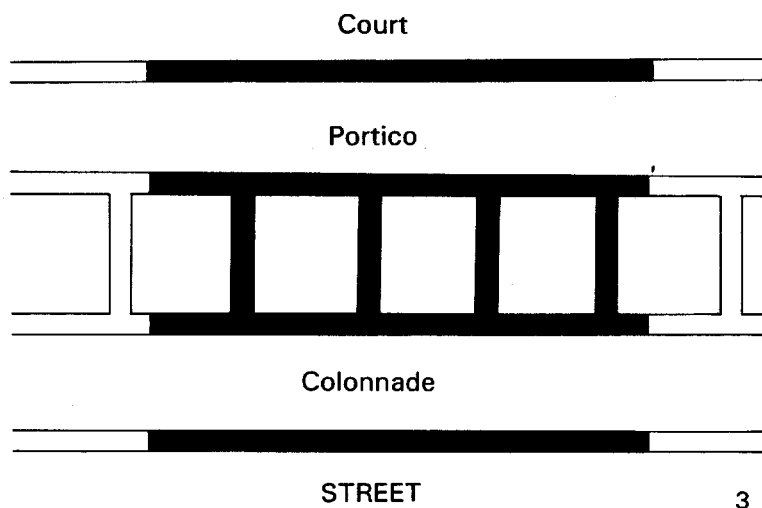
of its individual inhabitants and the type and diversity of the goods and services which they provided. Ultimately then, it was not necessarily a good geographical position which made a town prosperous but its inhabitants. Nor should it be forgotten that prosperity is fickle and can desert a town as quickly as it can build one. The two *coloniae* of Lincoln and Gloucester could be said to have begun with equal opportunities; they were almost twins and nearly identical in size, in date of foundation and in the type of people who started them; both had equal opportunities in the country surrounding them. Yet Lincoln doubled its fortified area while Gloucester did not; Lincoln probably became a market centre for a large area of country, while Gloucester seemingly allowed Cirencester to capture the rich markets of the Cotswolds (p. 164). There must therefore have been some essential difference between them which it is almost impossible to trace at this distance in time. The only apparent difference between them would seem to be that Lincoln was situated on a bracing hill-top near the east coast, while Gloucester lay at sea level in a river valley in the west country. Was this difference in climate sufficient in itself to create the divergent development patterns; or were there other reasons, still to seek? It is more than likely, but we shall probably never know.

The importance of trade to a town is indicated by the speed with which shops appeared in the very earliest years after its foundation; Claudian shops have been excavated at Verulamium, London and Colchester, and Flavian shops at Cirencester and Leicester. Official encouragement came with the provision of forums and market-halls (*macella*), in which were shops that could be rented by tenants and where the temporary stalls of itinerant traders could be set up on market day.⁴³ The aediles had power to intervene if a trader was suspected of fraudulent practices, and standard measures of length and volume can still be seen in the forum at Pompeii and in the macellum at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania.⁴⁴ Later, magistrates also had to fix prices and had to

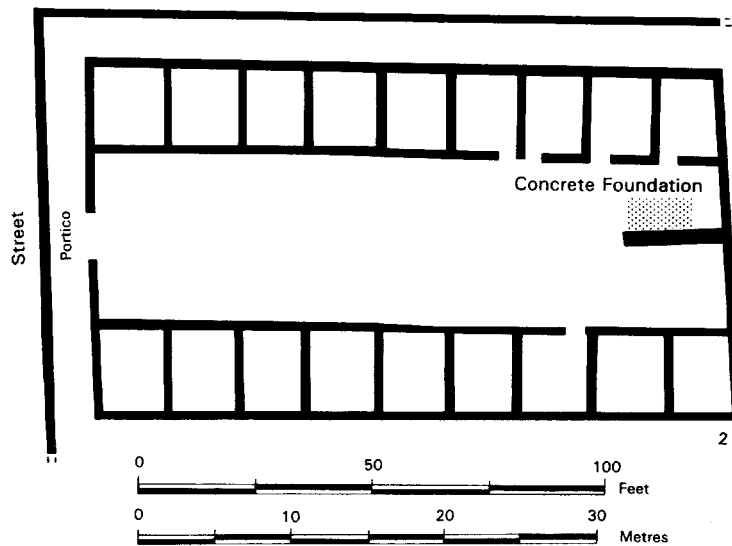
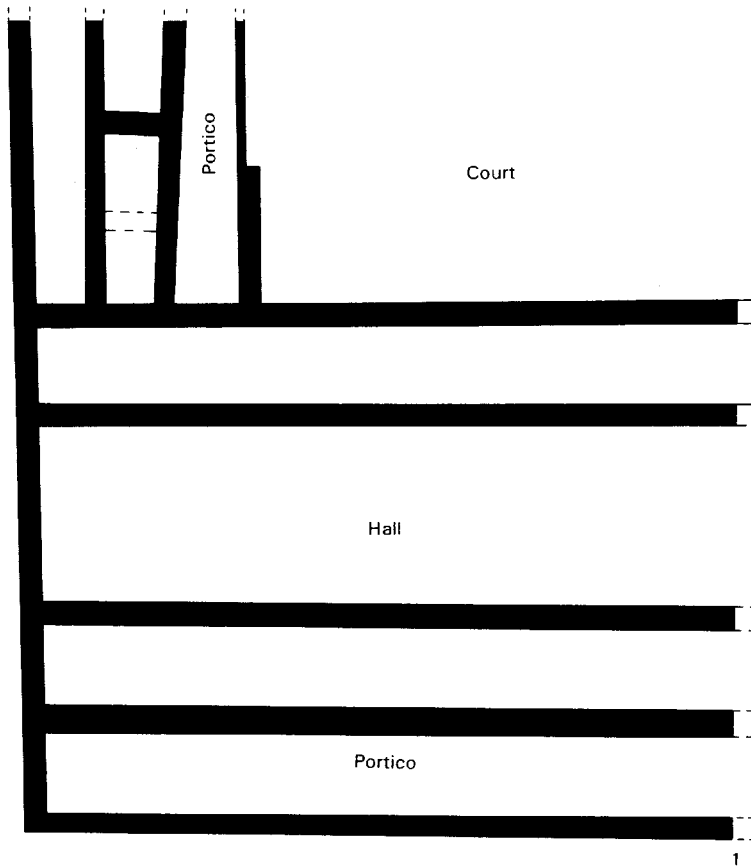
attempt for a short time the enforcement of Diocletian's edict of standard prices.

The forum which, with the basilica, usually occupied a central insula of a town in Britain, was a large open court surrounded on three sides by a portico, on to which opened a series of rooms that could either be used as offices by the authorities, or sometimes as shrines, or else be let out as shops. The basilica lay on the fourth side, while entrances into the court might be placed in one or more of the others. In some cases a portico also enclosed the whole or part of the building on the outside. Both porticoes and also the court could be used for temporary stalls (see figs 6–9). It has been argued that this type of forum, which is common in Britain but not in Gaul, owes much to the plan of the military *principia* and emphasizes the assistance that military architects and engineers would have given during the early years of a town's development. Only at Verulamium and possibly at Canterbury, Lincoln and Colchester are there indications implying forums of another type, in which the *capitolium*, or main religious centre, formed part of it.

Sometimes, in addition to the forum, a town might possess a separate market-hall or macellum (figs 26–7). At Verulamium one was erected in the Flavian period facing an open space, later to be used for the theatre, and in front of a major temple;⁴⁵ it contained two rows of shops facing each other across a courtyard. Cirencester was provided with a market-hall in Hadrian's principate;⁴⁶ not all has yet been excavated, but part of its plan strongly resembled the wing of a forum and, but for the prior identification of the latter in the next insula to the north-east, confusion of identity could have arisen. A number of pits, which were packed with bones, had been dug in and around the building; the bones had been sawn and cut and would appear to have come from butchers' shops, implying perhaps that this part of the building was a meat market.⁴⁷ Leicester was another town where a separate market was built, probably early in the third century, when a great basilican hall was constructed on the site of a



26 Plans of market halls: (1) Cirencester; (2) Wroxeter



27 Plans of market halls: (3) Leicester; (4) Verulamium

derelict house adjacent to the forum; from the west end of the hall a wing containing rows of shops between porticoes projected northwards, to be matched probably by another wing at the east end.⁴⁸ Again the similarity of this building and the central basilica could give rise to confusion; it was, however, little more than half the length of the latter and no provision had been made for a tribunal, leaving its purely commercial function in no doubt. Another, much smaller building, stands between the forum and bath-house at Wroxeter, but these four *macella* are unlikely to be the only British examples of a type of structure that is comparatively common in the larger towns of other provinces.

The great majority of tradesmen in the towns carried on their business either from residential shops or from rented premises in the forum or market, probably leaving the porticoes and open spaces in the public markets for itinerant merchants or country folk. But there would be nothing to prevent local tradesmen taking a temporary stall for market day and so reaping extra benefit. The shops often cluster together in the centres of towns to form whole streets, whose commercial character is left in no doubt by their presence. Three main types of shopkeeper can be envisaged: the owner, the freedman-tenant and the slave-manager. A fourth type might possibly be envisaged for Britain: free-born retainers of humble origin, derived from the old Celtic society, being used as managers or even tenants. The first two categories can be suggested for the shops already mentioned (p. 63) as having been built at Cirencester and Verulamium respectively in their early years. At Cirencester, excavation has shown that a row of shops opposite the market-hall had been rebuilt on a piecemeal basis; as each owner amassed enough capital, he rebuilt his shop in stone instead of wood, so that for a time timber shops were mixed side-by-side with those built in stone and only by the fourth century were all of stone.⁴⁹ Development of this sort implies that each plot was separately owned, probably by the shopkeeper in person. At best, two adjacent shops

were sometimes joined together with communicating doors, suggesting a man in a rather more prosperous business. The emphasis seems to be on personal ownership with a variety of gradations showing different degrees of success. At Verulamium, Frere has shown that the block of shops in *Insula* xiv,⁵⁰ first built in the early Claudian period, was almost certainly erected as a business venture by one or more prominent local landowners, who probably let out individual premises to freed slaves or retainers. After being burnt by Boudicca they were rebuilt on a very similar pattern, but later rebuilding (*viz.* Period IIC, *c.* AD 130–50) began to show fragmentation of the original landholding; later still (*viz.* Period IID, *c.* AD 150–60) there are at least three or four alleys dividing them into four or five blocks. Lastly these blocks were reduced to two by the later third century. Management by a slave is best illustrated by the inscription from Norton (Yorks.) referring to a goldsmith's shop.⁵¹

Most shops were narrow buildings with their long axes at right angles to the street on to which they opened. When placed close together this naturally fitted as many as possible into a given length of street, so making the best use of the more favoured frontages near the town centre. But there is a growing tendency among archaeologists to believe that commerce and light industry was confined only to such buildings, which is simply not so. Numerous examples occur elsewhere in the Empire, notably at Timgad, Pompeii and Ostia, where quite often the whole front portions of the most elaborate houses were used for trade. Such shops, though, it must be admitted, are not always so easy to identify as simple strip buildings, but some in Britain were of this type, such as those at Colchester, Verulamium, Wroxeter and possibly also at Silchester. The end fronting the street of a strip building usually contained a single wide door which could be closed with wooden shutters. To protect the fronts from rain when open, and also to give cover for customers, porticoes or arcades were often provided in the larger towns. Internal divisions

tended to follow a pre-set pattern, depending on whether there was an upper storey. Richmond believed that upper floors existed and quoted a possible example visible on Trajan's Column.⁵² If so, then the residential quarters of the shopkeeper would most probably have been on the first floor, while the ground floor was kept for business. But an upper storey could also have been used as a storage loft, either in whole or in part. The ground floor is often divided between a reasonably large, open area at the front and a number of smaller rooms behind; if an upper floor was used for storage, or did not exist, these rooms at the rear would have provided accommodation on the ground floor. When shops were packed closely together, the only possible way to expand was by extending the premises to the rear, which is precisely what can be seen on the plan of the *Insula xiv* shops at Verulamium in the mid-second century (see fig. 107).

The way in which business was carried out in these shops has been summarized most succinctly by Richmond: 'It is the direct antithesis of the multiple store: not large-scale industry engaged in mass production of large stocks of standard goods, but a small concern producing to individual requirements goods specifically ordered, such as might be commissioned on one market-day and ready on the next.'⁵³

The trade itself might be considered, as today, in two sections: goods and services. The former would include the sale, and possible manufacture on the spot, of a very wide range of materials. Unfortunately, we can rarely, if at all, determine in what goods or services a particular shop dealt. Normally, before a shop was pulled down, all the goods would have been sold already, or at least packed, with a view to reopening the business in a new building. Little would be left to indicate what had been there. Even if something had been accidentally left, only hardware like pottery, glass and metals could be expected to survive in British soil conditions; unless the ground rapidly became waterlogged and remained so, organic materials would not be found in an excavation. Fittings and

fixtures like hearths, ovens, or waste-bins might help to solve the problem, but who is to say, in the absence of other evidence, to what special purpose a simple oven was put, when a whole series of catering or semi-industrial processes might be suggested for it. Only if the shop suffered a disaster like a fire, would one expect to find the contents still in it. Despite this rather gloomy picture, there is still some evidence for a variety of activities, even if it is widely scattered and cannot be attributed to one town alone. A secondary source of information is fortunately provided by pictorial representations on funeral monuments, mainly, however, from other provinces. In the Vatican museum there is an excellent representation on a tombstone of a cutler's shop, while another in Dresden Museum shows a butcher's shop which would not be out of place in a town today, and is a reminder of the Cirencester market-hall.

Direct evidence for pottery and glassware shops has been found at Colchester, where also a coppersmith, *Cintismus*, had his workshop. Another coppersmith, *Glaucus*, signed his name on a statuette found at Martlesham (Suffolk); yet a third, *Celatus*, probably worked in Lincoln.⁵⁴ Coppersmiths' workshops themselves have been identified at Verulamium and Catterick. A goldsmith has already been mentioned at Norton (Yorks.), and another's shop has been found at Verulamium; there were also goldsmiths at London and Cirencester. A glassmaker set up in business in the Leicester market-hall during the fourth century, where, as a sideline, he seems also to have been engaged in the highly illegal activity⁵⁵ of melting down the base silver coinage to recover the silver. A silversmith ran a large establishment at Silchester, which was equipped with its own cupellation furnace for silver recovery. Other, often profitable information, comes from altars or building dedications. An altar from Cirencester mentions *Sulinus*, a *sculptor* or superior stone-mason, who also worked at Bath.⁵⁶ Ordinary stone-masons or *lapidarii* have left samples of their work at Bisley (Glos.) as well as

Bath.⁵⁷ A bronze square, belonging to a mason, or perhaps a carpenter named Valenus, has been found at Canterbury.⁵⁸ Merchants are known from both *coloniae* at York and Lincoln. Finds of ironwork at Silchester, Verulamium and Great Chesterford imply the presence of blacksmiths, while a tombstone showing one at work is known at York. The agricultural implements, which are included in these hoards, serve as a reminder that probably most farmers, unless they were fortunate enough to be the tenant of a large landowner with a resident smith on the estate, would have had to go to 'the nearest town or village to buy new implements or have old ones repaired – a theme which will be developed more fully below. There were glassworks at York, Mancetter, Wilderspool and at Caistor-by-Norwich, which seem to have produced window glass and possibly common domestic vessels. Pottery was manufactured outside many towns, such as Lincoln and Colchester, and was probably on sale in shops or stalls in the towns; merchants selling *mortaria* and samian ware had stalls in one of the porticoes of the Wroxeter forum. Some towns, such as Gloucester, also possessed their own municipal brickworks.

Buildings at Silchester have been interpreted as a dye-works from the circular furnaces they contained, but such furnaces would fit some other trades just as adequately. It is not known to what extent bakers' shops existed, since much grain was home-ground and also probably home-baked, but large donkey-driven millstones from London and Canterbury, part of two shafts from millwheels from Lincoln and fragments of mechanically driven millstones from a number of places imply their existence, since bakers ground their own corn. A large iron slice for turning loaves while in the oven has been found at Verulamium, while an ornamental mould for impressing cakes or loaves comes from Silchester. The list can be extended further but begins to become tenuous when such occupations as brewers, cobblers, tanners, tailors and suchlike trades are considered. Probable tanneries, though, are indicated at York and in the 'small' towns of Alcester and Catterick; the latter

may have had a military origin. But the commonest survivals of all these trades are usually the tools employed in their practice, and these have a wide distribution.

What might be called the 'service' trades often tended to overlap with the production of goods; blacksmiths repaired as well as manufactured ironwork, fullers not only treated and prepared new cloth but also acted as launderers. But there must have been snack-bars and hostleries in many towns, although, apart from the official *mansiones*, they are difficult to identify. There is, however, an indication of a snack-bar in the forum at Caerwent whose main item on the menu seems to have been oysters. A bank was the suggestion made for one of the rooms in the forum at Silchester, while an enterprising shopkeeper at Verulamium increased his profits by providing a row of public lavatories.

There is one common aspect in all these trading activities which, because there is little direct evidence, is more often than not taken for granted and therefore possibly underestimated. It might be called in modern terminology, an 'invisible export' from the towns to the countryside: the flow or sale of ideas. We have already suggested earlier in this chapter that the new towns would tend to attract the more go-ahead and ambitious people, who would be prepared to accept and develop new techniques to do with farming, building and other processes. The provincial administration often encouraged towns to be centres of education, but presumably not only in Latin and civilized manners; Romanization implied more than that.

It was also the responsibility of the administration to collect taxes. But they knew very well that you could not tax what did not exist; hence the anxiety of Classicianus after the Boudiccan rebellion,⁵⁹ and Agricola's lessening of the tax burden.⁶⁰ Complete expropriation of all produce might have answered for Caesar during his expeditions, but it was not a suitable policy for a lengthy occupation. It was presumably known also that there was a point beyond which, if tax was increased, total revenue declined, a factor

familiar to every modern Chancellor of the Exchequer, even if in the fourth century the margin was sometimes run close or exceeded. It was therefore very much in the interests of the administration to encourage increased production especially of agricultural goods. New ideas or techniques to achieve this aim would presumably, and in the main, have first reached the towns by the activities of travelling salesmen, whence they would gradually have become copied and then disseminated in the countryside.

In any society, but especially in those which depend more on the spoken than on the written word, gossip is one of the most potent ways of circulating news, whether true or untrue, garbled or concise. Gossip would have been a normal part of every market day in every town or village in Roman Britain. So, in time, news of more and better agricultural implements or practices would filter through to the country farmers, followed by the implements themselves, for the earliest examples would probably have been made and sold by a town blacksmith.

It is frequently stated that the Romans brought little fresh knowledge of agriculture to Britain, that what was new produced only marginal advances, and that it was chiefly improved by indirect means such as better roads, markets and administration. In many ways this is true, but to say so is to overlook in part the *total* sum of the improvements. Rivet has calculated that a minimum of 106,000 acres (42,900ha) of cereal crops alone would have been required to feed the army in Britain during the first century,⁶¹ and this figure does not allow a profit to the producer, nor fodder for the large number of horses, or other draught animals. Such a figure must imply a tremendous increase in production, especially with the growing markets in the towns and villages to be supplied as well. By any standards this was a great improvement, even a great achievement, simply because more land was being used with greater efficiency than before: what had been untilled waste was now under cultivation. But it was achieved strictly within the bounds of the

agricultural knowledge of the day. To look for more will not carry us much further; to expect more, is like blaming the Romans for not making use of the aeroplane to improve their communications! In the last 2000 years of agriculture the only real revolution has been brought about by the internal combustion engine; almost all other changes have been concerned with marginal alterations to well-established, traditional methods.

Reduced to its essentials it might be said that the ploughs of Roman Britain were not necessarily very much *better* than the Celtic ploughs, but that there must have been far *more* of them in use, and that they must have been distributed more widely among all classes of farmers. If a man, who had used a spade or hoe to cultivate a plot of ground, bought a plough, and by doing so was able to cultivate not only the original plot but another twice the size, then who can deny that this was an improvement? It could be argued that such changes might have come in time even without Roman intervention in Britain, or that they might have been produced by an occupation of a totally military nature. However, places unaffected by the Romans, where Celtic agriculture continued unchanged, do not always encourage acceptance of the first argument, while it is difficult to see how compulsion under military government could ever have produced the increase in cultivation which took place. There must therefore have been voluntary acceptance of the conquest in the countryside as well as in the towns. The rate of acceptance, however, would not have been evenly spread and some parts of the country were slower than others to adopt new ways. Moreover, it is apparent that the most rapid acceptance took place round towns and villages, and that areas where these were sparsely distributed or non-existent often remained far longer in a more primitive agricultural state.

We started this discussion by considering the 'export' of ideas from towns and proceeded by way of education, taxation and increased agricultural production until we have now arrived back at the towns. Two hundred years ago Adam Smith

reported that the most highly developed agricultural nations were precisely those in which industry and commerce were also developed to an equal or greater degree. He also noted that the most prosperous country areas were to be found near cities, with the poorest agriculture further away.⁶² To some extent these observations are still true today, while they describe almost exactly the situation in Roman Britain.

But while it is easy to observe facts, drawing correct deductions from them is often fraught with difficulty. However, it would appear that all towns, and to a lesser extent villages, were an essential prerequisite to the development of prosperous farming, not so much because they provided a market for agricultural produce – the necessary surplus to feed the towns can only have come *after* they started to develop – but because they would have been the first to adopt new ideas and techniques and put them into practice. A measure of proof is provided by the events of the fifth century, when the towns were quite capable of looking after themselves, long after communications with the farms had been cut or rendered unsafe. It might be said that at the centre of each developing country area there was a town providing the impetus; with the situation reversed and in decay, it was the town at the centre which was capable of surviving longest. The interdependence between the towns and the countryside is often stressed, and we can now see the nature of the relationship, which was heavily weighted in favour of the towns; the pattern of agricultural settlement that emerged in Roman Britain could not have been produced without the towns and villages and could not have survived, indeed did not survive, in isolation.

This is a far cry from Collingwood's view: 'Economically, the towns were parasitic on the countryside. They had to be fed by it, and the goods they produced, together with the services they rendered as markets and trading-centres, were no adequate return for the food they consumed and the expenditure which they

demanded for the upkeep of their public services. They had their industries; but these consisted only to a small extent in the production of goods needed in the country; most of them were luxury-trades whose produce was mostly used in the towns themselves. They did a large business in retail trade, selling pottery made in Gaul and other imports, but, here again, the total quantity of these goods which found its way into the country districts was the barest fraction of what the towns consumed. From the strictly economic point of view the towns were a luxury.'⁶³ Despite the fact that we now have much more information than Collingwood, it is still extremely difficult to quantify the factors which must form the basis for this argument. Any essay into the realms of the ancient economy is entering a minefield littered with the bones of redundant or exploded theories, and this is not the place to add them. Yet Collingwood's views still hold credence in some quarters.⁶⁴ It is worth pointing out, though, the simple fact that, parasitical or not, most towns, large and small, became successful realities accepted by a large proportion of the population and presumably, therefore, a necessary element in a system which included economic viability. Initially, most of the inhabitants of the towns must have come from the countryside (see p. 43 above); we cannot estimate how much coercion was used, but probably not a great deal. The incentive, therefore, behind this migration was to make 'a fast buck'; the incentive activated by greed and ambition, which has worked probably since man first stood upright, and which is still active today. Had it not, the map of Roman Britain, indeed the Roman Empire, would have looked very different from the familiar one we know.

In the opening sentence of this chapter it was stressed that towns also acted as centres for protection, simply by virtue of the fact that a large number of people living together can defend themselves better than small, isolated pockets or individuals. This protective function was frequently enhanced by the provision of physical

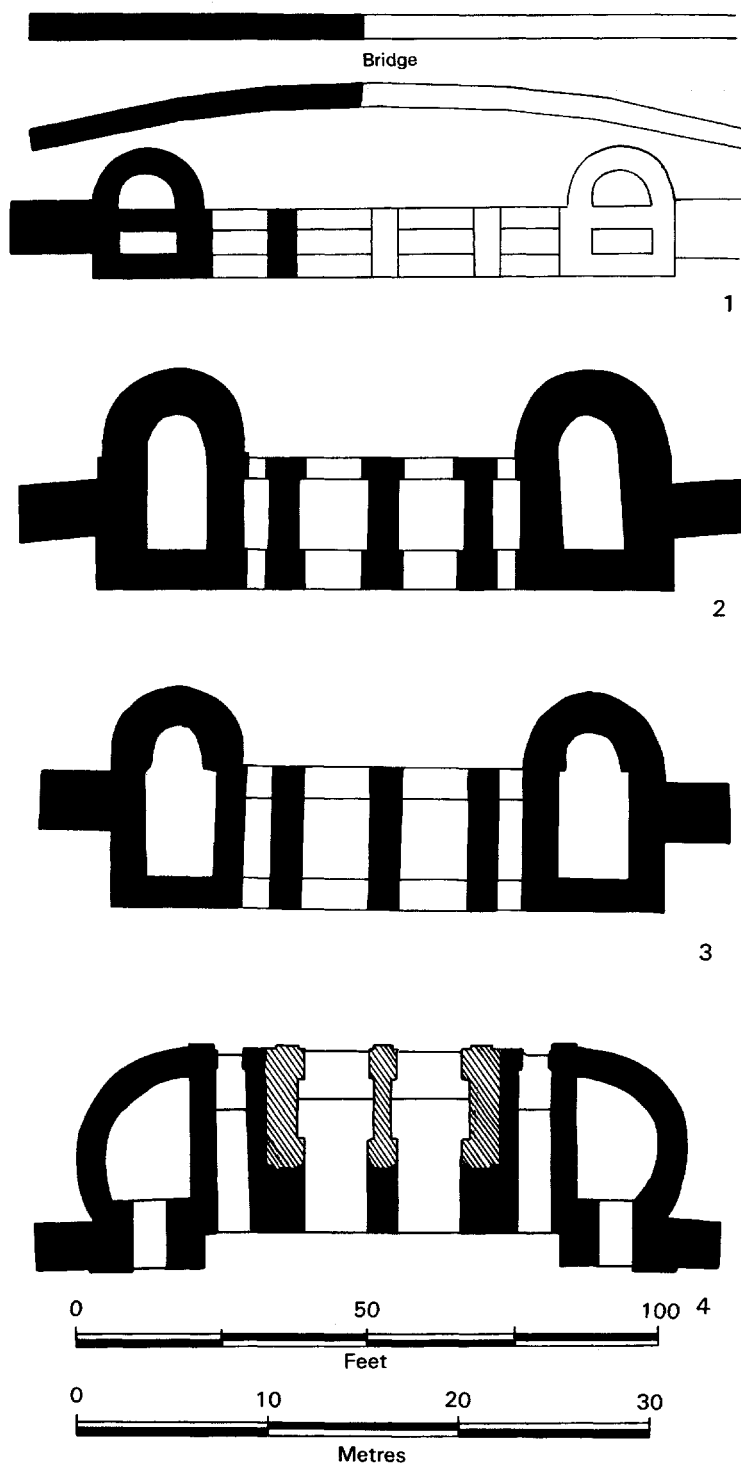
fortifications. Much has been written about the latter both in sum and individually, and it is only necessary here to summarize the current views at present obtaining on town defences in general.⁶⁵

Few towns in Britain were fortified during the first century. Not only were defences unnecessary by virtue of the military situation, but it is also likely that they could only be erected with the permission of the governor and possibly that of the emperor as well. Only at Verulamium, Winchester and seemingly at Chichester is there any evidence for defensive circuits of earthwork, dating to the first century, among the *civitas* capitals. But the three military *coloniae* tell a different story. Colchester was possibly walled during the same period, although some alternative interpretations of successive periods of fortification still exist. Lincoln and Gloucester, while basically reusing the earlier legionary defences, were provided with narrow-gauge masonry walls, either at the end of the first century or very early in the second. It is difficult to ascertain the reasons behind the latter provisions. It may be that civic pride was the motive for their erection: as chartered towns they could have more readily qualified for permission as others, such as Aosta and Nîmes, had done under Augustus, although Aosta probably needed defences as a protection against Alpine tribes.

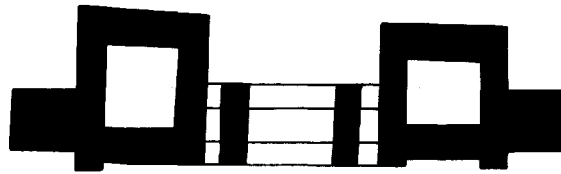
Many more towns were fortified during the second century, mostly by earthworks, accompanied by either timber or masonry ancillary works such as gates and towers. As yet, however, general agreement has still to be reached on the combinations of structural materials, the reasons for their construction, and their dates. Much depends on whether there was a concerted policy of fortification, either in anticipation, or in the wake, of some internal or external disturbance; such a policy could have been initiated by the governor, perhaps on the instructions, or with the approval, of the emperor. Alternatively, each town could have been treated individually, in which case the erection of fortifications, town by

town, might have taken place over an extended period of time. The difficulties of interpretation are compounded by the notorious problem of dating urban defences in Britain, where no inscriptions relating to them have survived. A further complication arises from the changes in the fashionable opinions of excavators. There was a time, more than thirty years ago, when free-standing, urban earthwork fortifications had been recognized at a very small handful of sites, such as Silchester and Verulamium (where there were two different circuits), only because they followed different alignments from the later masonry walls. Then followed a period when these free-standing earthworks were being identified in almost every large and many 'small' towns, and various theories were advanced to explain them.⁶⁶ Now, however, there has been something of a reversal, and a number of towns hitherto thought to have been first defended by earthworks have been declared to have ramparts contemporary with masonry walls. There are possibly good reasons for this apparent *volte-face*, which are considered below. In the meantime the present position can be summarized.

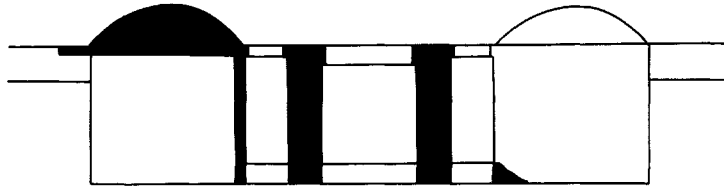
Second-century earthwork defences have now been generally accepted as existing at the following *civitas* capitals: Verulamium (probably unfinished), Chelmsford, Caistor-by-Norwich, Silchester, Winchester, Cirencester, Dorchester, Exeter, Wroxeter, Caerwent and Carmarthen and at Brough-on-Humber (if it was a town); additionally, the lower town at Lincoln may have been fortified in part by an earth bank surmounted by a fence, while quite a number of 'small' towns can also be included. Contemporary timber gates have been uncovered at Silchester (north and south-east), Exeter (south) and have been inferred at Wroxeter; an internal timber interval tower can be postulated at Cirencester, alongside those of masonry. At Silchester, and possibly at Exeter, the known timber gates were replaced by masonry during the earthwork's life-span. In addition, Silchester, Verulamium (London and Chester



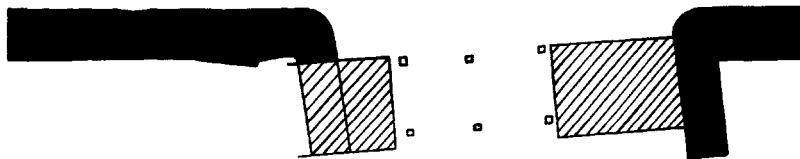
28 Plans of gates: (1) Cirencester, Verulamium Gate; (2) Verulamium, London Gate; (3) Verulamium, Chester Gate; (4) Colchester, Balmerne Gate. Exterior is to the top of the page in this and the next five figures



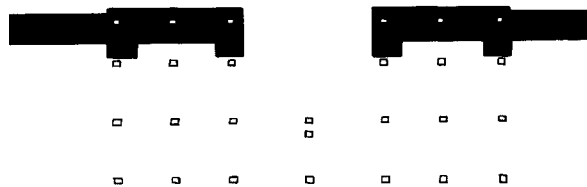
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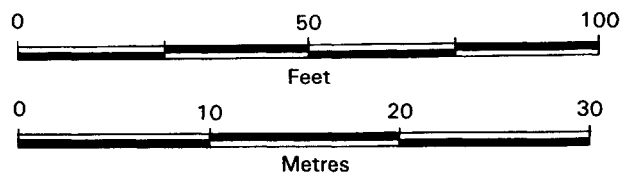
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29 Plans of gates: (5) Verulamium, Silchester Gate; (6) Lincoln, North Gate; (7) Winchester, South Gate, first century; (8) Lincoln, East Gate, second century

gates) and Cirencester (Verulamium Gate and probably the Bath Gate) also possessed at least some masonry gates apparently contemporary with, but stratigraphically earlier than, the earthworks.

All the above sites, except Chelmsford, were later provided with masonry curtain walls, usually inserted into the front of the existing earthworks. Dorchester, however, had the curious feature of a massive foundation for an unfinished masonry wall covered by the first earthwork. During early investigations at Chichester and Aldborough, the banks were taken to be contemporary with the walls; then followed a phase when the latter were deemed to have been inserted into existing earthworks. But more recent interpretations have now reversed the situation, so that the walls and banks once again appear to coincide in time.

The remaining towns – London, Canterbury, Leicester and York – were apparently from the first defended by the normal combination of wall and bank, London towards the end of the second or early third century, the others at somewhat later dates.

If the first rash of urban fortification in the second century took place piecemeal, then it is probably right to assume that there was no common cause,⁶⁷ while questions of pride can scarcely apply to earthworks. But remembering how notoriously difficult it is to date fortifications in Britain, they could, alternatively, have been erected in response to some internal, or external, threat common to all but a few: the second century was throughout its course punctuated by a sequence of such events. If this was so, then, as has been frequently argued, the date ascribed to the latest circuit could be taken to apply to all in this group, no matter what different individual dates are assigned to each. Moreover, the idea of a single cause receives some support from the contemporary legal position in Rome. By the second half of the second century, and probably before, permission to fortify had to be sought from the governor, who in turn was almost

certainly bound to consult the emperor.⁶⁸

Earthwork defences imply either economy or emergency. In so far as economy is concerned, the period in question was a time when the imperial administration was certainly trying to limit the financial excesses of some urban communities, but it is not possible to say whether this was being tried or even needed in Britain. As for emergency, there were more than enough episodes to account for it being the initiating factor, and the latest dating evidence from any of these earthworks would favour a date between 185 and 200. Frere has argued⁶⁹ that such work would be carried out as a reaction to, rather than in anticipation of, a crisis, and he therefore cites the invasion and killing of the governor in 180–4. He furthermore proposes that the masonry works, such as gates and towers which, in some cases, appear to have been built before the earthworks were erected, were in fact later insertions made after considerable lengths of the banks had been cut away, with the resulting gaps being plugged after the masonry structures had been completed; but nowhere has this been proved. Moreover, if reaction rather than anticipation to a disturbance is to be seen as the cause, why was work not everywhere completed in stone? There was no hurry; had not the danger passed? Also, why did not the Chattan excursions into the Rhineland, or the Marcomannic wars in the Danube provinces at about the same time, result in a rash of earthwork defences around towns in those regions?

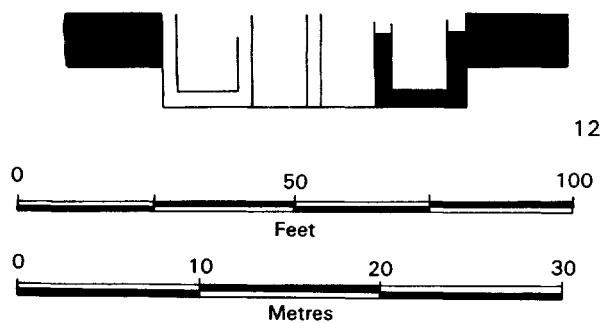
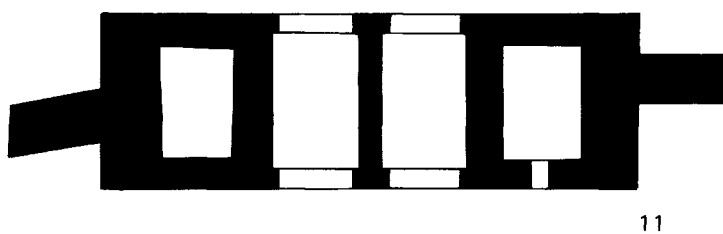
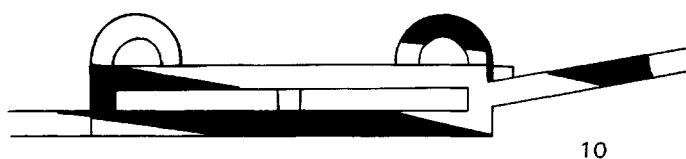
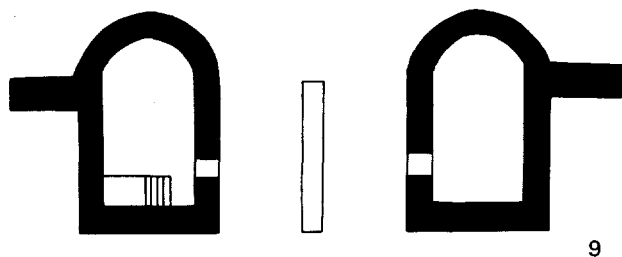
An alternative explanation would see the masonry works as the beginning of a programme to provide defences in this medium throughout the province, possibly in anticipation of a crisis, or as the result of a growing sense of insecurity. If this anticipation then became a full-blown emergency, it is not surprising that the whole work would be completed as quickly as possible with the most readily obtainable materials, earth and timber. The historical episode that would best suit this explanation would be the usurping of imperial power by the British governor, Clodius Albinus,

following the assassination of Commodus. It is the only occasion in second-century Britain for which anticipation, rather than reaction, might be acknowledged as the cause, for Albinus must indeed have anticipated the inevitable day when he would have to contest his claim outside the province. He probably foresaw the need for fortifications to protect the towns in the absence of most of the British garrison. But time ran out and he had to take the field sooner than expected, only just after the programme had started. Hence the rapid completion in earthwork and timber, which resulted in the apparently uncoordinated existence together of masonry, timber and earthwork. It must also be remembered that Britain is unique in possessing this type of urban fortifications. Consequently, one must seek an equally unique reason to explain them, and, at the time, the episode of Albinus was certainly that.

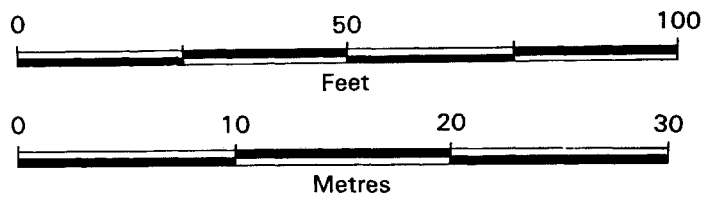
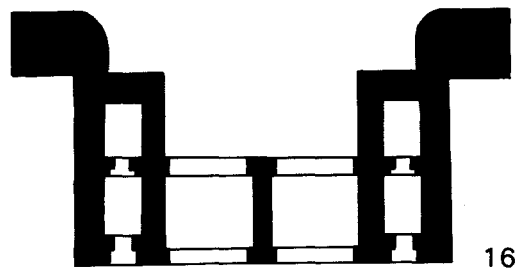
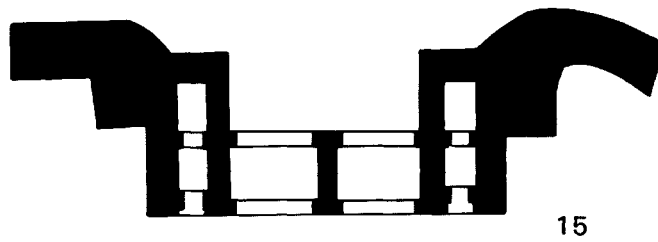
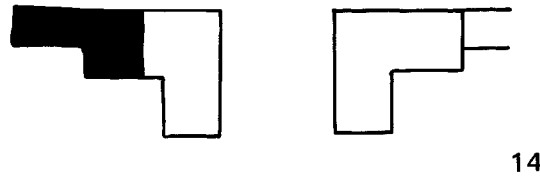
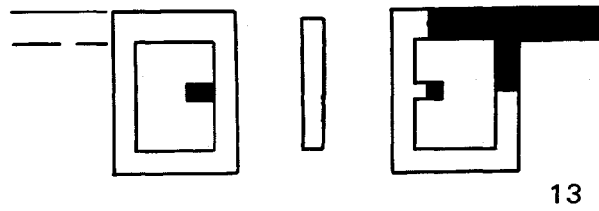
The provision of stone walls for hitherto unfortified towns, and for those previously fortified only by earthworks, appears to have begun in the early third century, and continued for several decades, possibly for as long as fifty years or more. The reasons for commencing this huge construction programme are obscure, but they may have been connected with the desire to make more permanent the earlier earthworks. It is clear from evidence now available that the work was carried out at an uneven rate, with possible interruptions and changes of plan, but by the fourth century all towns of any importance in Britain had been given permanent linear fortifications, made up of three main elements. The stone wall itself was anything from four to ten feet thick and was backed by a solid bank of earth, which usually, but not always, incorporated any pre-existing earthwork: the total width of rampart could vary from about 15ft (4.6m) up to 40ft (12m) or more. In front of the wall was a system of ditches, usually limited to one or two, but occasionally incorporating more. Some towns are known, such as Canterbury, Cirencester, Gloucester, Lincoln and Verulamium, where square interval towers were attached to the

inner face of the wall. Gates, with a few exceptions, such as some of those at Cirencester, Verulamium, Lincoln and Colchester, normally had one or two portals; whether towers were placed over them, or omitted altogether, was usually governed by the number and placing of the portals (figs 28–33).

When account is taken of the many different variations and combinations of defensive works – earth, turf, timber, masonry, revetments, narrow walls, broad walls, internal and external towers, and different styles of gate – and when this is added to a time span of about 150 years or more during which the work was being carried out, it is becoming increasingly apparent that, once work was started on defending a town, it rarely stopped, except for short intervals. A situation akin to painting the Forth Bridge must be envisaged, for only in this way is it possible to understand the complexities which are often seen in excavations. The single example of Cirencester acts as a good demonstration: an earthwork allied with masonry gates and a mixture of timber and masonry towers was first supplemented by a narrow-gauge wall, 4ft (1.2m) thick. This wall was subsequently rebuilt or thickened against its inside face roughly to double its width, but by no means everywhere on the circuit, so that each section of thickening cannot necessarily be taken as contemporary with all the others. Moreover, since the widening was made against the inside face, there was disturbance of the contemporary rampart as well as the earlier earthwork. As many as five or six different styles of facing have so far been observed on only a 164ft (50m) length; yet the full circuit is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles (4km) long. Consequently, it must be accepted that repairs of some sort were being carried out almost continuously. In 1967, the then Ministry of Public Building and Works decided to expose and conserve a section of the wall in the abbey grounds. This was duly completed, but despite the use of modern waterproofing materials, the exposed facing stones have already begun to disintegrate in just over



30 Plans of gates: (9) Lincoln, East Gate, third century; (10) Cirencester, Bath Gate; (11) London, Newgate; (12) Exeter, South Gate



31 Plans of gates: (13) Gloucester, east gate; (14) Gloucester, north gate; (15) Silchester, west gate; (16) Silchester, east gate

twenty years. Even allowing for the fact that stone which has been buried has but poor resistance to the weather on re-exposure, it is not a very long life⁷⁰ and indicates that repairs would have been needed quite frequently.

Clearly, then, the evidence from traditionally cut sections across fortifications, no matter how many, will never give reliable dating, because, by their very selective nature, it will be impossible to tell which phase of the defensive sequence is being sampled. The dating of linear fortifications has always been subject in the past to the premise that the entire circuit of any one phase was homogeneous and built at the same time; this will no longer do. Only by excavating stretches, as for example at Gloucester, Lincoln and Cirencester, will the complete picture become clearer; but even then some doubts will remain as to which piece represents the earliest, primary work.⁷¹

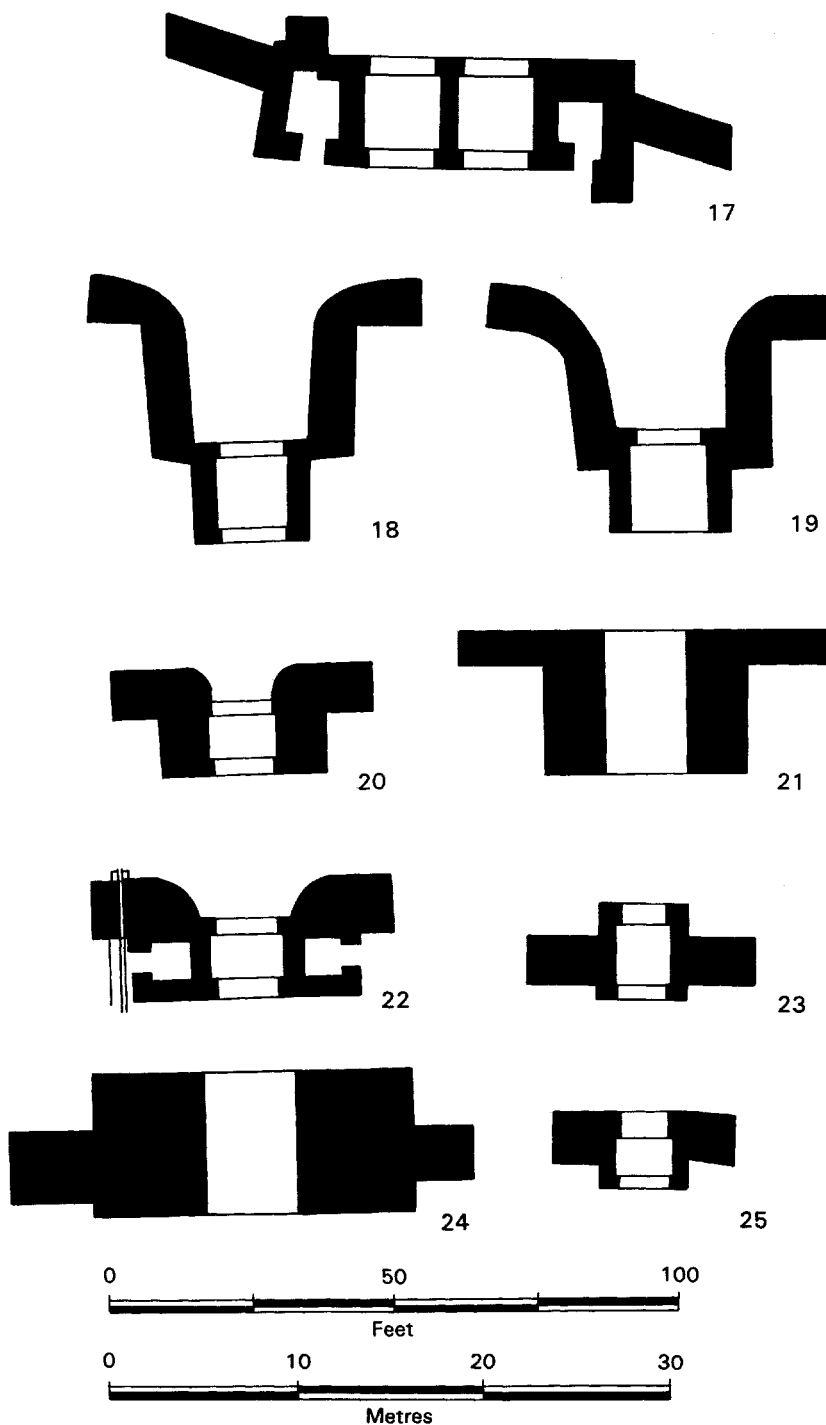
Changing patterns of military strategy and tactics during the late third and fourth centuries brought about further modification of town defences and so, in effect, prolonged yet again the work devoted to them. In many towns external towers were added to existing walls, although in one case, Caistor-by-Norwich, some at least seem to be contemporary with the wall. It used to be thought that these modifications were carried out on the instructions of Count Theodosius, the reputed restorer of Britain's fortifications in the years immediately after the barbarian conspiracy and invasion in the 360s.⁷² Yet in some cases, as at Cirencester, the dating for the towers would seem to be too early, and other causes may have to be sought, if, indeed, there were any specific ones. Moreover, their addition was not carried out evenly throughout the British provinces; for instance, Cirencester seems to have been provided with them all round the complete circuit, whereas Caerwent has them on the north and south walls but apparently not on the east and west sides. Silchester appears to have none, while Verulamium has so far produced only two near the south corner. Another oddity is that, apart from Lincoln and Brough-on-Humber, none seem to have been

placed beside gates. If projecting towers are found attached to gates, as at Cirencester and Verulamium, they are invariably part of the original structure, and usually belong to an earlier phase of fortification. Variations also occur in shape and size, ranging through rectangular, fan-shaped, semicircular and horseshoe to polygonal.

It has been suggested that these external towers were intended for the better deployment of artillery,⁷³ in which case the lack of consistency in their provision might reflect the limited availability of such weapons and the trained personnel to man them. But objections have been raised to this theory and an alternative suggestion has been made, which seems just as valid. In this it is proposed that the towers formed vertical concentrations of defenders hurling conventional missiles, or using small, hand-held torsion weapons, with which to enfilade the front face of the wall; the wall-walk alone could not provide this facility⁷⁴ and this would certainly do away with the need for trained artillerymen.

Nothing is yet known in Britain of the way in which urban defences were manned, nor have any buildings been discovered which might have acted as barracks for a garrison. In the circumstances, therefore, it seems likely that there was some sort of local militia recruited from the inhabitants, despite Rome's abhorrence of the formation of such groups, even for fire-fighting. Otherwise, without defenders, there would have been little point in the expenditure of so much money on fortifications.

There is, though, one further aspect of these fortifications, most applicable to Britain, which is worthy of comment, and which was briefly introduced above (p. 33). It is becoming increasingly apparent that, with the exception of the *coloniae*, most of the walls of the *civitas* capitals enclosed far greater areas than could ever have been required for building, at a time when construction work in towns was already stagnant. By no conceivable stretch of the imagination can it be believed that the builders of the day foresaw the possibility that houses would extend up to the



32 Plans of gates: (17) Canterbury, Riding Gate; (18) Silchester, south gate; (19) Silchester, north gate; (20) Colchester, north-east gate; (21) Lincoln, north-west gate; (22) Caistor-by-Norwich, south gate; (23) Caerwent, south gate; (24) Lincoln, south-west gate; (25) Caerwent, north gate



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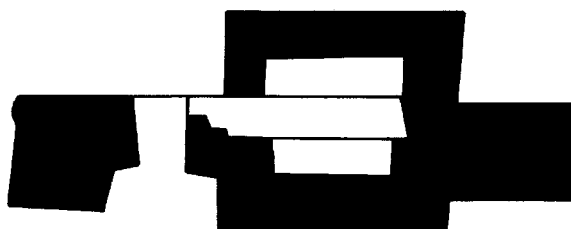
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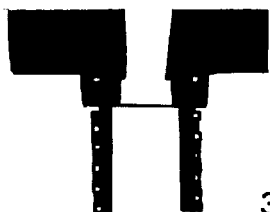
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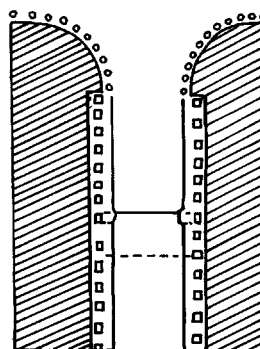
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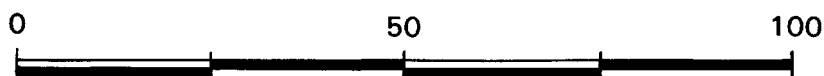
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32



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Feet



Metres

33 Plans of gates: (26) Canterbury, London Gate; (27) Silchester, south-west gate; (28) Canterbury, Quenin Gate; (29) Silchester, amphitheatre gate; (30) Winchester, north-east (water) gate; (31) Lincoln, south-east postern (Saltergate); (32) Silchester, south-east (masonry) gate; (33) Silchester, south-east (timber) gate

walls. In many cases, not even the street systems were enlarged that far. Prime examples are Verulamium (p. 227), where the latter only partly outgrew the late-first-century boundary; Cirencester (p. 318), where many of the streets did not stretch as far as the earlier earth bank, and only isolated, mainly late, buildings occur outside the central core; Canterbury (p. 201) and Wroxeter (p. 374). Silchester (p. 287) is possibly an exception; Caerwent may be another, but it is also exceptional for its small size and for the standard of its housing (p. 380). But other towns may yet be found to follow this pattern.

This curious factor is in direct contrast to what was happening in the adjacent 'small' towns, where the walled area usually only enclosed the settlement's central core, and also in Gaul and Germany, where many of the late-third-century walled circuits did likewise, drastically reducing the protected areas.

One, or even two, examples of this behaviour in Britain may have been mistakes. But enough are now known to be able to point to what was probably a piece of deliberate, if expensive, planning, whereby areas for pasture or cultivation were catered for in the defensive provisions. Two reasons might be advanced to explain this phenomenon. It could indicate the supreme importance of farm produce in the economic life of the community, which was worth protecting in times of uncertainty. Or it could indicate the presence of rich and powerful land-owners, who had sufficient influence to dictate the lines of fortifications, and who perhaps were the builders of the urban farms that have now been identified in some towns.

It is difficult to assess the overall effect of the construction of masonry defences. The initial capital outlay must have been considerable, while the upkeep and modification would have caused a

continual drain on resources, probably requiring greater and more costly maintenance than an earth bank; once the latter was stabilized, it would have needed little attention. Otherwise the effects at first were probably very slight, but with the growing insecurity of the third and fourth centuries they would have undoubtedly given a comfortable feeling to the inhabitants. Apart from giving protection to essential administrative centres with their records, they would also have protected individual wealth, as well as official supplies of food, from brigands and robbers. Their existence probably provided much-needed confidence for farmers and country dwellers who continued to occupy unprotected settlements. Town fortifications, however, as a major investment, did not fully pay dividends until the fifth century. Then, the collapse of central government meant that many towns were henceforth on their own. There is more than enough evidence to show that most managed tolerably well behind the protection of their walls.

Short of treachery, famine or disease they were more than a match for the Anglo-Saxon raiders, who were unable to engage in lengthy siege warfare. Now also they must have become refuges for the inhabitants of outlying farms and unfortified villages. In many cases these farmers not only had to contend with dangerous situations, but also had to face an almost complete loss of earnings owing to the breakdown in communications.

The protective functions of towns, therefore, although always present to some extent from the first, became of prime importance only during the evening of their existence. Towns have been described as the last bastions of Romano-British civilization;⁷⁵ as bastions they protected that civilization until, for a variety of reasons, it no longer survived.



TOWNS AS PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

It is unlikely that the Romans had at first any clear ideas for the foundation in Britain of a provincial capital of a type which later emerged at London. The establishment of the headquarters of the imperial cult at Colchester under Claudius should in no way be taken to indicate that the town was intended also to act as the administrative centre for the province. As the only site, before the conquest, which might with justification have been called the 'capital' of Britain, it was the obvious choice for the cult centre, for there the cult would have made the greatest impact on the native Britons. Camulodunum had become the capital of Cunobelin about AD 10 and ultimately, due to his conquests, the 'capital' of most of southern Britain. But it would not follow that what suited Cunobelin, and the general economic way of life of Belgic Britain, would necessarily provide the same facilities in the changed conditions after the conquest. Naturally though, Camulodunum, as the British 'capital', was also the most attractive site for the first town in Roman Britain, in addition to it being chosen as the cult centre.

The term 'provincial capital' is somewhat anachronistic, but convenient, in the present context. It means, in effect, the centre where the

governor resided and where other aspects of the provincial administration were often, but not always, sited. But for most of the first century the governors of Britain were heavily engaged on campaigns. Since the governor also headed the civil administration, the provincial 'capital' tended to be wherever he was but he would also visit those places which acted as assize centres (*conventus*) for Roman citizens. At first in Britain, few such centres would have been needed since there was no great number of citizens; indeed Colchester may have been the only one, since it probably contained the largest concentration. There would also have been a need for a centre for the more stationary forms of government, such as the procurator's office, but there is no indication that this was ever at Colchester. We know, however, that the veterans at Colchester had to send away to the procurator for aid at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion, an unnecessary request if the treasury had been in the colonia. Moreover, Julius Classicianus, the procurator immediately after the rebellion, died in service and was buried in London.¹ The presumption is that the procurator's office was at London after the rebellion, if not before.

With the situation in Britain becoming more settled and with less campaigning by the end of the Flavian period, the need was probably felt for a

permanent residence for the governor in the south. The choice of a site at London rather than at Colchester for this building² requires some explanation, for it placed the final seal of success on London as a town and provides the present justification for calling it a provincial capital.

We know that by AD 60, London was a thriving settlement of merchants, even if it was not then a chartered town,³ and it is probable that a number of merchants were Roman citizens. The latter, perhaps together with a growing number of citizens in the south and east, might have led to the establishment of another assize centre at London more conveniently placed than at Colchester.

It is usually claimed that London reached its pre-eminent position by virtue of its superior geographical situation. To claim this, however, is both to omit a link in the chain and to ignore other factors. It must be remembered that, immediately before the conquest, Colchester was the chief trading centre of south-east England, at a time when London counted for nothing. Basically the geographical situation of Colchester was not so very inferior to that of London, as Richmond once pointed out,⁴ especially if it is considered as it was before the main network of Roman roads was laid out and before the Thames bridge was built. London perhaps enjoyed a better approach by water with easier navigation directly up the Thames; moreover the ships could ultimately tie up alongside the town. The approach to Colchester involved crossing the currents of the Thames estuary to reach the River Colne. Yet we have seen in recent decades east coast ports develop at the expense of the Port of London, so it is doubtful if geography alone is enough to explain the emergence of London as the capital. To explain it fully we must return to a proposition set out in the last chapter (p. 61): that much depends on the attitude and enthusiasm of a town's inhabitants. It is they who create the character of a town.

A prosperous and expanding town can attract to itself the organs of provincial or state government, in the way that most modern European

capitals have developed. But capitals do not become great towns and cities by virtue of being capitals: Washington, Canberra and Brasilia are but modern examples of such failure. It might be claimed that elderly legionary veterans, with their rigid military outlook, living in comfortable retirement and probably controlling most local affairs at Colchester, would not provide the invigorating atmosphere for a rapid expansion of trade. Such a town would tend to be inward-looking in its administration, with its commercial ventures largely aimed at satisfying its own needs. It would lack the diversity in the make-up of its population, in its trade and in the services it provided, which are necessities for vigorous economic expansion. Yet London became, as Tacitus said, thronged with merchants, probably of a less uniform character, and it obviously provided the right atmosphere of encouragement; in something less than twenty years it underwent an economic explosion. To effect a comparison with Colchester is to compare the entrepreneurial activity and diverse industries of a Birmingham with the gentility and uniform habits of a Brighton in the late nineteenth century. By the time London became the provincial capital, therefore, it had recovered from the Boudiccan rebellion, and had probably acquired more dignity in addition to prosperity. This prosperity would have been the direct result of the energy and wide-ranging outlook of its inhabitants, who were prepared to use to the full a no more than adequate geographical situation. *That* was what attracted government to London and not to Colchester.

Yet one sphere of central government may have remained at Colchester. Frere has pointed out that the reconstruction of the temple there after the Boudiccan rebellion, and the maintenance of the precinct, create an assumption that the cult remained at Colchester,⁵ and that there are insufficient grounds for supposing that it was moved to London. It has, however, been suggested that the administration of the cult was removed to London late in the first or early in the second century.⁶ Part of an inscription found in St



34 Tombstone of Claudia Martina, wife of Anencletus, from London (*Museum of London*)

Nicholas Lane, London, is dedicated to the *numini Caesaris Augusti* by the British province,⁷ and this has been taken as evidence for the transfer.

A dedication to an emperor's numen almost always implies a living emperor as the object, whereas a dedication to the imperial cult would embrace those dead (*divi*) as well. There is also the tombstone⁸ (fig. 34) of the wife of Anencletus, a *provincialis*, or servant of the provincial council, which is often taken to mean that the council itself was centred on London. But there are many reasons why a council servant might have been in London, without accepting the necessity for the cult headquarters to be there also. Nevertheless the reading of the numen inscription is far from sure and it is capable of other reconstructions. The mention of *provincia Britannia* does, however, seem reliable, and it is difficult to explain why a dedication by, or on behalf of, the provincial organization should have taken place at London, unless the town had some special position in relation to the cult. There is evidence from Cyrenaica that the provincial cult need not be centred at the same place as the administration, so that it is possible that London became the headquarters of the provincial council, even though the cult centre remained at Colchester.⁹ London would undoubtedly have had its temples dedicated to both reigning and deified emperors along with most other towns in Britain.

The remaining evidence for believing that London assumed the role of provincial capital can be summarized briefly. In the late first or early second century an 11-acre (4.5ha) fort was being built in what is now the Cripplegate area of the city.¹⁰ An apparently unused wooden writing tablet found near the Walbrook bears the official brand of the imperial procurator's office in Britain,¹¹ so supporting the suggestion already made with regard to the tombstone of Julius Classicianus. An unused tablet is unlikely to have been thrown away far from the office where they were in use. More important perhaps is the tombstone (fig. 35) of Celsus, a *speculator*, set up by three of his colleagues or friends.¹² A *speculator* was



35 Tombstone of Celsus, from London (British Museum)

seconded from his legion for service on the governor's staff, where his duties were largely connected with the law-courts. Mann has noted that *speculators* are only attested in the *praetoria* of governors.¹³ He has also suggested¹⁴ that a legionary centurion, Vivius Marcianus, who died in London and who is depicted on his tombstone¹⁵ (fig. 36) carrying a scroll, may have been a *princeps praetorii*. In addition there is the soldier commemorated on an uninscribed portion of a funeral monument, which shows him carrying what may be writing materials; he could also have served in the *praetorium*. The stone probably dates to the late first or early second century.¹⁶ Thus there can be little doubt that, at least in the second century, if not earlier, the governor's headquarters lay in London.



36 Tombstone of Vivius Marcianus, from London (*Ashmolean Museum*)

The division of Britain into two provinces, Britannia Superior and Britannia Inferior, after the recovery of Britain by Severus, would have required yet another capital.¹⁷ The final arrangement, in being by AD 212–13, left London as capital of Britannia Superior, under a consular governor with two legions at his disposal at Caerleon and Chester. Britannia Inferior, possessed only a praetorian governor controlling one legion at York, which, we might deduce from the Vieux inscription,¹⁸ was the capital of the new province. York, as the only town of real consequence at this time in the north, can have had no rivals in the selection. It had been headquarters and the seat of the imperial court during the campaigns of Severus and Caracalla against the Caledonians, and a palace had been provided, although its precise situation is not known.¹⁹ Neither is the situation of the governor's praetorium known, although part of a large building found in 1929 under the Old Station Yard and inside the colonia may belong to it.²⁰ However, it is more likely that he continued to occupy the praetorium of the fortress.

The reorganization of the Empire by Diocletian led to further and more fundamental changes. Britain now became one of the dioceses into which the Empire was divided. Overall supervision was exercised by the *vicarius Britanniarum*, who was a deputy of the Praetorian Prefect of Gaul. The diocese of Britain contained four provinces, which are named in the Verona List as Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Caesariensis and Flavia Caesariensis. At first these were governed by *praesides*, all of equal rank from the equestrian order. The Notitia, however, implies that Maxima Caesariensis had been promoted at a later date since it states that it had a consular governor.²¹

London undoubtedly then became the seat of the *vicarius* and the *praepositus thesaurorum*.²² There also presumably were the offices of the *rationalis summarum Britanniarum* and the *rationalis rei privatae per Britannias*,²³ which between them had taken over many of the duties of the now obsolete procurator's office. The later seniority of

Maxima Caesariensis over the other three provinces might also suggest that London acted as its capital in addition to being the diocesan capital. It is not possible to say where the boundaries of these provinces lay, but it is now usually accepted that Britannia Prima and Maxima Caesariensis were formed from the Severan Britannia Superior, while Britannia Inferior was divided into Britannia Secunda and Flavia Caesariensis. If London was capital of Superior and so of Maxima Caesariensis and York for Inferior remained as capital of either Secunda or Flavia, two more provincial centres have still to be found. Mann has argued²⁴ that the identities of these four provincial capitals are provided by the list of British bishops attending the Council of Arles in AD 314.²⁵ By analogy with Gaul the four delegations from Britain should have included the metropolitans of each province or their deputies, and he therefore concludes that York and Lincoln became the capitals of the two northern provinces, while Cirencester, although not specifically mentioned, probably became the capital of Britannia Prima. In support of the latter there is the implication contained in an inscription from Cirencester recording a dedication made by one of the praesides of Britannia Prima.²⁶ A. R. Birley, however, put forward the alternative opinion that the inscription is more likely to be of third century than fourth century date, which would, if correct, invalidate the previous suggestion,²⁷ although such a view is not entirely acceptable on other grounds. There were also the changes (discussed more fully below, p. 314) which took place in the forum and basilica at Cirencester, and which may have arisen from a desire to separate provincial from local business.

It is worth considering the choice of Cirencester and Lincoln as provincial capitals. That they were selected tells us something of their success as towns; a comparison can be made with others, which we might consider appear superficially to be equally successful, but which were not so chosen. It also emphasizes what has already been said above (p. 83) about the way in which towns can become capitals, and the contrast which can be

drawn between the *coloniae* of Lincoln and Gloucester (p. 143). The first question which might be asked is why Cirencester and not Gloucester should have been selected as capital of Britannia Prima, when the corresponding choice of Lincoln shows that in Flavia a *colonia* was selected. That a town was a *colonia* was obviously not enough to commend it, since in any case, by the fourth century, the distinction between *coloniae* and other sites had become blurred. Indeed it is worth recording that, of the three military *coloniae* in Britain, Colchester early forfeited its chance of being a capital, Gloucester does not seem to have been in the running and only Lincoln was successful. On this reckoning therefore the military *coloniae* of Britain did not score well in the 'capital stakes'.

Two further points are worth attention. Lincoln was the only *colonia* to double its enclosed area, and was perhaps also the only one which did not attract many new veterans after Legio IX had left Britain in the early second century.²⁸ It is probably right to assume that Colchester was founded for a discharge of veterans from Legio XX and Gloucester for one from Legio II Augusta. These legions served in Britain without a break for almost the whole duration of the Roman occupation, and it is likely that any veterans who were later discharged would have tended to migrate to foundations already associated with their particular legion, although, strangely, the evidence we have would suggest otherwise (p. 146). A continuing bond of this nature between *colonia* and legionary fortress could have given rise to a correspondingly higher proportion of retired soldiers among the populations at Colchester and Gloucester. As a result, these towns, although undoubtedly comfortable and prosperous, may have lacked the diversified, extrovert character required to make a successful capital, a factor in their make-up which has already been referred to in describing the selection of London rather than Colchester as the earliest provincial capital (p. 83). A comparison between them and some of our modern 'retirement' towns on the south coast is probably valid. In these

circumstances it is not difficult to see why Cirencester was chosen in place of Gloucester. Lincoln, however, appears to have overcome the apparently constricting image of a veteran settlement, which might be considered, in time, to have allowed a greater degree of expansion.

Later still, probably about 370, a fifth province, Valentia, was created with a *consularis* as governor. It is not known precisely where it lay, but Mann has suggested that it was the product of the division of Flavia Caesariensis, and that it fell within the area of the command of the *dux Britanniarum*.²⁹ Carlisle may well have become its capital but too little is known about the town to be certain.

LONDON (*Londinium Augusta*)

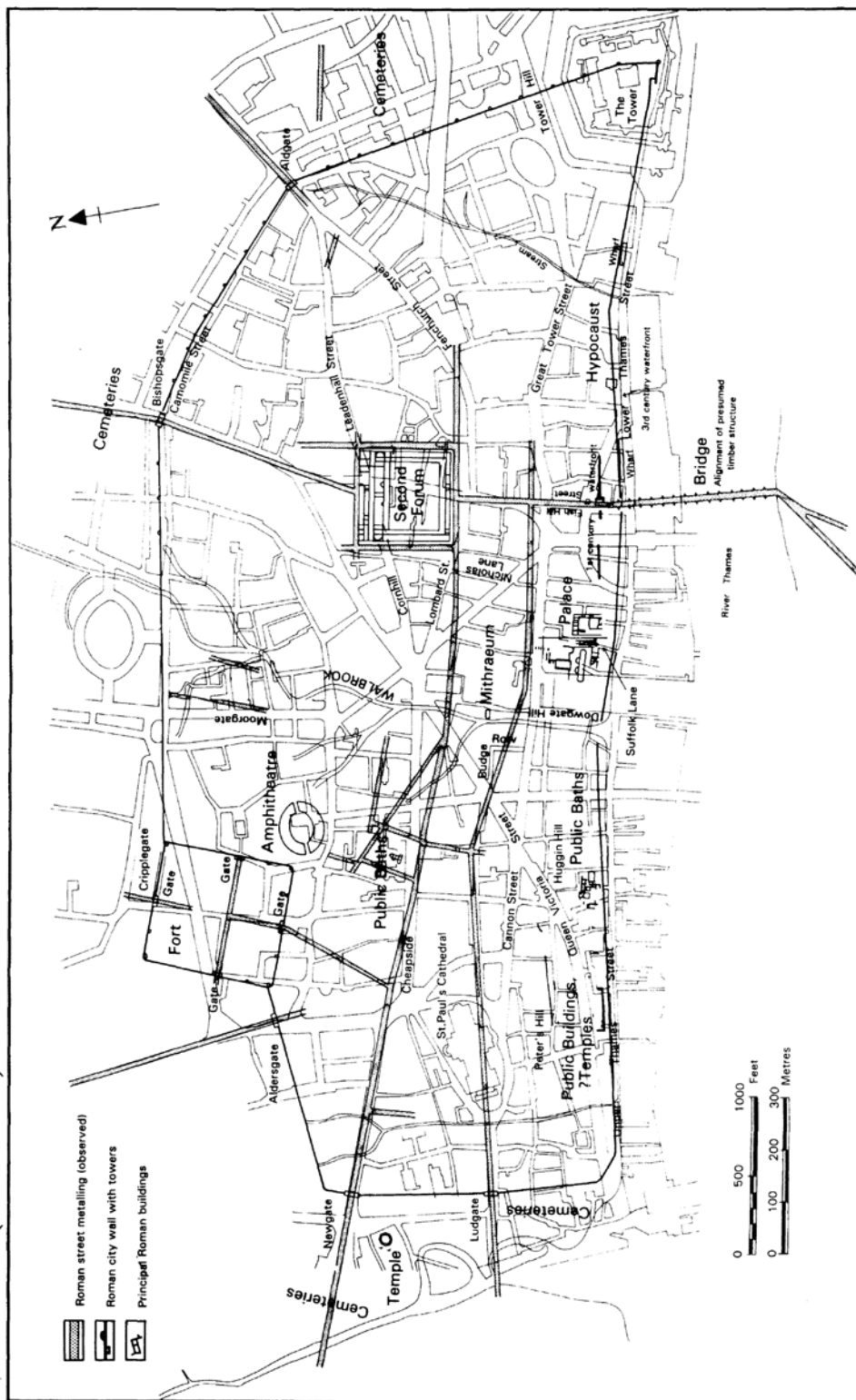
The City of London and its surroundings have been subjected to intensive excavation and observation in the last twenty years, thus adding an immense amount of information to what was previously known; these explorations have been accompanied by a formidable amount of publication.³⁰ The suburbs have not been neglected and among them some important structures have been revealed in Southwark.³¹

As a result of all these excavations, it is now probably true to say that Roman London was not immediately preceded by an Iron Age settlement, although traces of possible farms have been found on the higher ground in both Southwark and Westminster.³² The arrival of the Roman army at the Thames following the battle of the Medway does not, at first, seem to have made much impact. Indeed, the layout of subsequent roads would point to a preliminary crossing nearer Westminster. Movement downstream presumably came with the construction of the first bridge; since it took Caesar only ten days to bridge the Rhine³³ no great delay in crossing the Thames would have been encountered once the decision had been made to do so. It seems unlikely that this military activity would have been unaccompanied by at

least a temporary camp, if not a fort, to guard the bridge. Although an early fort at London is almost a foregone conclusion, its site remains elusive. Military equipment has been recovered from many areas,³⁴ but need not have belonged to the period of the invasion, in view of the presence later of a second-century garrison. The most likely area for this fort seems to be around Fenchurch Street/Aldgate, where some ditches have been discovered which appear to be of military character and early date. In general, however, there is little which can be dated earlier than c. AD 50 anywhere in the City.³⁵ This equates with the construction of the first roads and causeways over the tidal saltings in Southwark.

In view of the strategic importance of the site at London, with its conjunction of main roads, bridge and river facilities which, according to Dio, lay at the highest point of the tides,³⁶ it would be surprising if a military stores depot was not also founded. But it is difficult to assess its ranking alongside the known continuation, until at least AD 85, of the large depot at Richborough.³⁷ One might suspect that the chief advantage of a depot at London over one at Richborough would have been the ability to ship stores direct by sea to a point closer to the sphere of actual military operations. If London therefore had been the main depot, it is difficult to see how Richborough could have survived and maintained its usefulness. Since it did survive, even though, apparently, its capacity for storing grain was reduced, it is reasonable to suppose that London was at best short-lived. The advantage of its geographically eminent situation at this early date therefore was either not appreciated, or it was considered not to be superior to Richborough. Perhaps the more immediate political problems, centring on the native capital at Camulodunum, caused it to be overlooked. Certainly there is no good reason to assume that a military presence at London need have been protracted. The fort at Verulamium had been abandoned by AD 50, if not before,³⁸ and Legio XX had left Camulodunum by AD 49. Indeed one of the reasons for the foundation of the

LONDON (Londinivm)



37 Plan of London (after R. Merrifield and the DUA, Museum of London)

colonia there was to fill the void left by the departure of garrisons from the south-east. It is difficult therefore to accept the survival of a fort at London after *c.* AD 50. Short though this occupation was it seems in this instance to have been sufficient for a vicus to have been established, with the traders probably attracted as much by the fort as by the geographical situation. Merrifield has suggested that this vicus may have been from the first an ordered settlement,³⁹ a suggestion supported by more recent work and paralleled by observations of similar planning in the early vicus at Cirencester (p. 304).

The buildings of this earliest settlement had tended to cluster on the southern slope of Cornhill, where they were usually aligned either on the road coming from London Bridge, or on the east–west road which formed a T-junction with it in the centre; this indicates, as observed above, a degree of coordinated planning from the beginning. A large gravelled area, possibly an open-air market, occupied the site of the future forum⁴⁰ and is reminiscent of the similar area which preceded the forum at Chichester (p. 262). Other buildings of this date stretched along the main east–west road in both directions; most were presumably shops or workshops and there is evidence for small-scale iron, copper and glass working, with pottery being made in the vicinity.⁴¹ A jeweller may have had his workshop near Eastcheap, where he was carving intaglios for rings.⁴²

The settlement grew rapidly in the next five years or so and by the time of the Boudiccan rebellion these premises had been accommodated within an embryonic grid of streets, while many of the earliest buildings in the centre had been swept away and rebuilt; occupation had also extended westwards to embrace both sides of the Walbrook valley.⁴³ One interesting discovery connected with the buildings west of the central gravelled area was the channel for a wooden water-pipe running between an outer wall and a street.⁴⁴ It can only imply the provision of running water in the early town and, presumably, a functioning aqueduct to supply it (p. 101).

The disaster suffered by London at the hands of Boudicca's followers in AD 60 is well attested by the evidence of burnt layers, in places a foot or more thick, which have been found from time to time in excavations and which can be dated to the mid-first century. The distribution of these sites was first plotted by Dr G. C. Dunning,⁴⁵ and it shows the main concentration to be in the same area around Cornhill. London is not likely to have been fortified at the time of the rebellion; Colchester was not, and there is no reason why London should have been treated differently (p. 120).

The gradual recovery of the town after Boudicca must have gone hand-in-hand with the consolidation of its position as a major commercial centre, and with the expansion of its boundaries. We cannot say when precisely the last departments of provincial government were set up there, or when the town was first dignified by the award of a 'charter', but by studying certain buildings it is possible to indicate approximately when these events occurred.

Tacitus referred to London at the time of the rebellion as being thronged with merchants and businessmen,⁴⁶ and there is the implication, already mentioned (p. 82), that the procurator's office was there before it. Certainly London should be thought of as the financial centre of the province from the time of the rebellion onwards. In this context, it is interesting to consider a major building constructed of masonry⁴⁷ and known to have occupied part of the site of the later forum during the early Flavian period. It occupied a space 342ft (104.5m) by 173ft (52.7m) and was built round a central courtyard (see fig. 6). At the north end was a hall-like structure, with apparently an intended basement running almost the full length of the so-called north aisle and behind the hall; it was subsequently filled and concreted over. The east, south and west ranges appear to have been made up of small rooms, with an internal portico separating them from the courtyard; the outside wall was buttressed on its exterior face.⁴⁸

This building is now usually interpreted as the

first forum and basilica of London. Yet it was not the first building to occupy the site, being preceded by others, one of which was burnt in the Boudiccan fire.⁴⁹ Frere has suggested very reasonably that the early buildings may have been the successive *officia* of the procurator, or even *praetoria* of the governor. That being so, it is difficult to imagine why he should then go on to interpret the third building on the site as a forum and basilica.⁵⁰ Why should its use have changed? Presumably the procurator still required accommodation, whereas a likely candidate for the palace of the governor was being completed at about the same time on a new site (p. 92), thus ruling him out as a possible occupant.

Superficially, the building resembles a forum and basilica in plan. But it is difficult to reconcile a basilican aisle with a basement, especially when the building lacks the normal offices, *curia* and central shrine, and even though attempts have been made to identify a tribunal at the east end. The basement could be explained if it had been intended to add a hypocaust and convert the so-called north aisle into offices, which were never completed. Moreover, postulating the existence of a Flavian forum and basilica introduces constitutional issues, implying that London was by then at least a *municipium*, since it never became a *civitas capitalis*.⁵¹ There is no other evidence to support such an early promotion to municipal status, although it could have resulted from the recognition of London as containing the residence of the governor. One last alternative is worth considering, in view of the Tacitean statement about the throngs of merchants. The building, with its constituent elements, could qualify as a *macellum*, of a type considered above (p. 63). Indeed, a somewhat smaller version of one was being constructed at Verulamium at about the same time, while others of later date, but more similar plan, are known at Cirencester (p. 306) and Leicester (p. 352).

A small rectangular building, with a projecting bay at the north end, was constructed to the west. It contained one cross wall with a wide opening

which divided the building roughly into two equal parts. It has been interpreted as a temple, contemporary with its neighbour to the east, and part of the central development of the early town, possibly being treated as the *capitolium*. The plan would favour a temple of classical type with a deep portico at the front.

Whether procurator's office or forum, the building seems to have had a short life, despite evidence of some major reconstructions. Soon a large area around it was first cleared of existing buildings, including the possible temple, and levelled with dumped material; then work began on the construction of what was undoubtedly to be the civic forum and basilica of London. The earlier building seems to have been retained in use for a time, even though it became the centre of an extensive building site, and was probably not pulled down until the replacement was well advanced. This is, perhaps, the strongest argument in favour of it having been the first forum and basilica.

Work on the second forum is thought to have begun in the Flavian period, probably towards the very end of the first century, but it could have been later and Marsden has argued for a Hadrianic date.⁵² The reconstructions of the so-called first forum can barely have finished before the second forum was begun, if the starting date for the latter is also to be fitted into the Flavian period; a later date, therefore, is perhaps to be preferred. But a building on the scale of the second forum could hardly have been completed in under twenty years, if the Wroxeter forum is taken as a guide (p. 366), so that a commencement in the late first century could have resulted in a completion date well into the second. Indeed, the most recent excavations in 1984–6⁵³ on the eastern end of the basilica have shown that the construction preceded in a carefully arranged sequence, often with considerable delays occurring between each phase, the overall time scale being put between 100 and 130.

The new basilica stretched from Cornhill in the west to Leadenhall Market in the east, while the

southern limit of the forum reached as far as Lombard Street, giving overall dimensions for the whole complex of 544ft (166m) by 548ft (167m); it was therefore very nearly square, and certainly the largest single building in Roman Britain. Apart from the construction of the masonry, the work also involved the movement of very large quantities of soil and hard core in order to make the ground intentionally higher than its surroundings.

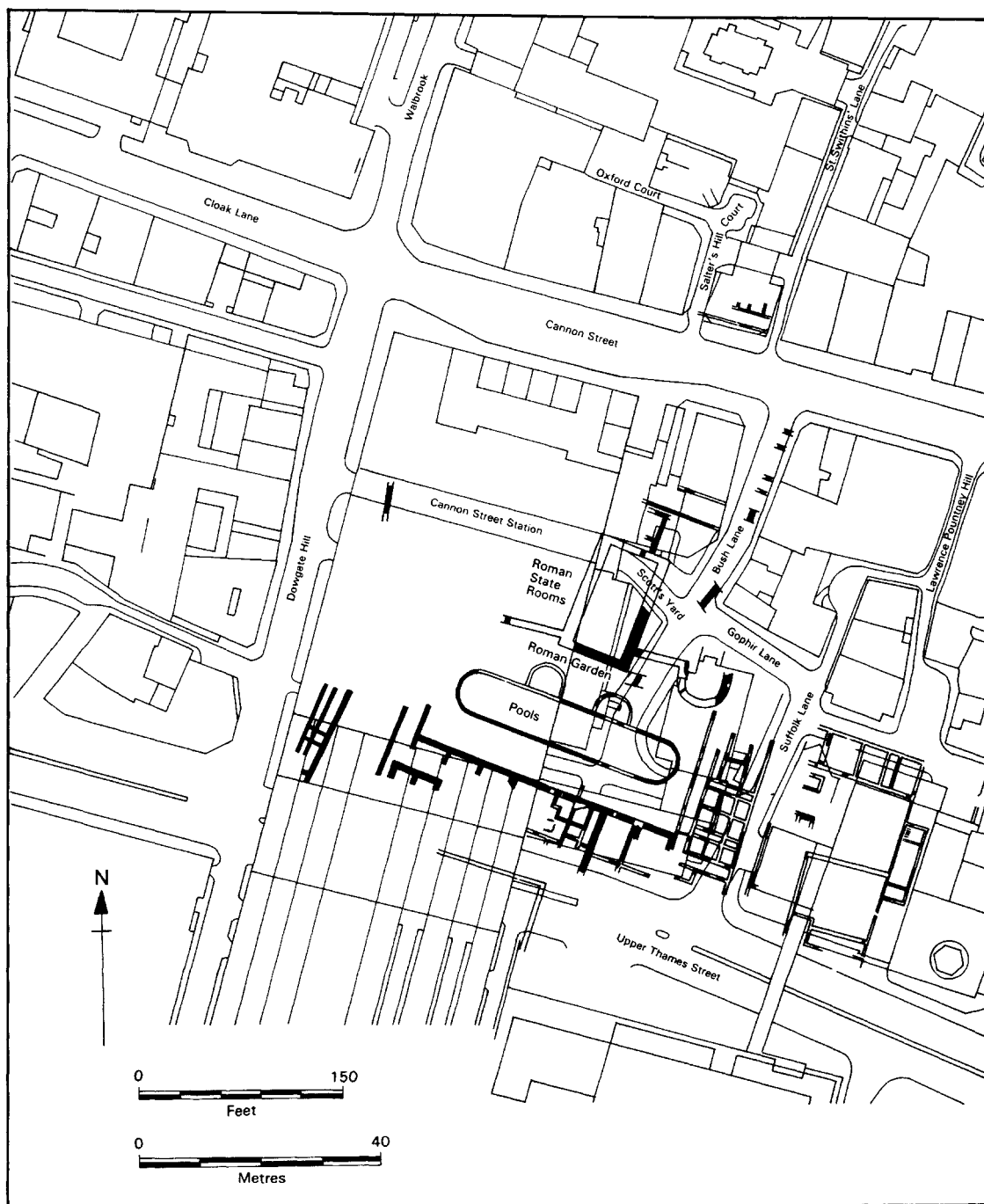
The forum was of a conventional Romano-British pattern, probably with an entrance centrally placed in the south wing; a curious feature, however, was what appeared to be a pool in the centre of the piazza. The basilica was similarly conventional, with a central nave, terminating at the east end in an apse, which may have been, though not necessarily, matched by another to the west.⁵⁴ Two flattened apses and four cross walls beneath the floor of the nave were presumably intended to strengthen the foundations. The north aisle ran the full length of the basilica, but the south aisle seems to have terminated against the internal portico of the forum. North of the hall were, unusually, two ranges of rooms, the outermost of which could have opened to the street, although there is no evidence for such an arrangement. The total width of the basilica was 174ft (53m). The west, south and east sides of the entire building were enclosed by an external portico, which appears not to have extended along the north side (see fig. 6).

While there may still be some doubt about the interpretation of the first 'forum' and the consequent reflection it has on the early municipal status of London, there can surely be none about the second, despite the lack of other evidence. But the level of wealth of the inhabitants, as implied by this huge building, together with the probable increase in the Roman citizen stock brought about by the physical presence of the governor in London, may have been sufficient for a grant of municipal status to have been made.

At about the same time, or probably a little earlier, as work started on the second forum and

basilica it also began on another large building further south (fig. 38), which has been interpreted as the praetorium of the governor.

It lay immediately overlooking the Thames and in the area now occupied by Cannon Street station and its neighbourhood; the sloping ground running down to the river was terraced to receive it. The central courtyard was probably laid out as a garden with fountains and a large ornamental pool. On the east side there was a double range of small rooms with a central corridor running between them, which could perhaps have been offices, or, alternatively, accommodation for staff officers or travelling officials: the arrangement is not unlike that sometimes to be seen in *mansiones*, and in the guest wings at the Fishbourne and Carnuntum palaces. This wing extended east of Suffolk Lane where traces of a patterned mosaic were found. The south wing also had a number of grouped small rooms, as well as some that were larger. Both south and east wings were in the main plainly furnished. Projecting southwards from the north wing into the central court was a large hall-like structure, with massive walls, and 80ft (24.4m) by 42ft (12.8m) in size. East of this hall and possibly connected with the main east wing is part of a circular structure, either an apse or a rotunda. The hall overlay pits containing material dating to the mid-Flavian period; the south wing produced a group of late-first-century sherds from beneath one floor, and the east wing had been built over a goldsmith's refinery dated AD 60–80. However, it is fairly clear from the plan that more than one period of construction must be represented,⁵⁵ and indeed recent work has shown that the south and newly discovered west wings, as well as the rotunda, cannot be contemporary with the main hall. However, some limited excavations beneath the station were possible in 1988–9, but they revealed very little except terracing along both the Walbrook and Thames frontages, the first of which has been dated provisionally to the Flavian period. Parts of later-second-century buildings including one with a hypocaust and tessellated floors, were recorded.⁵⁶ Other substantial foundations were



38 The London praetorium (P. V. R. Marsden and DUA, Museum of London)

uncovered at the same time in Bush Lane and Suffolk Lane, as well as a basin, lined with *opus signinum*, but they cannot, as yet, be related to the main building.

Normally, the principal residential wing of such a palace would have fronted the river, creating an elaborate and impressive architectural façade; those at Aquincum, Cologne and Dura-Europos⁵⁷ among others are notable examples from different periods, and it is probably right to include the Fishbourne palace in this list, chiefly on the grounds that it was built at about the same time as that at London. But since no evidence for a south wing was found at London in the excavations conducted in 1988–9, it may be that this particular building was devoted to some other public use, such as a bath-house, and that the praetorium is to be sought elsewhere.

Another stage in the establishment of London as the seat of the provincial governor took place late in the first or early in the second century, when a fort of 11 acres (4.5ha) was constructed in what is now the Cripplegate area of the city. The line of its defences, and the positions of the west gate and some internal buildings have been established by Grimes.⁵⁸ Frere once suggested⁵⁹ that in part it provided accommodation for an urban cohort, but this is unlikely as only Lyons (Lugdunum) and Carthage are known to have had them outside Rome itself, and they were cohorts originally withdrawn from Rome. Although it is large for the purpose, it more probably housed soldiers who were attached to the governor's staff, and who were required for ceremonial and guard duties in the capital, such as the *equites* and *pedites singulares*.

A recent discovery of importance has been made just outside the south-east corner of the fort, in the area of the Guildhall.⁶⁰ An amphitheatre (see fig. 13), whose restored dimensions were 427ft (130m) by 361ft (110m), was built there in the second century. The excavations confirmed the position of the eastern arena entrance, which was furnished with small rooms on each side, possibly shrines to Nemesis, and similar to several

others in Britain, such as Cirencester (p. 308). Whether its position near the fort is significant is difficult to assess, but a building this size would have accommodated far more than the entire garrison, and its civil status must be assumed.

London was to suffer a number of major fires after the Boudiccan rebellion, the most serious of which took place early in the Hadrianic period. As might be expected, the worst effect seems to have been in the most densely built areas, which was no doubt due to timber being the commonest material of construction, allied perhaps with thatched roofs; masonry buildings, such as the forum, do not appear to have suffered. Among the destroyed buildings was a pottery warehouse containing large quantities of newly imported samian.⁶¹

The street system of London shows some irregularities which probably reflect stages in expansion; this is a feature fairly common to other towns, not only in Britain, as at Wroxeter (p. 369), but also at Xanten⁶² and Amiens.⁶³ In the earliest nucleus of first-century date around the forum area the streets are mainly at right-angles to one another, even though the insulae vary in size; presumably the lines of some of these streets were tidied up when work had finished on the second-century forum. The chief variations began to occur as the system reached towards and across the Walbrook, where a certain amount of land reclamation and canalization of the stream and its tributaries took place c. 120 (p. 100).⁶⁴ Having crossed the valley, presumably at the most convenient points, which probably caused the changes in alignment, the system then extended as far as the western boundary of the fort, which, with the amphitheatre, was absorbed into it.

Much information has been gathered in the last twenty years about the bath-houses, domestic residences and shops and workshops of London of the first and second centuries.

One of the largest and better known bath-houses has been uncovered at Huggin Hill (see fig. 12), west of the Walbrook, where it was terraced into the hillside of the Thames embankment. In the

course of their work, the builders seem to have tapped a number of springs, the water from which was collected in large storage tanks and used in the baths. The building is dated to the mid-Flavian period and it contained at its west end one of the largest heated rooms of any baths in Britain; the entrance and cold rooms were located to the east.⁶⁵ Although it was possibly for a time the principal public baths of London, its life ended in the mid to late second century and the structure was dismantled to recover usable building materials.

A smaller and later bath-house has been recorded near Cheapside⁶⁶ and another in Pudding Lane, which dates to the period after the Hadrianic fire.⁶⁷ Both probably belonged to private houses, or perhaps inns. The latter was constructed on the site of a quayside warehouse (fig. 39) of the late first century, abandoned after the shoreline had been moved further south (p. 99). An unusual feature was an apsidal plunge-bath, whose walls and floor were lined with mainly white tessellation.

By the Flavian-Trajanic period London contained comfortable and even sophisticated housing, although some still retained the strip form of shops or workshops. Indeed, there is more than a hint that a few maintained connexions with commerce, even though the residential quarters contained mosaics. Such was the case of a building, whose whole plan can be conjectured, at Watling Court in the western angle formed between the Walbrook and Thames,⁶⁸ and just north of Queen Victoria Street. The western end seems to have faced on to a minor street and had few internal partitions; at the eastern end were a number of smaller rooms, of which two contained hearths and one a mosaic; the layout is still characteristic of a shop.⁶⁹ It was separated from its neighbours to north and south by alleyways; both of them seem to have been bigger premises with more rooms and refinements, but in each case those facing the street were large and undivided and could also represent commercial accommodation.⁷⁰ Similar strip-like buildings belonging to

the same period have been found in Newgate Street;⁷¹ here, though, the commercial activities were more in evidence, and the standard of the residential quarters was poorer. Of interest on this site were the buildings of earlier periods in the first century, when round-houses of native pattern were still being erected. In all these early stages, wattle-and-daub was the normal material of construction, although in some cases it was being displaced by more substantial walls of cob or mud brick in the early second century.

Some have claimed that, for reasons not yet understood, London, having enjoyed considerable prosperity in the first and early second centuries, went into recession in the second half of the latter, suffering contraction in the process.⁷² It is not impossible that this conclusion is due to the misinterpretation of the evidence, especially when it relates to the life of timber-framed buildings (see p. 90 above); or it may be that the evidence of later buildings, lying at the top of the stratified sequence, has itself been destroyed by later interference. It is certainly curious that, at a time when many towns in Britain were enjoying something of a boom, London should be the odd one out. The forum and basilica suffered a fire in the middle of the second century, but were restored and remained in use. The public baths at Huggin Hill, however, were demolished before the century's end. The earlier revetments of the Walbrook seem to have been collapsing and some streets in the area went out of use, although industry appears to have remained profitable in the upper reaches of the valley, where the channels were kept in a better state of repair. Over many of the derelict building sites, dark earth accumulated, suggesting horticultural activity: worms, encouraged by tilling, can soon convert stratified deposits to uniform garden soil, providing there are not too many impediments to their vertical movement, such as large stones.⁷³ There is one question, though, that belies this view of contraction and decline. If it is true, then why was so much money and effort sunk in surrounding, on the landward side, the entire area of the Hadrianic



39 Late-first-century quay, with warehouses behind, at Fish Street Hill, London (*Museum of London*)

settlement with a massive defensive wall nearly 2 miles (3.2km) in length, when much of the enclosed area is thought to have been open ground, and just when contraction was deemed to be at its greatest at the end of the second century?⁷⁴ The project would have taken a good many years to complete and would have consumed all local resources of skilled manpower and money for some time. How, then, did the postulated restoration of the early third century come about if there were no available resources? There are contradictions here which still need resolution. It is worth repeating yet again, though, that it is extremely dangerous to consider vacant building sites as evidence from which to conclude that they represent decline, contraction or even decay of the whole town. The ultimate construction of the landward fortifications to enclose all these areas is an argument against contraction. Moreover, in the late 1940s and 1950s, the many thriving towns and cities in England with vacant building sites could hardly be said to have been in decline; indeed, in most, the situation was quite the reverse (but see p. 110 below).

As yet there is no definite evidence to suggest that London was fortified before the end of the second century. There are indications of earlier boundary ditches, notably a probable first-century example on Cornhill⁷⁵ which is unlikely to have been defensive. But on the eastern side of the town, not far from the line of the later masonry wall, a shallow, wide-bottomed ditch has been traced for some distance on either side of the site of the Aldgate. Dismissed by most from being part of a possible defensive circuit erected after 120, it nevertheless excites suspicions. Admittedly no bank has yet been associated with it, and the rampart behind the masonry wall is uniformly contemporary with the latter and encapsulates nothing earlier. But there is an unexplained feature, showing in the published section, which coincides with the inner lip of the ditch, where it was located in Dukes Place.⁷⁶ Moreover, the same section shows that this ditch is not much shallower than that belonging to the wall. If these

points are taken into account, then the ditch would certainly have been large enough to be defensive. Elsewhere on the circuit, changes in the alignments of some east–west streets, especially of that leading to the later Newgate, might imply successive and different town boundaries in the west. One of these bends occurred just east of the Walbrook which might have formed a natural boundary for a time; the other lay south of the south-western corner of the Cripplegate fort. While these lines may well have represented legal boundaries there is nothing to suggest the presence of fortifications on either of them (see fig. 37).

The 2 miles (3.2km) of stone wall which ultimately enclosed London on the landward side cannot have been built until some years after AD 183–4, as a worn coin of Commodus minted then was found by Grimes in a deposit of soil which antedated the construction.⁷⁷ More recently Marsden has excavated an internal tower contemporary with the wall near Newgate, in which was found a scatter of coins and two coin moulds for the manufacture of forgeries. The deposition of the layer containing these coins, which took place after the tower had been constructed, must be placed at about AD 225–30, so that the fortifications on the west side at least must have been erected before that date.⁷⁸ Since then further evidence has accumulated which confirms a date at the turn of the second and third centuries.⁷⁹ It is necessary, therefore, to try to place the provision of fortifications for London in an historical context bracketed by these two dates. Merrifield has suggested that London as the seat of the governor was given priority during the Albinian rebellion, so that, where other towns had to make do with earthworks, it received stone walls.⁸⁰ This is by no means impossible, especially if, as seems likely, work on stone fortifications had already started elsewhere, implying the existence, at least, of masons trained in this type of work, who could have been transferred to London in emergency. Nevertheless, much has still to be learnt. As already stressed in Chapter 2, where defences are

not homogeneous in character, the difficulties of dating become greater, as the evidence from a single section will no longer apply to the complete circuit.

The construction of the wall was carried out so as to incorporate the Cripplegate fort into the circuit. By joining the town wall to the north-east and south-west corners, the fort's north and west sides effectively became part of the new circuit. But the fort wall was only 4ft (1.2m) thick, whereas the town wall varied from 7–9ft (2.1–2.7m). A thickening was therefore inserted into the top of the rampart on the inside of the fort wall, where it had become part of the new circuit, to make it up to the required width. On the east and south sides of the fort, where strong fortifications were no longer required, the wall was left as before and the ditch beyond it was filled.

The line of the wall round London on the landward side is well established, except for a short stretch on the west side, south of Ludgate Hill. It used to be concluded, however, that no continuous defensive line was ever constructed along the river in Roman times.⁸¹ Lengths of the massive wall had been found from time to time along Thames Street, which Grimes attempted to show belonged either to the riverside defences, or to wharves.⁸² But this wall, recorded as being 9–10ft (2.7–3.0m) thick, turned northwards up Lambeth Hill, so that it is unlikely to be part of a defensive curtain wall, unless one postulates an earlier alignment for the west side of the city, or possibly a gate.

Until the mid 1970s, therefore, the riverside wall of London was something of a problem. William Fitzstephen quoted⁸³ a tradition that the south wall with its towers had been destroyed by the Thames. But the accuracy of this statement was doubted by some scholars, who considered that the town remained unfortified along the river bank, despite casual encounters during the last century and the early part of this with massive foundations, noted above, on the general line of Upper Thames Street. Then came major discoveries at Baynard's Castle, and other sightings in

Upper Thames Street, Custom House and the Tower of London, where equally massive walls were excavated or observed. The line of the riverside wall now, therefore, seems reasonably well established⁸⁴ although there are still unsolved problems.

In the first place, there appear to be two different alignments near the south-east corner in the Tower of London, but so far, nowhere else.⁸⁵ The earlier of these two walls lies 13ft (4m) south of another wall dated to the late fourth century. It is difficult to account for the latter except as a later rebuild, or perhaps as a deliberate dogleg to accommodate the insertion of a postern gate of a type known elsewhere.⁸⁶ When first discovered at Baynard's Castle, however, the riverside wall was also dated to the second half of the fourth century, partly on the radiocarbon and dendrochronological evidence derived from piles under the foundations⁸⁷ and partly on the date of reused ornamental masonry (p. 103). The latter had been dated to the late second or early third century⁸⁸ and the fragments are therefore unlikely to have reached the foundations of the wall much before the end of that century. Following the dendrochronological examination of wood samples from elsewhere in London, this date has now been revised to the mid to late third century, perhaps *c.* 255–75.⁸⁹ But this still seems to leave an uncomfortable gap between the construction of the landward and riverside walls, unless it can be argued that it took much longer to construct the entire curtain wall than has been accepted hitherto. Be that as it may, it is also clear that considerable sections of the riverside wall required major repairs during the fourth century, and possibly, as at the east end, even complete reconstruction on a new line. Indeed, London may well be a good example of work continuing almost uninterrupted from the time when it first started.

Where once it was thought that much of the river frontage of London was open shore, it is now known that a complicated sequence of wharves and warehouses existed along the stretch from the Roman London Bridge probably as far as the

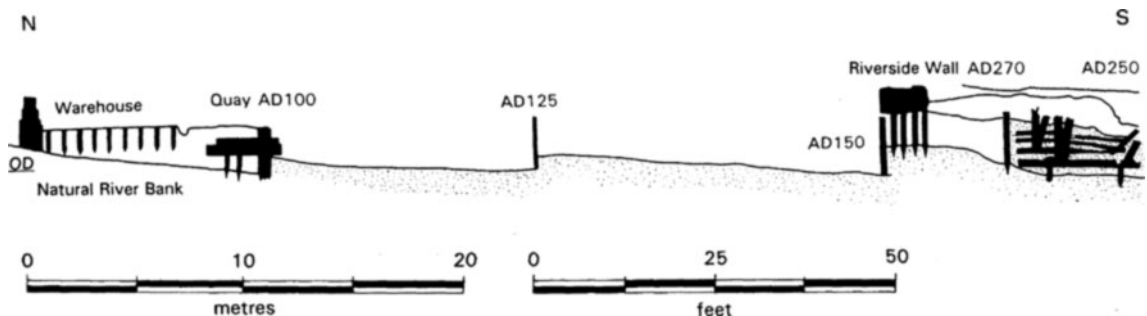
Tower, and possibly upriver from the bridge, at least as far as the Walbrook.⁹⁰

The earliest high-water shoreline of the north bank of the Thames in the Roman period has been identified in the area of Pudding Lane, where it lay some 330ft (100m) north of the present river frontage (fig. 40). Along this line, and replacing an earlier simple timber revetment, was built, in the Flavian period, the first London docks, which consisted of a massive timber-framed landing stage, backed by probable warehouses; slight differences in dates of construction would suggest that building work had proceeded from west to east. Of even greater interest in these excavations was an equally massive timber-framed pier at the west end of the stage, where it had been interrupted and turned inwards towards the north; it is probably correct to assume that this was the northern abutment, or an intermediate pier, of the first bridge across the Thames. Support for this interpretation has been gained from a study of large numbers of coins found on the river bed about 330ft (100m) out from the present shoreline and on the postulated line of the Roman bridge. This not only confirms its likely position, but also indicates that there may have been a small shrine on it; the coins would represent votive offerings.⁹¹

By the end of the first century the landing stage downstream from the bridge had been consolidated into a proper quay and new masonry warehouses were built along it in a regular pattern. West of the bridge, and stretching both sides of the Walbrook, similar quays appeared, fronting

buildings which perhaps were part commercial and part residential. Certainly, under Regis House, just north of the bridge, a samian warehouse had existed, since it was burnt in the Hadrianic fire. But an earlier fire at the beginning of the second century consumed some of the quayside warehouses, and deposits of carbonized grain from the resulting debris might suggest the use to which they had been put.

Shortly after these warehouses were rebuilt, early in the second century, the river frontage was advanced by about 50ft (16m) and supported by a new revetment; new buildings were constructed on the old quay. This central section of the waterfront was again advanced in the middle of the second century by a further 66ft (20m), but with a changed orientation most clearly observed downstream at Custom House,⁹² where it was marked by a post and plank revetment. By the late second century, it had here been once more pushed forwards, with an openwork box quay extending outwards from the earlier revetment. The final reconstruction of the waterfront occurred towards the middle of the third century, when a series of equally massive quays were built some 16ft (5m) south of the preceding line; they are known to have stretched from Custom House westwards to Vintry House, but probably not much further. The land reclaimed by this succession of advances would most likely have accrued to the emperor and was possibly sold or leased back to the civic authorities or private owners; there is also perhaps an echo of the shippers'



40 The London waterfront (after Milne)

guilds at Ostia.⁹³ But by the time the riverside wall was built, c. 270, much of this waterfront was in decay, which had been in places assisted by deliberate dismantling, although short lengths were kept in good repair. However, the construction of the riverside wall must have seen the end of the port of London as it had been known for 200 years.

The late Roman and early Saxon periods were times when, in general, the sea level was rising around the British coast;⁹⁴ rises have been recorded in the Severn estuary, Romney Marsh, the Fens and the Humber, following falling levels in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods. Around Romney Marsh the rise was sufficient to put the Saxon Shore fort at Lympne out of commission, while on the Humber it caused the silting of the harbour and the destruction of the south-west corner of the defences at Brough (p. 399). The falling sea level in the early Roman period could account for the gradual advance southwards of the dockside at London (see fig. 40), as each version was left high and dry by the receding water. Thereafter, there is a curious contradiction reported between London and the other sites around the coast mentioned above, since it has been argued that regression on the Thames continued well into the Saxon period.⁹⁵

London is somewhat exceptional among Roman towns in having at least one, and possibly more, sizeable streams flowing through its centre. The largest of these was the Walbrook, which was in places up to 14ft (4.3m) wide and which was initially retained between stout timber revetments. As, however, the ground level rose on either side the banks tended to give way and ultimately the stream became much reduced in size and depth.⁹⁶ The presence of these streams must have raised problems during the construction of fortifications and it is unfortunate that so little is known of how they were overcome, especially along the south side of the circuit where they flowed into the Thames. On the north side, however, brick culverts carried three of the Walbrook's tributaries through the city wall, and

similar channels carrying other streams are also known elsewhere on the circuit. At least one, recorded by Merrifield⁹⁷ as 3ft (1m) wide and 3½ft (1.1m) high, was blocked by three iron bars set in the masonry, while it must be assumed that a water gate protected the Walbrook's junction with the Thames. It was probably the inadequacy of these culverts which caused the formation of a marsh outside the wall in the Broadgate area. If, as Merrifield thought, the culvert mentioned above carried one of the main streams of the Walbrook, its small size, coupled with the iron bars, could have led very quickly to partial or total blocking. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that it was the second of two culverts at the same place; an earlier passage lay beneath it, which presumably had become totally blocked.

There is little information about the gates leading into London. Apart from those serving the fort, there were probably six on the landward side. In addition, another must have led to the bridge over the Thames, and it is not unlikely that the entrance to the Walbrook would have been guarded by a water gate. The best known is Newgate (see fig. 30), consisting of twin portals flanked by square towers, which projected in front of the line of the curtain wall, so resembling the west gate of the fort. Marsden has argued⁹⁸ that Newgate is not contemporary with the wall, but may have an earlier arch embedded in it as with the Balkeerne gate at Colchester (p. 121); alternatively it may have been rebuilt at a later date. Aldersgate is thought also to have had twin portals and projecting towers and to have been inserted after the curtain wall had been built.

The gates which carried the principal roads out of London were: from Newgate a road ran to the vicinity of Marble Arch, from where Watling Street diverged north-west to Verulamium with the westward road continuing on to Silchester. Ermine Street, the main road north, left the city at Bishopsgate, while the road to Colchester and East Anglia left by Aldgate. The likely position of the Roman bridge across the Thames at the bottom of Fish Street Hill, would imply the

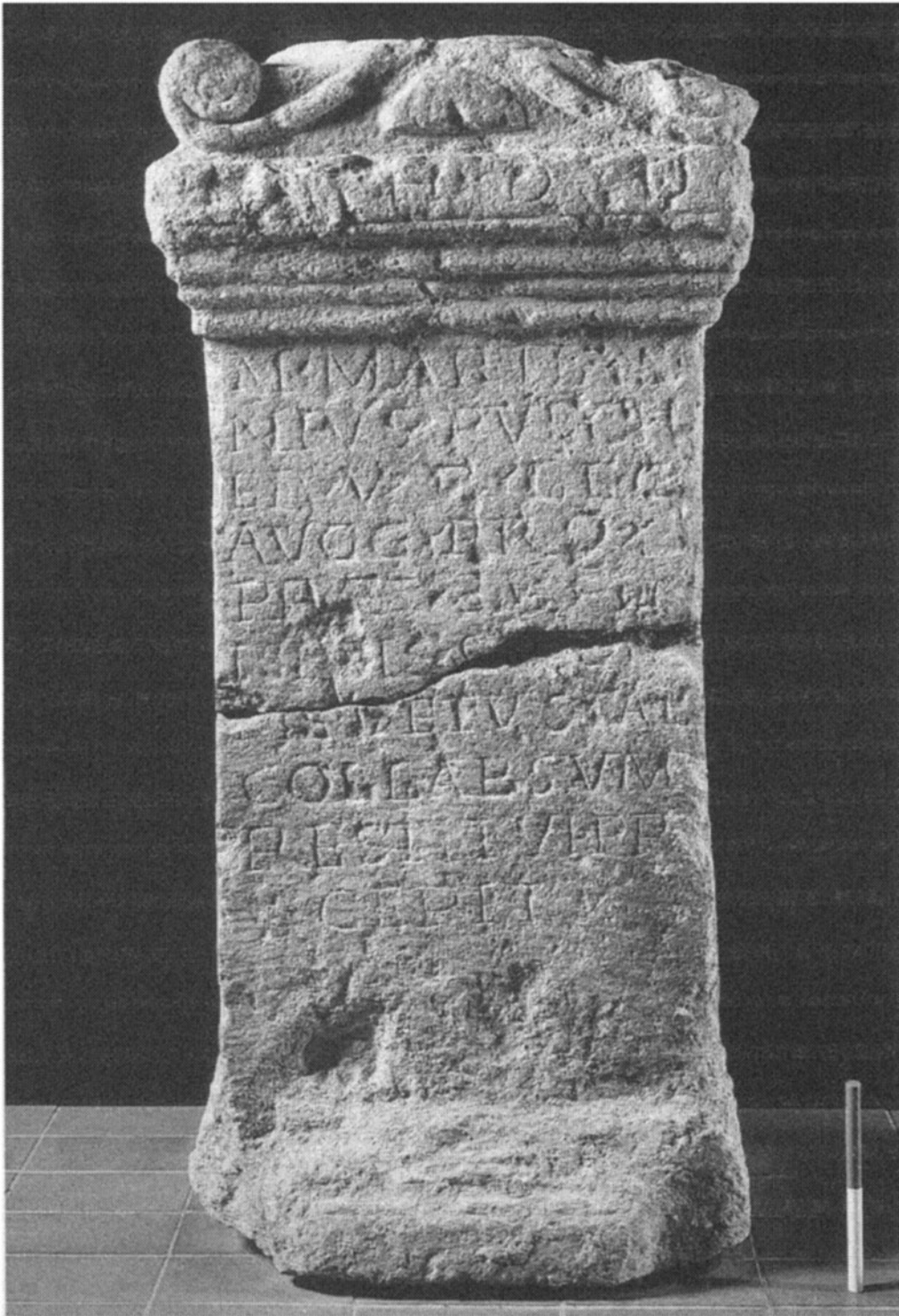
position of yet another gate to the extensive Southwark suburb. Through it would have passed the road which, after branching south of the river, would have led, as Watling Street, to the south-east and as Stane Street to the south and as far as Chichester.

A small number of rectangular internal towers, contemporary with the wall, have been identified on the east wall and between Newgate and Ludgate, but their spacing is not regular and others may yet be found. Two types of external semi-circular towers, also attached to the wall, have been identified at London: some are solid from the foundations, others are hollow. Most of the solid bastions are situated on the east side, although one is known not far west of Aldersgate. Hollow bastions occur on the north and west sides and include additions made to the wall of the fort. Grimes argued⁹⁹ that one of the latter must be medieval, with the strong likelihood that all hollow bastions are of a similar date. The solid bastions are known to have contained reused Roman masonry, including tombstones, in their foundations and therefore are more likely to be of Roman date. But both Merrifield and Grimes have raised doubts on this conclusion, as they have drawn attention to a piece of green-glazed pottery found beneath the masonry of the Camomile Street bastion.¹⁰⁰ Merrifield pointed out that such ware was common in the medieval period but rare in the Roman. It is worth emphasizing, however, as Grimes has done, that its apparent rarity in the Roman period is due precisely to its often inaccurate identification as medieval ware. Apart from imports, kilns manufacturing such wares are known to have existed near Derby,¹⁰¹ and probably also in Hampshire,¹⁰² in Wiltshire,¹⁰³ and near Chichester,¹⁰⁴ and others may possibly be found in due course.

Although much of the water supply of London came from numerous wells, it would be strange if there had been no properly surveyed and constructed aqueduct, bringing unpolluted water from outside the city.¹⁰⁵ This was considered an important amenity in the Roman world, to be

adopted even in quite small towns and villages in Britain. Moreover, even towns with many wells, such as Cirencester, were supplied with fresh running water from an aqueduct. It has been argued that the wells and natural springs of London sufficed and that no aqueduct was needed;¹⁰⁶ but is this really likely given the scale and sophistication of other public works in London? Wooden water-pipes with iron junctions have been found beneath the Bank of England and near the Temple of Mithras, as well as those referred to above (p. 90) on the forum site and clearly imply some form of distributive system for running water. Apparently the former were found lying in a north-west and south-east direction,¹⁰⁷ suggesting perhaps a *castellum aquae* near Cornhill. These pipes have been interpreted as drains to remove surplus surface water. But the ease with which this could have been done by using other, simpler materials and without the arduous labour involved in the manufacture of such pipes, does not encourage this explanation (see p. 161). It is of course possible that they were water-pipes being reused as drains in the positions in which they were found. Such pipes, however, were rarely, if ever, first used for anything but the distribution of fresh water.

Although many Romano-British deities were worshipped in London, few temples are known. An inscription from Budge Row¹⁰⁸ records the restoration of a temple or shrine dedicated to the Mother Goddess. Another, scratched on a jug, is thought to be evidence for the existence of a temple in the suburb at Southwark, dedicated to the Egyptian goddess Isis although now deemed to be a fake.¹⁰⁹ Another dedication to Isis, on behalf of a governor of the province named M. Martian<n>ius Pulcher (fig. 41) and probably dating to the mid-third century, was found among the sculptured and inscribed stones in the foundations of the riverside wall at Baynard's Castle (p. 98).¹¹⁰ Another altar found in the same collection was dedicated by an imperial freedman and a group of friends or colleagues to restoring a temple of Jupiter which, as with that of Isis, 'had



41 Altar dedicated by M. Martiā(n)ius Pulcher, found in the foundations of the riverside wall, London (*Museum of London*)

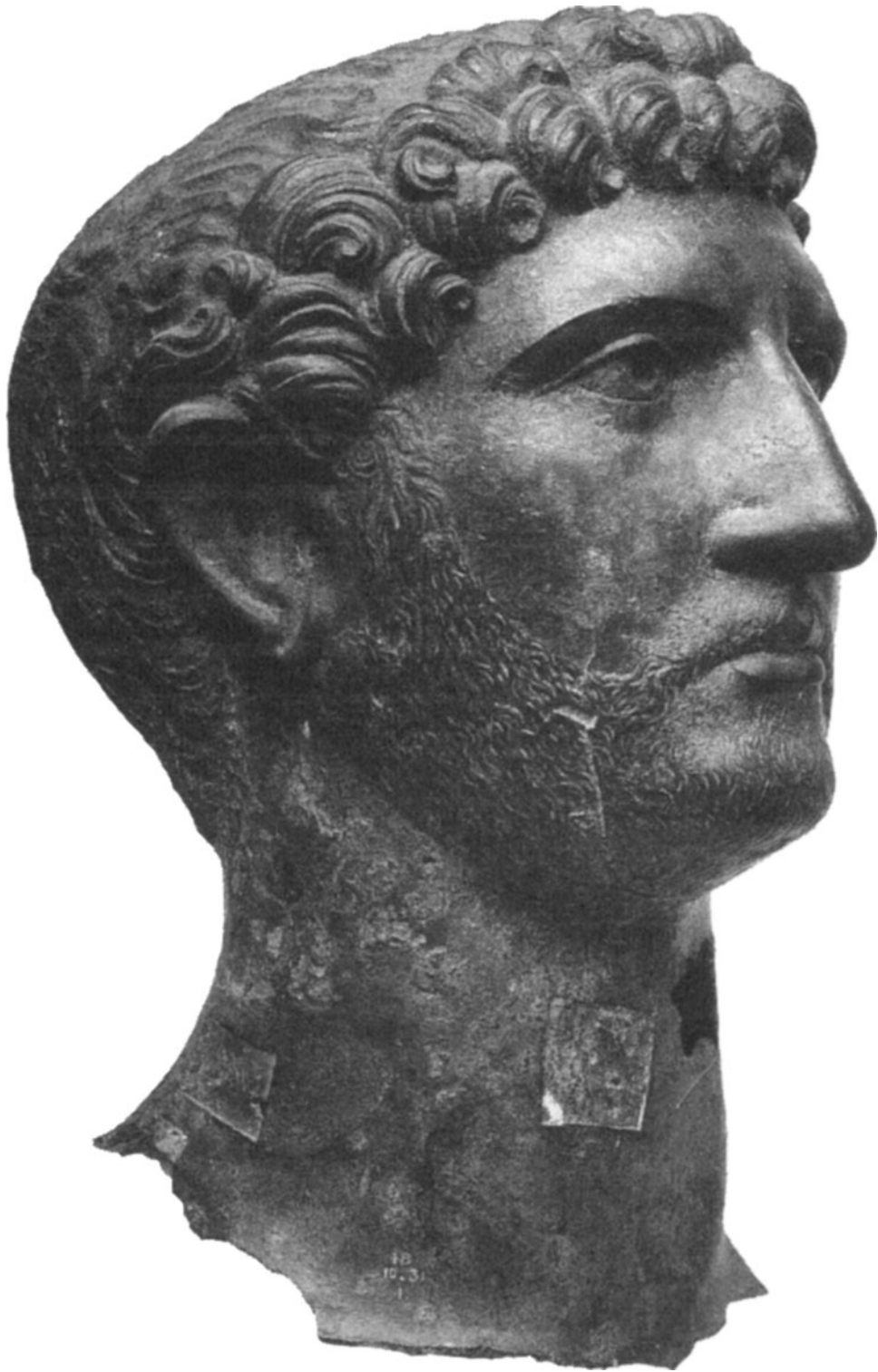
fallen down through old age'.¹¹¹ The small rectangular building, just west of the possible first forum, has been, probably rightly, interpreted as a temple, but of unknown dedication; its position would warrant one to the imperial cult or to the capitoline triad (p. 91). Fragments of an octagonal building have been found near the Old Bailey and may be part of a Romano-Celtic temple, built after c. 270 and more probably in the fourth century.¹¹²

The only fully identified temple in London is that dedicated to Mithras, which was excavated by Grimes in 1954 on the Bucklersbury House site north of Cannon Street.¹¹³ In 1889 a marble relief showing Mithras slaying the bull was found in this area, together with the head of a river god, and it is probable that both came originally from the temple. Grimes has tentatively suggested that it was built towards the end of the second century, at a time when the cult was beginning to be diffused in the western Empire. The building had an unusual basilican plan with an apse at the west end, supported on either side by two roughly quadrant-shaped buttresses with a third rectangular one at the head of the apse. There was a narthex at the east end, which could not be fully excavated as it ran out under the Walbrook street. No less than three further changes of the internal arrangements took place after its construction, prolonging its life well into the fourth century, although the later stages suggest a decline in its affairs. At one stage, however, possibly early in the fourth century, a crisis induced the burial of some of its major cult objects below the floor of the nave. There, in two separate places, were found the heads from statues of Mithras, Minerva and Serapis, a small statue of Mercury, a Bacchic group, and a more-than-lifesize hand clasping the handle of a dagger. It is possible that they were buried at a time when there was danger of desecration by Christians. Nevertheless the temple was not apparently abandoned then and appears to have continued in use without a break until the middle of the fourth century.

The two altars recovered from the foundations of the riverside wall were not alone, but were

accompanied by numerous other pieces of ornamental stonework, which represent two major religious monuments. One was a monumental arch with representations of various deities, including Minerva and Hercules, carved upon its side with a frieze containing other divine figures and associated with sea-monsters and the seasons. The second monument was a screen depicting on back and front faces Vulcan, Minerva, Diana, Mercury and Mars; four Mother Goddesses were represented on further pieces of masonry.¹¹⁴ The date of both is put in the late second or early third century. It has been observed that this whole collection of reused stonework was still in very good condition when buried in the foundations; moreover, it is unlikely to have come from far away. It is interesting, therefore, that in the south-west corner of the town, north and west of the Huggin Hill bath-house, some massive, but enigmatic foundations have been uncovered, possibly associated with enclosing walls found in Knight-rider Street. It has been suggested that these form the basis of a major religious centre for London, which may even have once included the bath-house, although the latter had been demolished by the time the main monumental foundations were constructed. If so, the main group of buildings, dating to the late second or, more likely, the early third century would have enjoyed a comparatively short life, since they were largely demolished before the construction of the riverside wall.¹¹⁵ The quality of these buildings is in no doubt as a large dump of imported marble wall veneers was found below a later building at Peter's Hill, where, in the very late third century, and after the riverside wall had been built, work had started on some monumental foundations; it has been claimed as an attempt by Allectus to match the great imperial palace then being built at Trier.¹¹⁶

The decline, if decline there was, of second-century London seems to have been arrested and reversed in the early part of the third century, when it was accompanied by the construction of the first defences. Whether or not this resurgence in building activity can be related to the presence



42 Life-size bronze head, probably of Hadrian, from the Thames, London (*British Museum*)

of Severus in Britain is not clear; neither is it possible to argue, as has been attempted, that London was now promoted to a *colonia*.¹¹⁷ But the presence of the emperor in the province could have acted as a spur to new construction work, as had Hadrian's visit eighty or so years earlier (fig. 42).

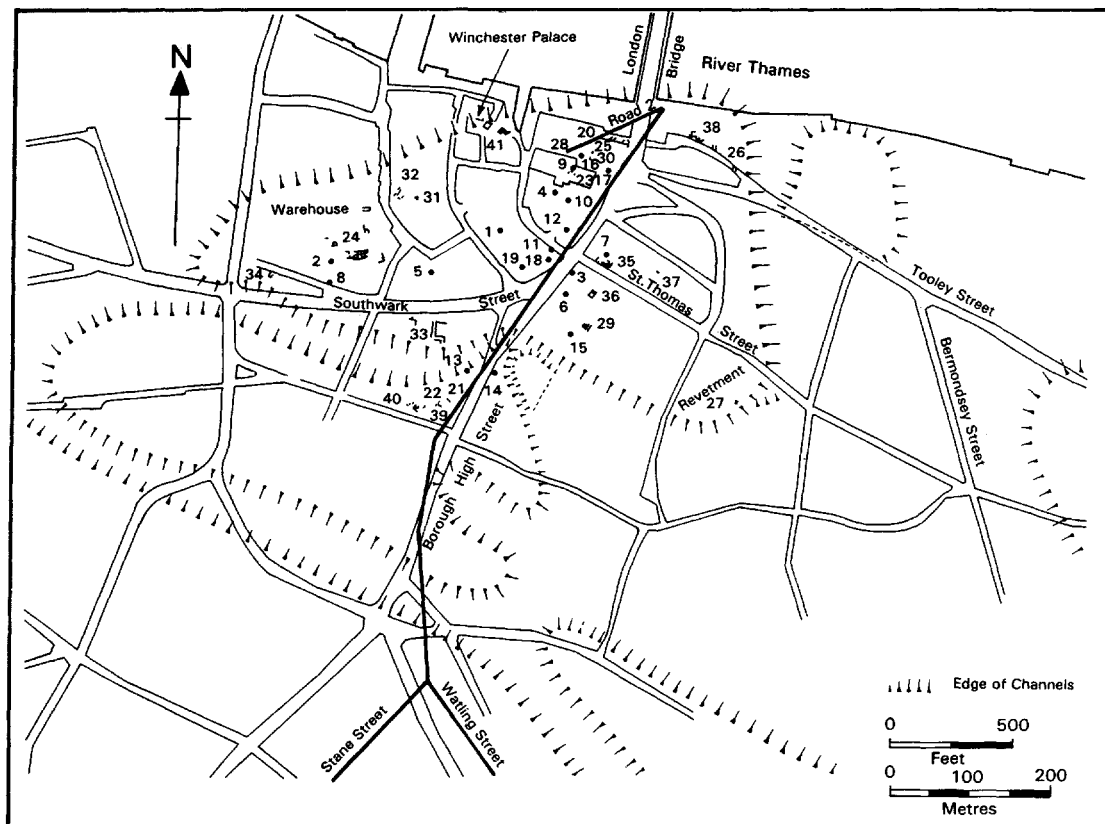
The principal change to be observed in London in the third century was the construction of many buildings in masonry as opposed to timber, cob or mud brick. Many of the new buildings were somewhat larger and more opulent, but there appear to have been fewer of them; industrial and mercantile activity is reported as declining. A number, especially around the Walbrook valley,¹¹⁸ contained mosaics and hypocausts, and some had their own bath-houses, such as that in the central courtyard of a house in Billingsgate. It has been claimed that these changes reflect a polarization of society,¹¹⁹ between the rich upper classes and the *nouveau riche* merchants and industrialists: county versus trade! If this was so, then new class barriers were quickly being erected to replace those demolished by the award of Roman citizenship to all freeborn people of the empire under the *constitutio Antoniniani*.

The early fourth century saw some other curious changes in London. The forum and most of the basilica were razed *c.* 300 and never rebuilt.¹²⁰ The gubernatorial palace under Cannon Street station had become dilapidated and was clearly no longer used for the purpose for which it had been built.¹²¹ The amphitheatre was derelict by the middle of the fourth century,¹²² as was the building supposedly started by Allectus at Peter's Hill. Yet most streets continued to be maintained and some new residential housing was appearing on a number of sites. But there clearly had been profound changes in administrative, social and economic affairs, the reasons for which can only be guessed at; presumably, they were connected with the fundamental reorganization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century. It is also interesting to contrast the supposed contraction of town life, as then inferred, with the obvious

prosperity of the villas and roadside settlements around London.

Considerable suburbs had developed outside the town over the previous centuries, none more so than that at Southwark on the south bank of the Thames (fig. 43). The topography was different from the main town site and seems at first to have consisted of a number of low islands surrounded by tidal flats and marshes. The two main roads approaching the Thames bridge from the south made use of this higher ground before meeting just south of the bridge.¹²³ The suburb began to develop around this junction and the bridgehead in the pre-Flavian period; it is not impossible that there was an early fort hereabouts. Thereafter, it evolved much along the lines of a typical suburb, with shops and workshops, many with their own residential quarters, predominating and lining the main roads and some subsidiary lanes. Yet, unlike a typical suburb, it also contained buildings of size and quality; somewhere, there might be a temple of Isis (p. 101). Another building, found near the intersection of Southwark Street and Borough High Street, was arranged round a courtyard and dated to the early Flavian period; it may have been a *mansio*, and was rebuilt several times to different plans. The later versions possessed some rooms with hypocausts, while even the earlier had tessellated floors and painted wall-plaster.¹²⁴

An even larger and more imposing second-century building was found in the area of the medieval Winchester palace; one room had possessed first-class perspective and figured wall paintings, with architectural features;¹²⁵ other rooms contained hypocausts. But the most interesting find was the fragments of a marble inscription,¹²⁶ probably dating to the early third century, containing a list of names of some of the members of several legionary cohorts. What these soldiers were doing in Southwark, in this particular building, and why their names were so recorded, is entirely obscure. They may have been seconded for duties connected with the provincial governor, a possibility which has caused the suggestion to be made that this building was his



43 The suburb of Southwark (after Heard, Sheldon and Thompson)

palace rather than that under Cannon Street station.

Southwark seems to have suffered a somewhat worse recession than the town across the river in the later second century, which continued until the middle of the third. By that time, it has been argued, the suburb was mostly deserted.¹²⁷ Yet a considerable revival in building activity took place towards the end of that century which seems to have embraced much of the settlement area; it certainly included refurbishment of the probable public buildings noted above. Finally, even they were demolished and burials were inserted, at least into the ruins of the building in Southwark Street, as well as into some other sites in the late fourth century.¹²⁸

Southwark seems to have possessed a waterfront not dissimilar to that on the opposite bank. A

sunken river barge, or lighter, was found under Guy's Hospital, where it had been abandoned c. 200 in what had been a creek off the main stream. Other ships are known from London from both banks of the river. One from near Blackfriars contained a cargo of building stone from mid-Kent and had sunk in a collision. The stone may have been intended for the town wall, then being erected. The ship also showed novel methods of construction, possibly representing a local tradition.¹²⁹

An abundance of environmental and industrial evidence has now accumulated in London, from both north and south of the river. Of greatest importance probably is the huge quantity of preserved wood used in structures, which has enabled extremely accurate dates to be calculated from dendrochronological observations, often to

the exact year when trees were felled and building started, as with the possible *mansio* in Southwark, where the under-wall piling timbers were felled in 74. The largest group of plant pollens and other remains so far published was probably that revealed in the upper Walbrook valley,¹³⁰ and was accompanied by a comprehensive catalogue of insects. Taken together they present a highly detailed picture of the appearance of the valley from pre- to post-Roman times. The frequency of damp-loving plants indicates the continuing wet state of the site throughout the Roman period and the difficulties which must have been experienced in drainage. A remarkably diverse flora then flourished in this area, in contrast to that of the pre-Roman period. Cultivated plants are well represented in the former, as also are those used in medicine and industry, plus the occasional exotic import such as olives, cucumbers, figs and vines. Three surprising absences might be noted: the rose, foxglove and deadly nightshade, often used for decoration or medication.

Much of the industrial, commercial and craft operations now known to have been carried on in London and its suburbs was characteristic of most urban centres. Of particular interest, because of its rarity, was the goldsmith's establishment which occupied the site of the governor's palace under Cannon Street station in the early Flavian period. Its activities seem to have centred round the refining of impure gold by remelting the base alloy in closed containers with brick-dust, or other absorbent material, and urine to dissolve the impurities which were then absorbed in the dust. In this refinery the crucibles were sealed with clay stamped with animal motifs such as lions, boars and fish, presumably to prevent unauthorized opening.¹³¹ It is not impossible, in view of the later public use of the site, that this was an official operation. Other activities known in the early town were blacksmithing and copper working; a site in Fenchurch Street was thus engaged, albeit on a small scale, but would not have been the only one. Large quantities of both ironwork and copper-alloy fittings would from the first have

been in demand for building construction, as well as numerous other uses. Less common was the manufacture of glass vessels, represented by furnace fragments and waste found in an early pit between Cannon Street and Watling Street.¹³² A second-century glasshouse, containing a kiln and waste, was also discovered in Moorgate, with another west of the Walbrook, while a whole variety of small-scale industry was carried on in the Walbrook valley, including: leather, both tanning and manufactured articles, bone and wood, smithing, copper alloys and working in precious metals – gold and silver.¹³³ Somewhere in the region of Eastcheap there was also at least one jeweller in the early town carving intaglios on semiprecious stones (p. 90).¹³⁴

In the early days of the town, pottery was being made locally west of the Walbrook, possibly by a journeyman potter from the Rhône valley. Other kilns have been found in the western suburbs, but production seems to have been on a small scale. Much greater volumes of local wares were fired in Highgate Woods,¹³⁵ until the end of the second century, while quantities of better quality wares, such as *mortaria* and flagons, were made at Brockley Hill some miles to the north-west along Watling Street,¹³⁶ but not much after the middle of the second century. Upchurch ware from the Kent marshes near the mouth of the Thames, another important source of supply, seems to have ceased production by the third century. This pottery may have been manufactured to provide containers for the local salt industry, an imperial monopoly, the production of which also declined in the middle of the third century. In the later period, after samian imports had virtually ceased, table wares from Oxfordshire and Alice Holt and also from the Rhineland became common. Pottery was imported in considerable quantities from a wide variety of continental sources. Some came as imported pottery, but a proportion also reached London as containers for various goods: wine, oil and fish sauce (*garum*). An amphora still containing mackerel heads was discovered on the foreshore at Southwark and was marked with a

dipinto on the neck proclaiming the contents to be the finest fish sauce of L. Tettius Africanus from Antibes.¹³⁷

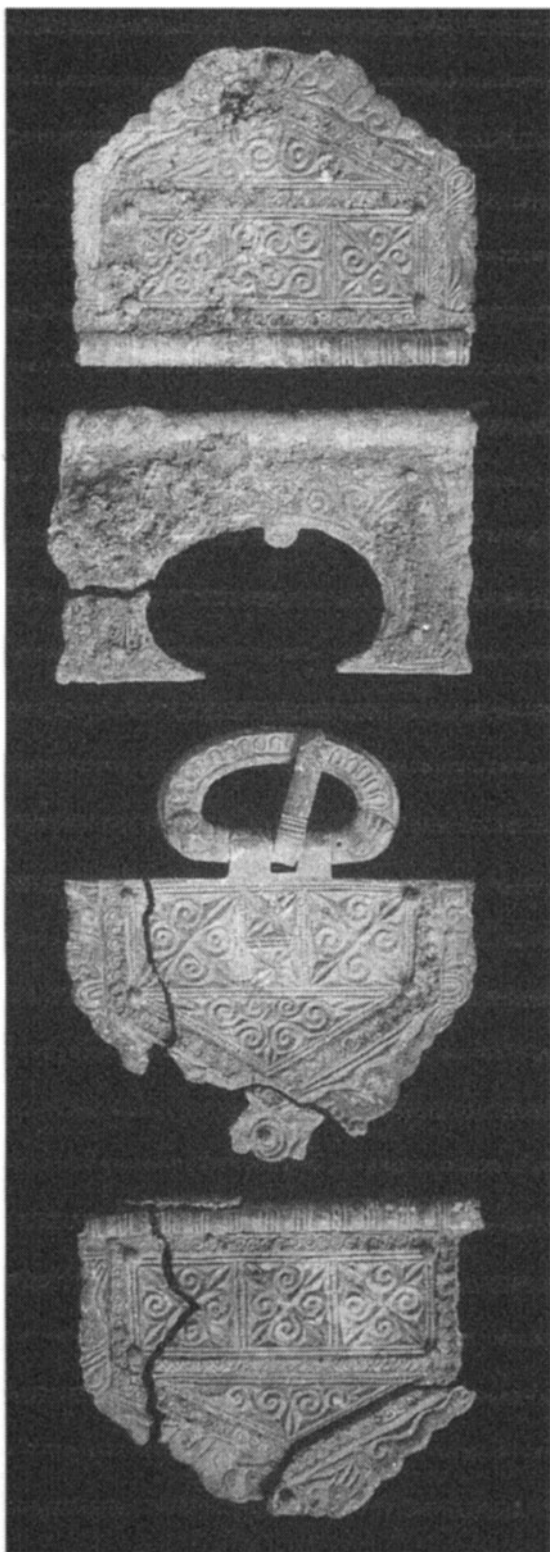
For a time London must have had a remarkably diverse trade, with ships calling not only from distant ports in Gaul, Germany, Spain and the Mediterranean, but also from coastal and river traffic, with goods being transferred from one to the other, or to river barges, on the quays flanking the Thames. In various places in Gaul and Germany, mainly on rivers or at coastal ports, inscriptions have been found giving details of a number of merchants, some of whom specifically traded with Britain, while others may well have done so. As far as this information exists, the merchandise traded consisted of fish (or fish sauce), salt, fine pottery and wine. Some also had connexions with York and the Humber (p. 177), but there is little doubt that many, if not all, would at some time have plied their trade through London.¹³⁸

Much more is also known now than was twenty years ago about the cemeteries of London. As might be expected, in the early days of the town's development burials, usually cremations, were being interred within the circuit of the later walls; indeed some are known from the centre, close to the site of the future forum. But by the time of the Boudiccan rebellion, presumably with better organization and the likely existence of an officially recognized boundary, nucleated cemeteries were being used in the area around Ludgate and St Paul's to the west and at Billiter Street, near the Colchester road, to the east. The former, though, still lay within the line of the later walls. By the second century, larger cemeteries were growing, in keeping with the rise in population, and, as was usual, flanking the main roads out of the town; preference was shown for the road leading westwards to Watling Street. Southwark also had its share.

One large cemetery has been identified in the region of West Tenter Street¹³⁹ immediately to the east of the town. Initially, in the first century, the ground was divided into plots by boundary

ditches and was apparently used for mineral extraction. By the end of the century, burial had begun and continued virtually without pause until possibly as late as the fifth century. Cremation was the commonest rite at first, although some inhumations were also present; two *ustrinae* were identified. Then inhumation gradually replaced cremation as fashions changed. The resultant grave-digging often disturbed earlier cremations and, as the number increased, earlier inhumations as well. There was some indication of groupings, such as might imply the existence of family or burial club associations; orientation was normally north-south or east-west. There was some evidence for wooden coffins as well as interments in gypsum and so-called chalk (possibly quick-lime?); *mausolea* of both timber and masonry were noted. A fragment of a marble funerary inscription from nearby Hooper Street, reused in a later grave, was dedicated to a Roman citizen, L. Pompeius Licetus Da[...], who came from Arretium in northern Italy,¹⁴⁰ and serves to illustrate the wealth of some of London's inhabitants. This was also borne out by the quality of some of the grave goods, which included exotic items such as tortoiseshell, ivory and unusual glassware. Perhaps of greater interest, though, was a grave containing a gilt cross-bow brooch and elaborately chip-carved belt fittings (fig. 44), probably belonging to a late-Roman, high military or civilian official, and another containing a pair of brooches of early-fifth-century Saxon type.

In the late third century, London figured in the retaking of Britannia by Constantius Chlorus after the Carausian episode, and was featured on the Arras medallion¹⁴¹ struck in Trier presumably to commemorate the occasion. Thereafter, the town probably received promotion to a colonia as well as the honorary title of Augusta, although the latter may have been preceded by the title Caesarea. It continued as the main seat of government, containing the offices of the *vicarius* of Britain and the imperial treasury, and probably the consular governor of Maxima Caesariensis; it was also the seat of a bishop (p. 87, n. 25). But



nothing is known of the buildings which housed these people.

Repairs and possibly additions continued to be made to the defences during the fourth century. This work included the external towers noted above (p. 101), but also involved the construction – or reconstruction – of the riverside wall at both west and east ends. At the latter, it has been suggested that some type of defensive strong-point was built,¹⁴² which might have been a replacement for the known, but earlier, possible watchtower at Shadwell;¹⁴³ the latter is thought to have been abandoned *c.* 360. It is not impossible that Southwark was also enclosed by defences in the later fourth century.¹⁴⁴

Although houses were being levelled in the town's interior, the waterfront and buildings associated with it remained active, with the previous decay being reversed for a short time towards the end of the fourth century.¹⁴⁵ But the overall impression of fourth-century London is one of a gradually worsening decline in prosperity, punctuated by some intermittent, but usually short-lived, periods of revival.¹⁴⁶

As in most towns in Britain, evidence for the survival of civilized life after the collapse of the central administration is scarce. Although London has produced some metalwork of the type associated with late Roman military uniforms, the total number of such finds is not high when compared with some other towns. Of interest, therefore, in this context of survival, are the discoveries made in a large house in the Billingsgate area (p. 105). This house, which had its own bath-suite, was built about AD 200, and a large number of coins, dated to the end of the fourth century and scattered on the floor of one of the hypocaust stokeholes, suggests habitation until after AD 400. The baths were, however, ruinous by the end of the fifth century as an Anglo-Saxon saucer brooch was found among fallen roofing material.¹⁴⁷ Part of the east wing of the house was

44 Silver-inlaid bronze buckle from a burial in the West Tenter Street area (*Museum of London*)

heated by a hypocaust and in the ash filling its stokehole was found a part of an amphora, dated to the fifth century and imported from the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴⁸ There can be little doubt therefore that this house was still occupied during the fifth century, but by whom? It is hardly likely to be an isolated example and it is to be hoped that others will come to light in due course.

How then can London be assessed as the chief town of Roman Britain? Archaeology tends to support the statement of Tacitus that it began as a thriving mercantile centre, and soon recovered its vigour after the Boudiccan rebellion, so much so that, by the end of the first century if not before, it had attracted to itself the organs of provincial government. Its prosperity seems to have peaked during the first half of the second century, despite serious fires, when it probably became a municipium and the prime example of *aemulatio* in Rome's most northerly province. It contained fine public buildings, many as large or larger than their counterparts in Gaul, which were dignified by imperial and other statuary (see fig. 41), as well as a continuing level of entrepreneurial activity. What happened then is difficult to gauge. It has been argued¹⁴⁹ that the recession in the latter part of the second century may have been caused by the spread of an epidemic disease brought back to the Empire from the east by returning troops.¹⁵⁰ This certainly caused depopulation in some central provinces, and in view of London's importance as one of the main ports of entry could also have been brought to Britain. But similar recessions are by no means found in all towns at that time. Nevertheless, a recent study by Marsden and West¹⁵¹ has produced some interesting information on supposed fluctuations in the population of London based on three factors: (1) quantity of domestic rubbish generated; (2) demands on the water supply; (3) quantity of food consumed. Although novel in its approach, there are serious flaws: (1) is partly dependent on the number of dated rubbish pits found so far in London. This assumes that little or no rubbish was disposed of in other ways. Some towns, however,

such as Cirencester, have produced virtually no intramural rubbish pits, clearly indicating that refuse was dumped outside the town from the beginning. (2) is dependent on the supply of water from wells, not only from the City, but also from Southwark. If there was, however, an aqueduct, as seems likely, but not in Southwark, a diminishing in the number of wells could simply indicate that the supply of running water, perhaps to street fountains, was being used more efficiently and by larger numbers of people. (3) depends on the quantification of animal bones found in excavations, period by period. The changes recorded could represent changes in diet. It has been shown for instance that, during the Roman period, mutton was gradually replaced by beef and pork.¹⁵² It must be admitted, however, that the figures produced by Marsden and West from these three sources agree with one another, with heavy weighting in favour of a high population in the early period from 50–150. But equally this could represent the time taken to develop improved municipal services and to educate people in their use. The danger here, as with all statistical analyses, is that the figures produced are not proof, but may be treated as such by other scholars.

Although this period of decline eventually passed, the town which then emerged was very different. It was comfortable: the domestic housing was still of a high standard, and, within limits, public buildings and monuments were maintained and new ones erected. But it seems to have lost its commercial edge, which had been the key to its original success, unless it is that trading premises became no longer recognizable as such, being incorporated in parts of the better quality domestic residences.¹⁵³

Doubts must remain, though, over the correctness of this interpretation. Why else should such a huge area have been enclosed within nearly 5 miles (8km) of fortifications? Equally, street surfaces, as in other towns, continued to wear out and required repair;¹⁵⁴ there must still have been a sizeable population passing to and fro. It may be that some obscure evidence is still not being

recognized in the archaeological record.

Later perhaps, as central bureaucracy expanded in the Empire, its dead hand may have weighed more heavily on those living in its shadow,

creating an atmosphere uncongenial to commerce and dampening enthusiasm. Those who could move, and who were not bound by administrative duties, probably did so.



THE COLONIAE

COLCHESTER, LINCOLN, GLOUCESTER AND YORK

Nearly half a century has now passed since Richmond published his paper on the coloniae of Roman Britain.¹ Much of what he wrote stands as firmly now as it did then, but he would have been the first to have acknowledged the need for revision. Insofar as Colchester is concerned, we have his later account in the *Victoria County History*,² but thirty years have gone by since that was written, and more since Hull's *Roman Colchester* appeared. Richmond's authoritative survey of York in the Royal Commission's series³ required revision almost before it appeared in print, so slow are the organs of official publication, but it retains much of its great value. Even now over twenty years have elapsed since intensive excavations, which are still continuing, began at all four towns.

Certain aspects of the British coloniae relating to the reasons for their foundation, the choice of sites and their administration, have already been discussed in preceding chapters. Apart from emphasizing again the difference between the veteran foundations at Colchester, Lincoln and Gloucester and the different circumstances in which York received promotion, it remains only to describe the individual sites.

COLCHESTER

(*Colonia Claudia(?) Victricensis Camulodunensium*)

The excavations carried out by Hawkes and Hull in the 1930s, in advance of the construction of the first Colchester bypass, put the British oppidum of Camulodunon firmly on the map.⁴ Then it was suggested that its centre lay within the area of the Sheepen dyke, mainly because of the recovery of a large number of moulds for coin flans, indicating the presence of a mint. It was argued that the mint would not have been far from the royal palace of either the Trinovantes or their putative successors, the Catuvellauni. Since then much more investigation of this huge area within the whole Colchester dyke system, enclosing some 10,000 acres (400ha) or more (p. 255), has enabled many new ideas to be explored and fresh interpretations made.

A succession of discoveries made in the Stanway–Gosbecks area (fig. 45), some 2 miles (3km) south-west of Sheepen, has now revealed not only what was possibly a royal homestead within its own enclosures,⁵ but also an important pre-Roman temple site nearby, as well as several rich burials, also in their own enclosures.⁶ Contemporary fields have also been identified – the corn (or more appropriately barley) lands of Cunobelin? – showing that agriculture was the

GOSBECKS



45 The Gosbecks area, Colchester. The recently found burials (p. 112) lie in the enclosures west of the dykes
(after Crummy)

dominant occupation in this part of the royal estate, in contrast to Sheepen, where industry appeared paramount.⁷ Sheepen lay close to the River Colne, along which the many imports and exports of the region could be channelled; the river served, as already indicated (p. 83), the principal port of entry to Britain, long before the Thames embankments were developed at London in the Roman period. But the occupant of this royal residence is still a matter for discussion.

There still seems much confusion in many modern scholars' minds over the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni in Essex. To mix them all together and call them either the Trinovantes or Catuvellauni as the whim dictates seems to be entirely wrong; to refer only to one or to the other is no better. The former are mentioned by Caesar⁸ and again by Tacitus in his account of the Boudiccan rebellion;⁹ the latter are the main tribe in Britain recorded, albeit in an aside, by Dio at the time of the conquest.¹⁰ What then happened to the Trinovantian people in the period of over a hundred years between the other two events? Supposedly they were conquered, occupied and ruled by the Catuvellaunian royal household, but an influential rump and the basic population must have survived the occupation intact to have been resurrected in the *civitas Trinovantum* after the Roman conquest. Therefore the question is which native aristocrat lived where at the time of the conquest? The earliest burials at Stanway seemingly took place before the arrival of the Catuvellauni, yet interment went on until after the Roman occupation, which is perhaps a pointer to the unadulterated continuation of the Trinovantian royal household in the Gosbecks area. In that case, could not Cunobelin, their conqueror, have earlier formed his own royal enclave at Sheepen, which depended as much on industry and imports and exports as on agriculture? Certainly, when the Roman army arrived, it seems to have converted Sheepen into a convenient works depot. Gosbecks appears to have been largely unmolested, save for the construction of an auxiliary fort of about 4 acres (1.6ha) in the immediate vicinity, presumably to supervise, and possibly to protect, the pre-

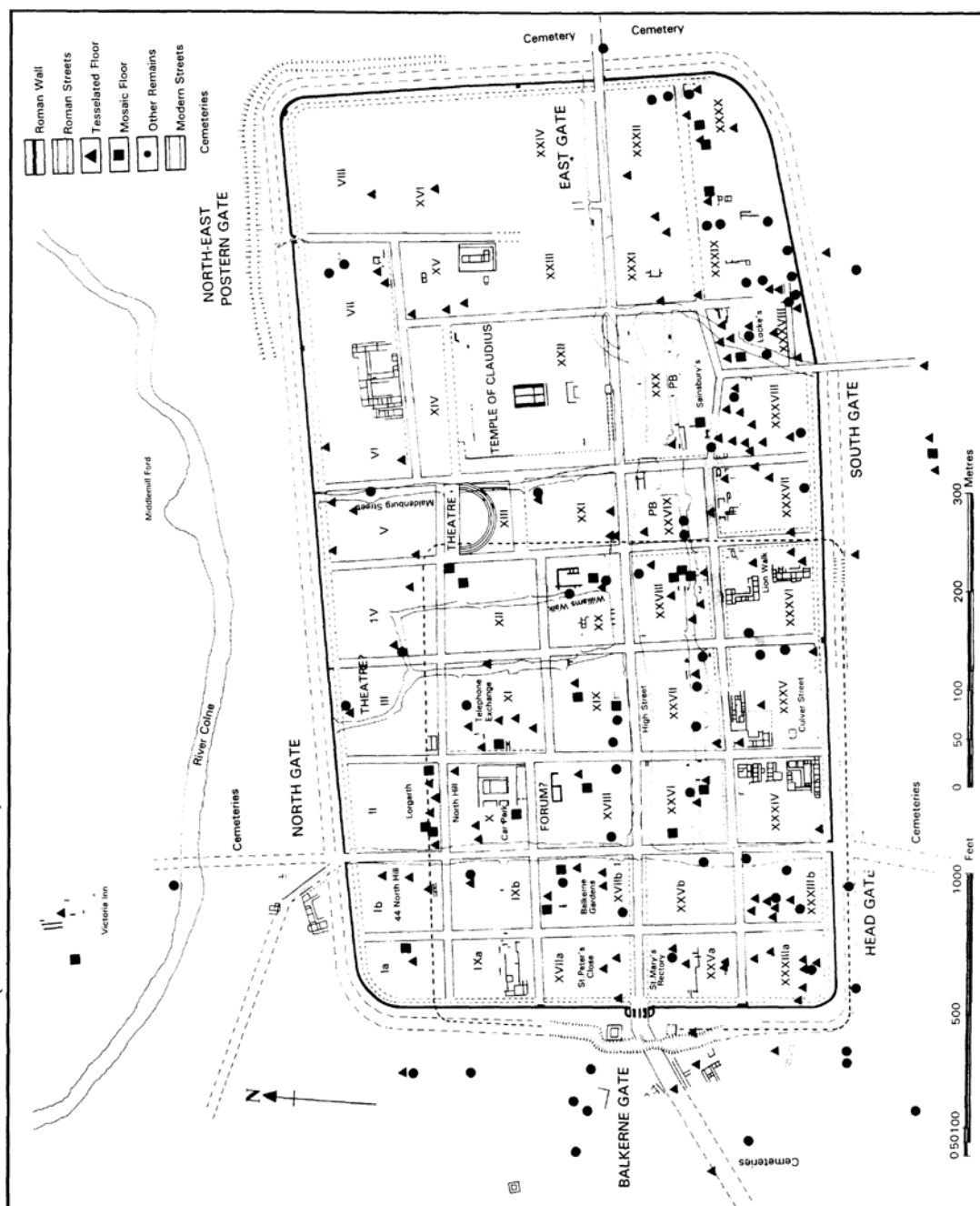
Catuvellaunian, Trinovantian centre. Moreover, the religious connexions of this site were greatly enhanced during the post-Boudiccan period, when a temple within porticoed enclosures and a theatre (p. 127) were added. This still leaves the interval between the Romans' arrival and the Boudiccan rebellion to be accounted for. It might be that the constitution of the new *colonia* and the laying-out of its *territorium*, c. 50, caused the Trinovantian leaders to be moved to a new *civitas* capital at Chelmsford, from which they only returned in the aftermath of the rebellion (see p. 127).

The existence of a legionary fortress at Colchester has long been surmised, although it has proved unusually elusive (fig. 46). Now at last it has been shown to occupy the same ridge of land, due east of Sheepen and overlooking the Colne valley, that was subsequently used by the *colonia*. It was built in 43–4 and was almost certainly garrisoned by Legio XX; it faced east, on which side also there was a large annexe. Crummy has shown that the fortress was laid out in a regular manner, using the *pes monetalis* as the basic unit; this gave three north–south divisions of about 300 p.m. in the *latera praetorii* and *retentura*, with two of about 200 p.m. and one of 300 p.m. in the *praetentura*; the east–west divisions were equally regular. Much of the layout inside the fortress was subsequently incorporated in the *colonia*.

In the winter of 48–9, the governor of Britain, Ostorius Scapula, decided to remove Legio XX from Colchester to aid his future campaign in Wales. In order to fill the gap left by its departure from the south-east he established a new *colonia* of retired veterans at Colchester.¹¹

The new foundation made use of the abandoned fortress.¹² The defences were levelled and the ditches filled in a piecemeal way, and it would seem that many of the buildings and streets in the *retentura* were retained in use; several had been adapted for civilian occupation and were still standing at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion, when they were burnt in the fire. Elsewhere in the same area some barrack blocks were demolished, either to be replaced by new buildings or to make gardens. The central buildings of the fortress were

COLCHESTER (Camvlodvnm)



46 Plan of Colchester (after Niblett and Crummy)

probably dismantled to allow a through run for the new main east–west street, the *decumanus maximus*.

But development was slow and it was probably not until c. 55 that the street plan was extended eastwards from the *via principalis* of the fortress into the annexe; these new streets, though, were set at a slight angle to those which were already in use, and at least one was not properly aligned with its western counterpart. This extension of the system eastwards almost certainly marked the commencement of work on the Temple of Claudius and its associated buildings.

Much has been written about the temple, from the contemporary remarks of Seneca¹³ to Tacitus¹⁴ and the comments of modern scholars.¹⁵ Undoubtedly it would have been the eye-catching focus of the colonia, raised on its podium above the surrounding buildings. The podium measured 105ft (32m) by 80ft (24.4m) and, so as to conserve stone in a region where good material was scarce, was constructed over sand-filled vaults, which still survive below the Norman castle. The width of the podium would have allowed for a portico with eight columns across the front, rising to a height of about 30ft (9m). The front wall of the cella is probably marked by the position of the cross wall in the foundations which separates the longer vaults at the rear of the podium from the shorter at the front. A sloping masonry apron at the front of the podium implies the steps by which the front of the temple was approached; some 90ft (27m) beyond it stood the sacrificial altar. Flanking the altar and set slightly to its rear were two pedestals, which probably carried statues. The temple and its court were flanked by an asymmetric portico on its north side,¹⁶ and on the south side by a massive screen-wall which appears to have incorporated at its centre a monumental entrance to the court. The exterior of the screen was possibly clad in an ornamental sheath of coloured marbles imported from many distant parts of the Empire. The whole work, with its bays and niches, would have provided an impressive architectural introduction to the temple.

The temple is invariably known as the Temple of Claudius and it used to be thought that it was so dedicated in his lifetime. However, Frere considered it unlikely, not only because it was theologically incorrect, but also because it would have been directly contrary to the emperor's wishes.¹⁷ He suggested further that a rededication to the *Divus Claudius* after the Boudiccan rebellion would have corrected the earlier lapse into bad taste. Nevertheless there would appear to be some substance in believing that it was from the first dedicated to Claudius. The policy of Augustus and Tiberius with regard to official dedications had been to refuse them, especially in Rome, where senatorial opinion at the time made it expedient to do so. Even so, Augustus sanctioned a cult to himself in some western provinces on condition that it was combined with Rome. Private dedications both to the living Augustus and to the living Claudius are prolific in eastern provinces, but also come from Italy and the west. To cite Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians as proof that he also refused the request from Britain is to compare two superficially similar requests. But closer examination suggests marked differences in the way that Claudius might have reacted to each. There was little to be gained politically by sanctioning the request from Alexandria. Indeed, by acceding to it Claudius would possibly have antagonized further the Jewish part of the population, who were still simmering from the anti-Semitic policies of Gaius, and whom he was trying to placate. The situation in Alexandria was therefore very different from Britain. Here, we might feel, politics would override his personal feelings in the matter, which were probably much the same as other members of the ruling class. A dedication to Rome or Augustus would have little meaning to the Britons, and moreover the same dedication had failed to be attractive in Germany. But by sanctioning a cult to himself as a living god, he would have involved them in something tangible, which they could have understood, rather than in an abstraction. Claudius had himself been to Camulodunum (fig. 47). What better way

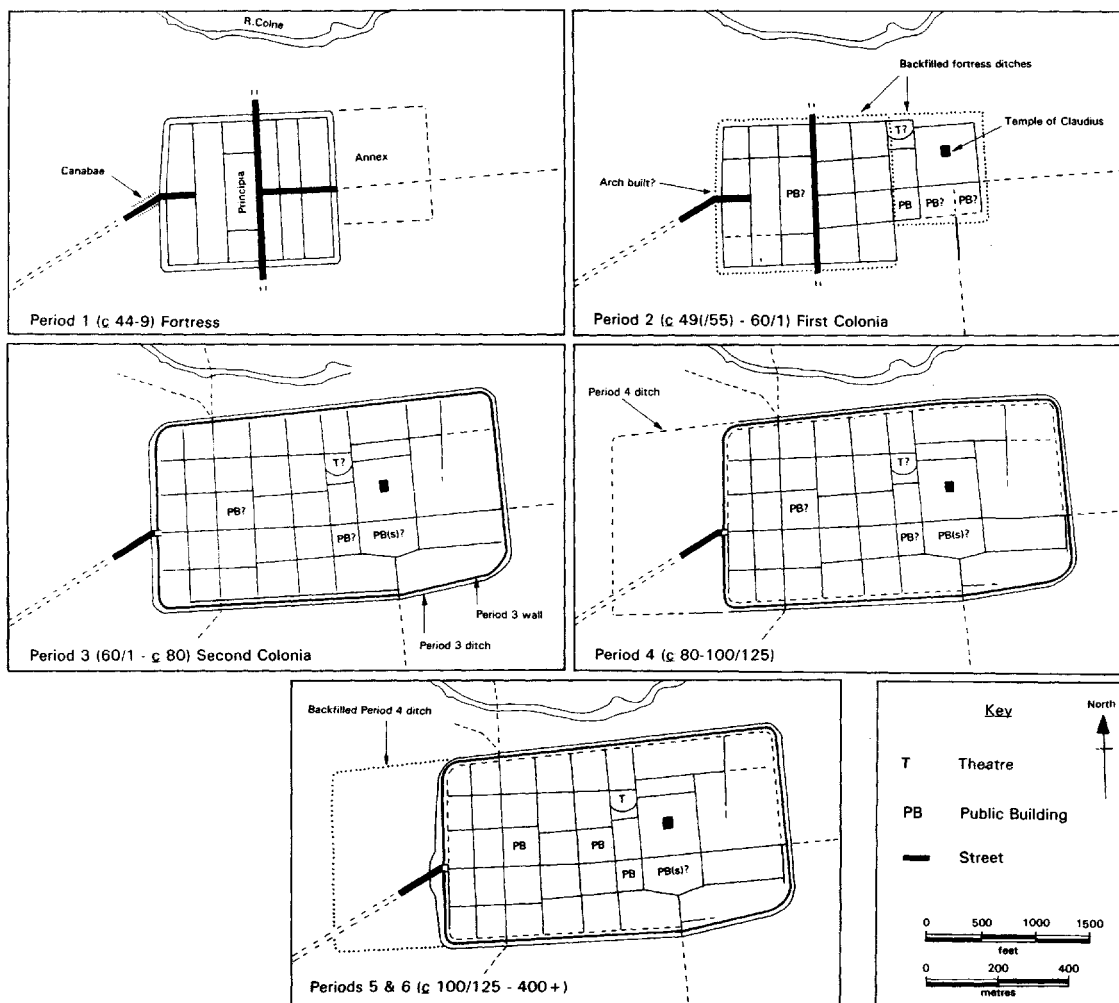


47 Bronze head of Claudius from the River Alde, Suffolk (*British Museum*)

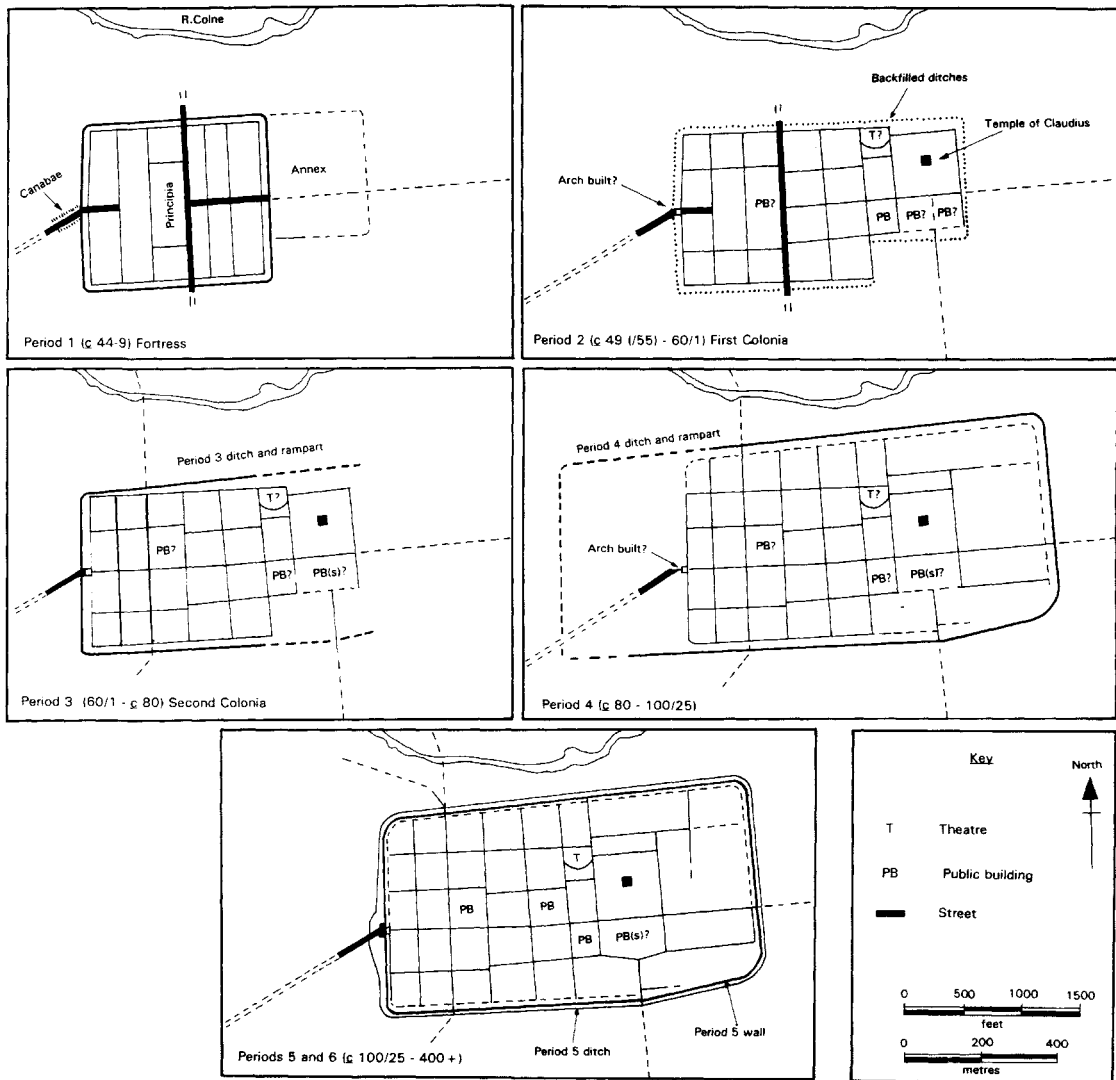
could have been found to strike awe into the people than by making out that he was a god? In the context of something unusual happening at Colchester, Seneca's satirical gibe had most meaning. A more likely possibility has been explored by Fishwick,¹⁸ who has suggested that the temple was most probably voted by the Roman Senate after Claudius' death and deification, and that it may not have been completed by AD 60. This view has gained considerable support from Crummy's recent dating of the eastward extension of the colonia to c. 55; this

would equate with the start on the construction of the temple after the apotheosis of Claudius, although there is a danger here of a circular argument. It is also likely that the temple was preceded by an altar dedicated to Rome and Augustus.¹⁹

Moreover, the temple and its altar may have been deliberately sited outside the nucleus of the first colonia to reflect the arrangements successfully established much earlier (12 BC) at Lyons (Lugdunum),²⁰ as Richmond first suggested;²¹ confirmation that this might have been so was



48 Alternative sequences of development of Colchester, 1 (after Crummy)



49 Alternative sequences of development of Colchester, 2 (after Crummy)

provided by Miss Dunnett (Mrs Niblett) in her preliminary analysis of sites affected by the Boudiccan fires.²²

A great deal of argument has taken place over the position of the forum and basilica at Colchester, which still remain elusive. Tacitus refers to a *curia* in existence at the time of the Boudiccan rebellion, but this need not imply the presence of a basilica, since separate council chambers are known in other parts of the Empire.²³ It is usually

presumed to have been in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Claudius, with preference given to Insula 30, although some doubts have always been voiced as to whether it actually included the temple and its precinct. Certainly, Insula 30 is known to contain major walls, observed during building work, which seem to be of second-century date. Nevertheless no other insula near the temple precinct has produced building remains that could be interpreted as a forum or basilica.

Indeed, Richmond even went so far as to anticipate that, to begin with, the insulae around the temple would have been more likely occupied by buildings devoted to provincial business, with the principal public buildings of the colonia lying further west.²⁴ Certainly, if the early colonia mainly underlies only the western part of the later town, then there would be more likelihood for the forum to be in, for instance, Insula 18. Very little is known of the buildings in this insula, but its position in a corner formed by the principal north-south and east-west streets, is one often considered favourable for the forum of a town. Mrs Niblett's excavations in the north-east corner of this insula revealed part of a building, of possibly Neronian or early Flavian date, with massive walls 5ft (1.5m) thick.²⁵ This building, although rebuilt once, lasted without further major structural alterations until at least the early fourth century, in strong contrast with the usual, rapidly changing structural history of more normal town houses. Another point possibly in favour of a forum in Insula 18 is that when the town needed to expand in the late first or early second century, expansion took place to the west, not to the east. Had the forum been in Insula 30, it would have become even more remote from the town centre. Insula 18 also lay in the *latera praetorii* of the fortress and possibly had contained part of the *principia*. Two later conversions of fortresses to coloniae at Gloucester (p. 152) and Lincoln (p. 136) made use of the respective principiae for their fora. The principia at Colchester, as already indicated, had almost certainly been dismantled to make way for the *decumanus maximus*, consequently leaving a vacant site into which the forum could have been inserted.

Another major building mentioned by Tacitus was the theatre. Hull originally postulated two possible sites for this building: one in Insulae 3 or 4, where the late-medieval buildings are reminiscent of the dwellings built round the theatre at Vieil Évreux,²⁶ the other in Maidenburgh Street in Insula 13. More recent excavations have shown the latter to be correct;²⁷ little can be said about its

overall plan (see fig. 21), but its diameter would have been about 230ft (70m). This masonry building dated almost certainly to the post-Boudiccan period, in which case the theatre mentioned by Tacitus probably lies beneath it, having, perhaps, been built of timber. If so, its construction would probably fit into the period between the evacuation of the fortress and the extension eastwards of the street grid, since it aligns with the former and not the latter.

A number of residential and commercial premises of the pre-Boudiccan colonia have now been identified, mostly in the southern part of the town in Lion Walk and Culver Street,²⁸ then lying in Insulae 34-6. Some, as already mentioned above (p. 114), had been adapted from the buildings of the fortress, mainly from barrack blocks. One of the most remarkable finds from these houses was the carbonized remains of a mattress and the coverings of a bed, burnt in Building 8 during the rebellion; it appeared to have been placed directly on the floor.²⁹ In Building 5 were revealed the first examples of dates yet to be found in Britain.³⁰ Elsewhere in the town, a fully stocked pottery and glassware shop in the south-west corner of Insula 19 was burnt to the ground, leaving nests of Samian bowls stacked on the floor cemented together by molten glass from vessels on the shelves above.³¹ Another similar shop is known from Insula 28, while in Insula 10 a store, or warehouse, containing large quantities of wheat in one room, over 30 mortaria in another, more than 80 flagons in a third and about 20 amphorae in a fourth, had also been burnt down. Another building, a near neighbour to the pottery shop described above, also contained burnt wheat grain, mostly emmer, and, more importantly, charred flax seed. Some of the latter were immature, pointing perhaps to the primary use of the stems for linen, rather than the seeds for fodder. On the whole, the samples were clean and had not been attacked by insect pests, in contrast to the samples from York (p. 188).³²

In the aftermath of the rebellion an attempt may have been made to close the stable door by the

construction of defences, which had earlier been lacking (figs 48–9). But the story of the defences of Roman Colchester is an excellent example of just how thoroughly unreliable are the present methods of dating urban fortifications, and of the fashions which they can both generate or follow. Haverfield, more through good luck than anything else, attributed most of the town walls in Britain, as in Gaul, to the end of the third century,³³ and probably approached nearer to the truth than some of his followers. Collingwood assigned the walls of Colchester to the period immediately after the Boudiccan rebellion, to which date he also suggested that some earthworks belonged, such as the Fosse at Verulamium.³⁴ Following Wheeler's excavations there, a tendency to date town walls to the Hadrianic period emerged.³⁵ He also pronounced on the walls of Colchester, which he assessed as dating to 'probably not earlier than the Antonine period'.³⁶ Next, Corder, after re-examining all the available evidence, declared: 'In short, it may now be taken as an established fact that no town in Britain received defences before the middle of the second century, and by the end of that century few, however small, were without such defences.'³⁷ Oh, that such certainty should exist today! But as far as Colchester is concerned, the wheel has turned full circle back to Collingwood, and Crummy, in one of two hypotheses, has now argued in favour of a date for the wall in the decades immediately succeeding the rebellion;³⁸ his alternative would be an early-second-century wall, but this would involve two preceding, and different, alignments of earthwork in the late Neronian and Flavian periods (see figs 48–9). But both hypotheses present problems which appear to conflict with earlier sections.³⁹ Also, it is difficult to see how, if a great masonry wall had already been constructed soon after the rebellion, an extension of the town to the west in the late Flavian or Trajanic periods should have been enclosed only by a bank and ditch.

There is now little doubt that the whole curtain wall was built free-standing and the rampart

added sometime later,⁴⁰ perhaps not until the late second century. Yet despite this apparent uniformity, one section cut by Miss Richardson in 1951, if correct, would seem to indicate that, at least in part, wall and bank were contemporary;⁴¹ it could represent a repair, or perhaps special measures adopted to counteract a steep slope at this point.

The principal gate, and consequently the most architecturally elaborate, in the new circuit of fortifications carried the road to London: the Balcerne Gate (see fig. 28). It is of unusual plan, containing two main portals each flanked by narrow foot passages and the whole set between projecting quadrant-shaped guard-chambers. It is normally assumed that the guard-rooms cannot have risen as towers above the central portion and that the gate would have been of uniform height all over.⁴² Wheeler's study identified two main periods of construction, while a third, almost certainly sub- or post-Roman, blocked all the entrances. Crummy, in his more recent review of the structure, has now reversed Wheeler's two construction periods and has suggested that the core of the gate contains what had once been a free-standing, two-portal triumphal arch.⁴³ There remains some doubt as to when this arch was erected, but it would seem most likely to have been a monument commemorating the foundation of the *colonia* in 49, and marking its western boundary at the most important point of entry, as at Verulamium (p. 233). When the curtain wall was built, there was no alternative but to incorporate it in the new defences.

The only other fully recorded gate is that near the north-east corner, also known as Duncan's Gate (see fig. 32). It consisted of a single portal set between inturned walls which carried a tower over it; a fallen fragment of masonry from the tower would indicate at least a pair of arched windows set in the rear face at the first-floor level.⁴⁴ A brick-lined drain, which carried surplus water from the so-called 'Mithraeum' in Insula 15 (p. 122), ran out under the carriageway. The main North Gate and one of the south gates (Head

Gate) of the *colonia* were shifted, for some unknown reason, one *insula* west of their equivalents in the fortress. The position of the east side of the North Gate has been observed, but no more is known about it, while observations of the Head Gate would indicate double portals between intervals of the curtain wall. The East Gate is recorded as having a single carriageway flanked by foot passages. Another south gate possibly led to the centre of the buildings in *Insula* 30 fronting the Temple of Claudius, but, although called the South Gate, it may have been inferior to the Head Gate, with the latter lying opposite the main North Gate.⁴⁵ The medieval Rye Gate and Scheregate do not seem to have had Roman equivalents, while the so-called south-west postern by St Mary's Church has now been shown to be an eighteenth-century cut made over the site of a Roman drain.⁴⁶

A number of internal, rectangular towers have been identified on all four sides of the enclosure usually at points where streets terminate against the wall; they are therefore widely spaced, although others may yet come to light. Six semicircular, external towers are known on the south-eastern quarter of the circuit, but they have now been recognized as medieval. The entire circuit of the curtain wall seems never to have had more than one ditch at any one time.

Another major public building to be expected in the town, which, up until a year or so ago has also proved elusive, is the town baths. Now excavations near East Stockwell Street in *Insula* 20 have come upon massive and extensive foundations. By a process of elimination and deduction these have been interpreted as the bath-house; one of the largest rooms had a vaulted drain commencing in its centre, as might be appropriate for a *frigidarium*.⁴⁷

A large bath-house of a size envisaged above would require a supply of running water. While there is a spring line within the north wall of the town and issues from it could have been collected in cisterns, as for the Huggin Hill baths in London (p. 94), this source would have been too low to

provide a gravity flow to the rest of the town; pumps would have been inadequate, except for very small needs.

In the early period, probably in the time of the fortress, a ditch, interpreted as an aqueduct, was started so as to bring water from the Sheepen springs west of the site,⁴⁸ but it appears to have been abandoned incomplete. It was also exposed during Mrs Niblett's excavations in 1970,⁴⁹ and it seemed there to go further east than was found by either Hawkes or Hull; it is aiming in the general direction of the Balcerne Gate, but could not have brought water that far, since the ground slopes uphill. It was certainly in the latter area that water mains and aqueduct channels were concentrated from the beginning of the colonial period; since it is the highest point in the town, water could then have been piped to any building inside from a suitable *castellum divisorium*.⁵⁰ But a source more distant than either the Sheepen or Lexden springs would have been required to give sufficient head for a gravity flow as far as the gate; the town's present supply originates from a tower at the same place. The distributive network of wood or, in one case lead, pipes has also been observed at a number of places inside the town, as well as in some suburbs; water tanks would normally be placed beside some streets to serve the public. That supply was both constant and voluminous is shown by the complete absence of wells of Roman date within the town.

One other building must be mentioned in connexion with the water supply. It has been identified as a Mithraeum, but Richmond has pointed out that it contains neither the structural features nor the associated objects to support this interpretation.⁵¹ The building is divided into four main parts, and the principal room, which had a floor sunk below the level of the other rooms, showed indications of wooden partitions. But these wooden structures do not follow the regular pattern expected at a Mithraeum; moreover the heavy concrete floor was not properly rendered and the walls were devoid of plaster or decoration except in the doorway leading to the main room.

During its construction the builders had tapped a spring, which ran into the lower room and from there the flow of water was conducted out through the east wall along a tiled and vaulted drain to emerge from the town under the north-east gate. The drain was large by any standards and the flow of water must have been quite considerable. The south face of the building, where possibly the entrance was placed, appears to have been adorned with half-engaged pilaster columns made of brick and probably plastered. The building would also appear to lie in its own enclosure. Many other suggestions have been made about its function, varying from the religious to the industrial, and none is entirely satisfactory. But one explanation that does not seem to have been made is that the spring may have been invested with curative or magical properties, the building being in fact a nymphaeum. This would account for most of the structural features including the external architecture, and also for the smallness and self-contained nature of the building, but not for the absence of embellishment. However, it would have been quite sufficient for people to come to take the waters. Such a conclusion is supported by the excavators who recorded a hard, calcified layer over much of the floor in the main room. The water obviously has a high mineral content, and an analysis might prove informative. Alternatively it may, as Crummy has suggested, have been used simply as a source of water, with the timber structure supporting some form of water-raising equipment.⁵²

Brief mention has already been made of some pre-Boudiccan houses in the town. Owing to the presence of modern Colchester, it is exceedingly difficult to recover complete house plans by excavation, and only recently has this been possible. Most are indicated by fragmentary remains, often observed in commercial excavation. It is surprising therefore in these circumstances that well over fifty mosaic pavements have been recorded. No town of equivalent size in Britain has produced so many, and this can only

point to a considerable density of buildings of quality. Nevertheless, as Richmond long ago pointed out,⁵³ most of them are found to lie in the area west of the Temple of Claudius. This distribution might be taken as a further indication that the centre of gravity of the town remained in that quarter after the Boudiccan sack, and even after the official boundaries of the colonia had been expanded to include the area round the temple. Most of the mosaics, however, although often large in size, were somewhat restrained in their designs, exhibiting a wealth of geometric patterns, but rarely large scenic or pictorial devices. Nevertheless, recent excavations in the northern suburb have produced one portraying wrestling cupids in its central panel and dated to the period 150–75.⁵⁴

Dr Smith has suggested that some second-century mosaics at both Verulamium and Colchester were the work of the same 'school'.⁵⁵ One indication of greater opulence was found by Miss Richardson in cutting a section through the eastern defences in the area now occupied by the sixth-form college. It was a fragment of painted plaster which had been embellished with gold-leaf decoration, normally only rarely used; the fragment need not have come from a private house.⁵⁶ Other interesting fragments of plaster came from a house outside the Balcerne Gate; one of the main themes was of duelling gladiators.⁵⁷

A substantial town house is known in Insula 9 beneath what is now the sixth-form college. Unfortunately, the excavation was carried out mainly in 1865, and no precise information is available apart from the plan. Wheeler excavated extensively in Insula 6 and found what he interpreted as two courtyard houses, which he dated to the later years of the first century, although it is more likely that they belonged to the second;⁵⁸ other houses have been located in Insulae 10, 25a and 39. More recently, Crummy has cleared large areas in Insulae 34–6 (Lion Walk and Culver Street) and uncovered several complete, or nearly complete, house plans of the post-Boudiccan town (fig. 50).⁵⁹ In the time immediately after the



50 Town houses at Lion Walk, Colchester in the second to fifth century (*Crummey*)

rebellion some plots were rebuilt quite rapidly, while others remained vacant and apparently under cultivation until the middle or later second century. Interestingly, the plot boundaries of the most rapid rebuilds survived, indicating perhaps the survival of their owners, who had returned to claim their properties. But these somewhat flimsy structures of the later first century were swept away and replaced by more substantial buildings towards the mid and later second century, in direct contrast to what, it has been argued, was happening in London at the same time. Some at least appear to have been courtyard houses, and show a closer relationship to the compact peristyled dwellings of the Mediterranean world than to the more normal, rather sprawling Romano-British town houses. Such plans presumably proclaim the identity of the owners as descendants of the original veteran founders of the *colonia*. Some also seem to have retained connections with commerce, such as Building 113, which had a workshop next to the street and a high-class mosaic in the next room.

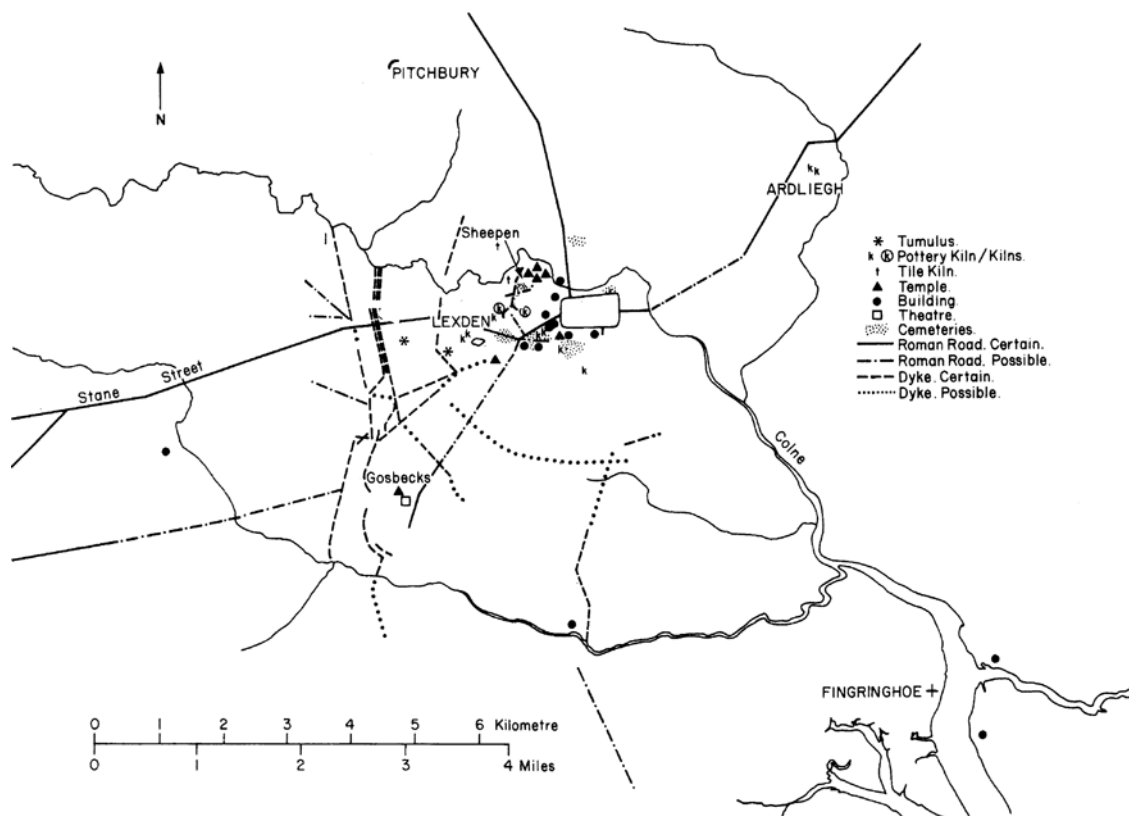
Even then some cultivation still seems to have taken place within the walls, and it is therefore of little surprise that one of the associated buildings was about 33ft (10m) square, with thick buttressed walls: a tower granary is a possible interpretation. Later a corn-drier was cut into its ruins, which at least shows continuity of function in a different guise. Seaweed was being used as a fertilizer, and the area is the only one inside the town walls to have produced a ploughshare.⁶⁰ But not all the land was devoted to cultivation. Livestock were also being kept and the granary might point to beasts being fattened before slaughter. Moreover, in the fourth century, following the piecemeal demolition of all the houses, the only replacement, in the north-east corner of Insula 35, was a large aisled building reminiscent of some late villas (p. 81 and 318).

A surprising feature of the town has been the apparent absence of evidence for light industrial work, such as might be carried on by coppersmiths or blacksmiths, and which is usually so abundant

in other towns. One example is a possible coppersmith's workshop in Insula 10. But even after the extensive excavations in Insulae 34 and 35, evidence for metal-working is scarce. Some traces of work in copper alloys was found in the area of Building 112, but is thought to be residual and derived from the later period of the fortress.⁶¹ Colchester is one of the few places in Britain where a coppersmith is actually known by name, for Cintusmus dedicated a plaque to the god Silvanus Callirios, probably at a shrine just outside the town.⁶² Perhaps such work was more commonly carried on extramurally and a considerable industrial site is known from the early period in the Sheepen area. Richmond attributed the absence to accident of discovery, but it should not be forgotten that industry was sometimes controlled in chartered towns.⁶³

Besides a preponderance of legionary veterans among the original inhabitants, it is likely that *incolae*, or native members, were also included in the community. Indeed Tacitus explicitly refers to them in his passage describing the events leading up to the Boudiccan rebellion,⁶⁴ and the presence of a *censitor*⁶⁵ of Roman citizens in the second century might imply, by contrast, their presence too (fig. 51). The stories of hardship inflicted on some natives by the veterans, as told by Tacitus, may have exceeded the truth. It is possible that much of the land-grabbing may have been restricted to that belonging to the outright enemies of Rome, such as the estates of Cunobelin's sons. Indeed Tacitus' use of the imperfect tense, remarked by Richmond to describe the continuing nature of the sequestrations, sounds more like an extensive political purge being carried out against their followers. We may reason so, for later manifestations clearly show a degree of tolerance towards some natives and their customs, which may be only in part due to the repercussions of the rebellion. This tolerance is best represented by the number of Romano-Celtic temples and other shrines probably built by native inhabitants, which are known outside the town, especially in the areas towards Sheepen Farm, and

GN·MVNATIVS·M·F·PAL
AVRELIVS·BASSVS
PROCAVC
PRAEFFABR·PRAEF·COH·III
SAGITTARIORVM·PRAEF·COH·ITERVM·II
ASTVRVM·CENSITOR·CIVIVM
ROMANORVM·COLONIAE·VICTRI
CENSISQVAE·EST·IN·BRIT·TANNIA
CAMALODVNI·CVRATOR
VIAENOMENTANA·PATRONVS·EIVSDEM
MVNICIPI·FLAMEN·PERPETVS
DVVM·VIR·ALIPOTESTATE
AEDILIS·DICTATOR·III



52 The Colchester area (after Niblett)

also by the extensive religious centre at Gosbecks Farm, about 2 miles (3.3km) south-west of the colonia (fig. 52).

The temple at Gosbecks stands in the south-east corner of a ditched enclosure of undoubted pre-Roman origin, presumably to leave room for some prominent totem such as a grove of trees nearer its centre. The ditch, although it was open until the later second century, was itself surrounded by a large double portico, which stood within one of a pair of walled enclosures. About 500ft (150m) south of the temple, a theatre, which is one of the largest yet known in Britain, was erected late in the first or early in the second

century (see fig. 21). At first the earthen seat banks were retained by wooden walls, but by the middle of the second century the outside walls had been rebuilt in stone.⁶⁶ Yet for some unknown reason it was demolished about AD 200. The conjunction of temple and theatre was comparatively common in the Graeco-Roman world, but here it probably represents a Romano-Celtic synthesis and the Romanization of a site of obvious native sanctity. Moreover, the theatre and the enclosures are evidence for attendance by large crowds, and it is possible that the site may have acted as some gathering place for the Trinovantes, where fairs and markets were held in addition to the celebration of religious rites. Not far away was found the famous bronze statue of Mercury, who was the patron deity of merchants.

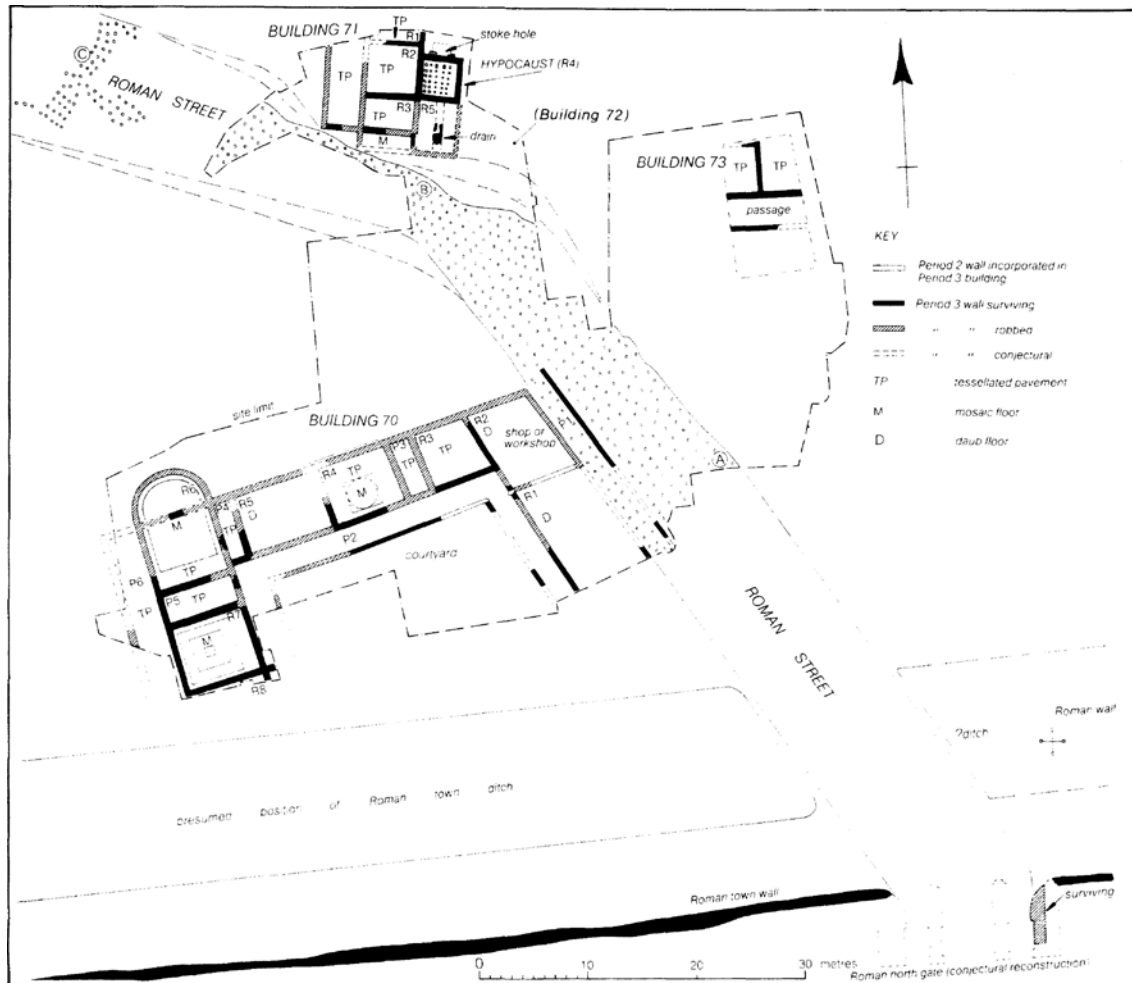
These temples and their situations illustrate

51 Honorific inscription from Nomentum to Gn. Munatius Aurelius Bassus, *censor*
civium Romanorum Camaloduni (Vatican Museum)

two contrasting attitudes of the Roman citizens of the *colonia* towards the local inhabitants. On the one side there is the tolerance which allowed native-style shrines and gathering places to flourish, if not in the town, then at least in the *territorium* attached to it. Clearly not all the land was distributed among the veterans. On the other side there is the distinction between the citizens with their own markets, shops, theatre and temples in the *colonia* and the native Trinovantians, possibly living in the town, possibly in the *territorium*, who appear to have had their own commercial and religious centre at Gosbecks Farm. Not only were there differences between Roman and non-Roman but probably also differences between the treatment of *intramurani* and *extramurani*.

In the absence of specific evidence, it is difficult to define the limits of the *territorium* of the *colonia*. Richmond has suggested⁶⁷ that it should be sought in the Colne valley. In this region there are certainly a number of well-furnished villas, which may have belonged to the descendants of the original veterans or to the richer *incolae*. There are also numerous records of buildings immediately outside the town, especially outside the Balcerne and North Gates. In the latter suburb, a high-class, courtyard building (Building 70; fig. 53) of the later second century contained mosaics and painted wall-plaster of considerable quality (p. 123); yet it was still associated with commerce, and at least one room facing onto the main road from the gate contained a succession of ovens or hearths and was probably a shop or workshop.⁶⁸ A similar top-quality house had existed to the south-east of the Balcerne Gate in the late first century. It seems abundantly clear that the *territorium* also included places with only natives living in them, such as near the Gosbecks temple site and at Sheepen. In the aftermath of the conquest many buildings on the latter site, no doubt belonging to hostile natives, were destroyed and the defences were levelled. That done, the remaining population seem to have been herded nearer the fortress and used to manufac-

ture military equipment. This activity continued after the foundation of the *colonia*, when the site became a large works-depot, run by the natives under Roman supervision, where clay, sand and gravel were dug, brick and tile was baked and metal fittings manufactured for the new town. This was abruptly terminated by the Boudiccan rebellion.⁶⁹ With a return to normal after the rebellion, the need for an industrial site can hardly have lessened, yet the Sheepen area seems then not to have been used, except for quarrying.⁷⁰ But other areas in the immediate surroundings of the town were soon developed to a considerable degree for industrial purposes. The principal industries, judged by the extant remains, were the manufacture of pottery, brick and tile, and glass. A square glass bottle found in one of the Bartlow Hills tumuli had the letters *ccv* moulded on the base, and it has been suggested that this may refer to a municipal glassworks,⁷¹ although it could equally be an abbreviation of the *tria nomina* of a citizen manufacturer. The manufacture of pottery at Colchester seems to have been carried out on a large scale, and it is clear that the products were widely traded. Some several dozen kilns have already been explored and these probably represent only a fraction of those in use. A wide variety of wares was manufactured, the most interesting of which was samian pottery, and a series of colour-coated vessels. Among the latter are a number of beakers decorated in barbotine style with a surprising miscellany of running animals, gladiators, hooded figures and vegetation.⁷² The samian pottery was the result of an attempt by an East Gaulish firm to start production in Britain in the late second century. The special illite-bearing clay required for its successful manufacture is not found in this country and, therefore, presumably had to be imported. Although large numbers of vessels must have been produced in the special kilns needed for the firing, and although about twenty individual potters are known by the names stamped on their wares, it is doubtful if the venture was completely successful. The quality seems to have been uniformly poor, even though



53 Suburban houses outside the North Gate at Colchester, in Middleborough; second to fourth century (*Crummey*)

the repertoire included numerous decorated forms, and they enjoyed only a very limited local market.⁷³

Some of the extramural temples at Colchester have already been mentioned. The largest group, consisting of at least four of Romano-Celtic type, lay north-west of the colonia and towards the river. One was very large and was enclosed within a roughly trapezoidal temenos; it seems to have been built towards the end of the first century and certainly survived until the late fourth century. Another smaller temple or shrine has been found in the playing fields of the Royal Grammar School,

slightly south-west by south of the town. It seems to have contained a square cella with a portico on one side only. Originally the temple was surrounded by a roughly oval ditch. Later, when a walled temenos was added, one of its walls was curved outwards so as to respect the ditch. Another building within the temenos may have been an assembly hall. In the course of excavation, two dedications to Silvanus were found in a pit in the temenos; these settle the question of this temple's dedication.⁷⁴ Recent excavations outside the Balcerne Gate have revealed another typical Romano-Celtic temple north of the main road and

a second, more unusually planned, south of it. Both were built in the late first century,⁷⁵ and must have effectively drawn attention away from the monumental perspective of the gate!

Mention of Colchester would not be complete without some description of its cemeteries; the main areas of burial have recently been plotted by Crummy.⁷⁶ Two of the principal surviving funerary monuments are the tombstones of serving soldiers, who must have died and been buried at Colchester in the years immediately following the invasion.⁷⁷ Another must refer to a veteran centurion,⁷⁸ and a fourth to the only member of the equestrian order attested as originating in Britain (fig. 54).⁷⁹ All these were recovered from what must have been the most important cemetery west of the town, with the graves lining the main road to London. At least one walled mausoleum has been found in this same area near the Royal Grammar School. Many of the burials were richly furnished. One of the most interesting

was supposedly that of a child, who had been buried with nearly two dozen pipeclay figurines of humans and animals (fig. 55). Some of the human figures seem to recline in the attitude adopted in the classical world at a polite dinner party; one figure (not so politely!) scratches the back of his head while apparently conversing with his neighbour, and another his cheek. Others appear to read from scrolls. All are seemingly caricatures, and although lifelike do not present an altogether attractive appearance.⁸⁰ If indeed they were toys then they are certainly representative of that strong vein of 'black' humour which often runs in nurseries! Included with the figures in the grave were also a number of fine quality vessels of glass, samian and green glazed ware, including three miniature vessels normally called 'tettines'. All told it is something of a strange collection and one cannot help but wonder if here was the equivalent of a Roman child's dolls' tea-party. Also included in the burial was a considerable quantity of carved



54 Fragmentary tombstone of a Roman citizen of the equestrian order from Colchester (Colchester and Essex Museum)



55 An engraving of the objects found in a (?)child's grave at Colchester (*Colchester and Essex Museum*)

bone, as well as pieces of structural ironwork. Close examination⁸¹ has shown that these were almost certainly inlays from a full-size funerary couch of a type well known in northern Italy,⁸² from where they were exported to western provinces; it is fortunate that these pieces were not cremated with the body, as, apparently, normally happened.

One of the largest cemeteries to be explored lies in the region of Butt Road. Basically, this was two cemeteries, superimposed one on the other. In the earlier, some sixty-two graves of third-century date were aligned north–south. The later cemetery, almost certainly of fourth-century date, contained not less than 669 graves, mostly in nailed coffins and orientated east–west; one contained a minute fragment of silk fabric. West of the main groups, a long rectangular building with an apse at the east end has been interpreted as a Christian cemetery church.⁸³

Mention of the Butt Road cemetery serves to introduce the later history of the town. The parts of the town which first felt the changes of the later Roman period were the suburbs, where a rapid

decline in occupation took place in the late third century. It may have been connected with modifications to the defences, for the ditch seems to have been widened and possibly deepened. Somewhat later the ditch was also extended across the Balkerne Gate, so closing access to it, while a bank was placed across the road leading from Duncan's Gate, with probably the same result.⁸⁴ Yet the decline in the suburbs did not lead, somewhat surprisingly, to a corresponding increase inside the walls, as the shrinkage was also occurring in some areas there, such as in Culver Street and Lion Walk, where dereliction began in the late third century; few buildings there survived beyond the middle of the fourth. Yet the flourishing cemeteries clearly point to a considerable population still inhabiting the area.⁸⁵

Changes also seem to have taken place in and around the Temple of Claudius, when much of the temple may have been reconstructed to a different plan. Drury has suggested somewhat surprisingly that it was converted to a large basilica, now entered, where the portico had been, through a long, narrow, apsidal-ended vestibule; certainly

the surrounding court remained in use and domestic pottery and coins from it date to the late-fourth century.⁸⁶

At some stage, presumably in the late third or fourth centuries, two fires had been ignited outside Duncan's Gate, the second of which was more serious.⁸⁷ It has been argued that both were the result of brushwood being burnt against the wooden gate in order to gain entry, possibly by raiding Saxons.⁸⁸ Later, probably in the fifth century, a *grübenhaus* was sunk into the ruins of Buildings 19 and 20 in Insula 36,⁸⁹ while another in Insula 34⁹⁰ was probably later, c. seventh century. Despite this evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation, the actual transition from the Roman town is still obscure.

There remains one last question. What happened to the Trinovantes after the conquest? Did they become *attributi* and so lose their independence in the *territorium* of the colonia; were they considered as a separate unit but with their own administration based on the colonia; or were they provided with their own administrative centre entirely separate from the colonia? The first seems most unlikely since Ptolemy refers to Colchester as the only town of the Trinovantes.⁹¹ Opinion is divided between the other two possibilities. Stevens has suggested that *Caesaromagus* (Chelmsford) may have been the capital of an independent *civitas*, although on balance he is inclined against it.⁹² Richmond supported the same possibility,⁹³ perhaps slightly more emphatically than Stevens. Joyce Reynolds was inclined to suggest that the tribal institutions survived within the framework of the colonia.⁹⁴ Such is the nature of the problem. But, since a solution is inextricably linked with the history of Chelmsford, it has been left until that town is considered in its turn (p. 207).

LINCOLN

(*Colonia [Domitiana] Lindensium*)

The foundation of a colonia at Lincoln appears to have taken place towards the end of the principate of Domitian (fig. 56),⁹⁵ and was probably part of a

plan which also embraced the sister colonia at Gloucester, founded in the next principate. That being so, and if we are to deduce the official name, it is better to draw an analogy with Gloucester than with Colchester.⁹⁶ Therefore the official name would possibly have been *colonia Domitiana Lindensium*⁹⁷ and the reason for it not surviving in full would have been the *damnatio memoriae* pronounced on Domitian after his death. Presumably the colonia was not renamed.

The foundation of a colonia at Lincoln, like that at Gloucester and Colchester, was designed to make use of land which was already, in part at least, imperial property. This is what happened at *Aequum* in Dalmatia under Claudius or Nero, where a colonia replaced the fortress of Legio VII C.p.f. on its transfer to Moesia. The legionary fortress at Lincoln, built, probably not before the 60s,⁹⁸ by Legio IX Hispana and used later by Legio II Adjutrix, seems to have been evacuated in the late 70s. Even then the defences were left intact, presumably to delimit land still in government ownership. Or was there still rife a feeling that it might be needed again as a fortress?

It is usually assumed that this colonia was founded for a discharge of veterans from Legio IX Hispana, although there is evidence that veterans from two other legions died at Lincoln⁹⁹ and may be presumed to have lived there. But neither of these two legions was serving in Britain at the time of the foundation, by which time also Legio II Adjutrix had been withdrawn. Moreover, the latter had been newly recruited as late as AD 69, admittedly from serving members of the fleet, and it is unlikely that a major discharge of veterans would have taken place quite so early, especially as the legion was required for service in Moesia just before the date at which the earliest possible discharge could have taken place. So Legio IX was probably the one concerned.

The area enclosed by the legionary defences was approximately 41 acres (16.6ha), and it lay at the southern end of the limestone ridge, where the River Witham breaks through. The selection of such a site for a town, some 200ft (60m) above the



56 Dedication to Fortune from Mainz, quoting the name Lincoln (*Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz, and City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit*)

valley floor, shows the inaccuracy of the oft-repeated generalization that Roman towns preferred the plains to hill-tops.¹⁰⁰ So far only slight evidence has come to light for Iron Age occupation of the site, which was, as Ptolemy states, part of the tribal territory of the Coritani (Corieltavi), and which would presumably have been requisitioned or purchased from the tribe by the Roman army.¹⁰¹ But Lincolnshire as a whole was by no means devoid of native settlements and one of the

major tribal centres lay at Old Sleaford, only about 20 miles (32km) south of Lincoln. There can be little doubt, therefore, that a strong native element must have been included in the colonial territorium.

Petch argued that the legionary defences of timber and turf were used for the colonia, possibly being strengthened by the addition of interval towers, set astride the rampart.¹⁰² Nevertheless the legionary defences were standing when the

colonia was founded, with the timber-work of the rampart and the gates still intact.¹⁰³ Almost immediately work was started to provide them with a stone cladding, both at the gates, and in front of the rampart, where a wall 4ft (1.2m) thick was built, so lending greater dignity and permanence to the defences. The wall partly overlay a legionary ditch; moreover it had no proper foundations. This combination ultimately caused it to lean outwards away from the rampart. Excavations in East Bight, at the Eastgate Hotel and at Temperance Place on the north and east sides, have also shown that internal towers of masonry were later provided for the wall, possibly to replace earlier timber towers; it is not known if the former coincide with either of the positions or spacing of the latter. The four main gates of the fortress remained the principal points of entry to the colonia.

At some time not earlier than the third century, and probably *c.* AD 220–30, the four main gates may have been rebuilt on a more monumental scale. Fortunately, some information has been gathered about their structures from excavations. Moreover, fragments of the west gate were exposed in the nineteenth century, while parts of the east and south gates were still visible in the middle of the eighteenth century, although only the surviving portion of the south gate was reasonably well recorded. The north gate, as represented by the Newport Arch, still partly stands today,¹⁰⁴ although its demolition was nearly caused by a refrigerated fish lorry.

The principal gate into the colonia was thought to have been the east gate (see figs 29–30), but this may not have been so. Excavations here have shown that, in the third century, it consisted of two carriageways, each about 15ft (4.6m) wide, with no side passages for pedestrians. The carriageways were in turn flanked by external semicircular towers, 26ft (7.9m) in diameter, each part of a guard-chamber extending 26ft (7.9m) further back. The north tower of this gate has been consolidated and is open to view in front of the Eastgate Hotel.¹⁰⁵

The north gate, of which the Newport Arch formed the rear of the single carriageway (see fig. 29), is different in plan from the east gate. The carriageway was flanked by foot-passages and the external towers were solid and segmental instead of being hollow and semicircular.¹⁰⁶ The rear of the gate projected some 18ft (5.5m) behind the rear face of the curtain wall. The south gate, originally thought by Richmond to have a similar plan,¹⁰⁷ now appears, as the result of recent investigations,¹⁰⁸ to have double carriageways, flanked by foot-passages. This is contrary also to Thompson and Whitwell, who considered that there could have been only a single portal.¹⁰⁹ The gate was possibly flanked by semi-circular or segmental towers.

Perhaps the most spectacular survival was a major part of the west gate (see fig. 32) which had been enclosed within the bank of the Norman castle. It was uncovered in 1836, only for the arch to collapse almost immediately. The famous drawing by Samuel Tuke shows a single arched portal with a tower or upper storey above. Three windows are discernible in the front face of the tower as well as one doorway leading in from the parapet walk at the side; it appears only to have had one carriageway with no foot-passages.¹¹⁰

Probably at about the same time as the gates were rebuilt, the curtain wall and its rampart were both heightened. Somewhat later still, but not necessarily all at once, lengths of the wall were further strengthened by thickening with either internal additions or complete rebuilding; it is not yet known, though, whether the entire curtain was so treated. It certainly occurred on both sides of the north gate and on each side of the internal towers known on that sector. The tower just north of the Eastgate Hotel was demolished and replaced by a solid platform. As yet, it is only possible to date these refurbishment generally to the late third or fourth centuries.¹¹¹

An alternative explanation for the sequence of fortifications can nevertheless be made. It is possible that, when the stone defences were reconstructed during the third century, gates with

rectangular towers were constructed without projections and flush with the front of the heightened curtain wall. If so, then the projecting towers represent additions made to the gates at a later period, probably during the first half of the fourth century.¹¹² Certainly the segmental towers at the north gate are not bonded with the masonry of the curtain wall, but if they are not part of the original scheme, then Lincoln would be the only town in Britain to have added external gate-towers (cf. west gate of the lower town, p. 142). Also, if the gate-towers were additions, were they part of a larger series of added external bastions? As yet, there is little evidence in support of such a suggestion. There is a record of a possible external semi-circular tower, 9ft (2.7m) in internal diameter, which might be medieval, at the north-east angle, but nothing more.¹¹³ However, supporting the suggestion of the existence of such towers is the great ditch on the north-east side of the colonia. Single ditches of this size were usually late in date and were often only dug as part of a scheme to reorganize a town's defences. Such a reorganization often included the provision of towers.¹¹⁴ Thompson has also suggested that it was during this phase of refortification that the foot-passages of the north gate were blocked by masonry.¹¹⁵

A good deal is now known about the streets of the upper town and it is possible to outline a conjectural grid. Internal buildings, though, still prove elusive, but a skeleton plan can be constructed for the forum, which, as might be expected, partly occupied the area of the legionary principia. As at Colchester, it is clear that certain of the fortress streets were reused in the colonia and there is a broad similarity between measurements of internal divisions, although Lincoln was a little smaller overall.¹¹⁶

The principia of the fortress originally faced east. When the time came to build the forum and basilica on the same site, the axis was turned through ninety degrees so that the latter lay along the north side of the former. This new layout meant that the decumanus, leading from the east

gate, had to pass through the east and west wings and the piazza. Fortunately, the arrangement of the columns, found under the Bailgate and now marked in the surface of the modern street, indicates how it was accommodated. It is usually assumed that thirteen of the columns formed part of the outer colonnade of the forum. A double inosculating column is situated at the south end, while that at the north end is triple. In between are a pair of doubles, which line up with the edges of the decumanus. The colonnade continues north of the forum with a further six units, each terminal column again being double; it is likely therefore that another entrance gave access to the south side of the basilica.¹¹⁷ The most northerly of the columns also aligns with the Mint Wall, a piece of Roman masonry still standing 23ft (7.25m) high and running for a distance of 73ft (22.5m) in an east-west direction. It most probably represents the rear wall of the basilica, which may have been a hall with only a single aisle on the south side. The date of this version of the masonry forum and basilica is usually put in the late second century.

However, between the demolition of the principia and the construction of the masonry forum, the area became an open space, floored with substantial limestone paving slabs. Resting on it at one point was a massive block of dressed stone, 6½ft (2m) long, 3¼ft (1.10m) wide and 1ft (0.38m) high, which originally had had another set on top of it. This was probably a statue base and would have been long enough to have supported an equestrian figure; it is unfortunate that the provenance of the life-size horse's foreleg illustrated in fig. 58 is not known. It appears possible, therefore, that Lincoln, as at Silchester and, more appropriately in view of its earlier history as a fortress, at Exeter, may have been provided with a temporary timber forum and basilica, although its life could not have been long.¹¹⁸ There is also a resemblance here to the first forum at Gloucester (p. 152), where it has also been suggested that it was partly built of timber.

The forum contained one unusual feature. In a room in the central section of the east range, a



58 Bronze foreleg of a horse from a life-size equestrian statue from Lincoln, of a type that could have stood in the forum (*Society of Antiquaries of London*)

large well was discovered with a diameter of about 10ft (3m), and about 50ft (15m) deep; its capacity was estimated to be 3000glns (13500 l). The mouth was formed from four tile-built arches which supported a masonry structure above. It is possible that the well was originally dug in the legionary period as the main source of water for the fortress.

One last arguable point about the forum concerns its south range. If the decumanus passed through the forum, then it may have been planned as a tripartite building in the Gallic manner. But this would have left little room for the capitolium in the southern part of the piazza, unless it had been embedded in the south range, as at Velleia.

Another probable public building came to light in Cottesford Place during excavations in 1957–8. Here were found substantial remains of a large building equipped with stokeholes, flues, hypocausts and tessellated pavements, and it may be suggested that it was part of a bath-house. If so, it was conveniently situated just south of the *castellum aquae* on the north wall some 300ft east of the north gate. It does not appear to be situated on the site of the legionary bath-house.

Little is known of domestic or commercial buildings in the town. Some isolated mosaics, found mainly in the nineteenth century, might suggest the presence of dwelling houses. The mosaics themselves are mainly composed of restrained, conventional patterns, and, in this respect, resemble the mosaics from the colonia at Colchester.¹¹⁹

Despite the paucity of the remains of buildings, Lincoln is known to have possessed one of the best developed sewerage systems in any town in Britain. The principal north–south sewer, which ran beneath the street, was found in the Bailgate. At its maximum it was 5ft (1.5m) high and 4ft (1.2m) wide, built in stone and roofed with stone slabs. Smaller sewers and house drains were found to flow into it, and manholes were placed at intervals, so that the interior could be inspected for disrepair and, if necessary, for cleaning. Traces of other parts of the system have been found

north-west of the cathedral, and also outside the town just north of the east gate. High-capacity sewers of this type point to a very large volume of water being used in the town, with a considerable effluent from both public and private users, and this should be borne in mind when considering the difficult problems of the aqueduct.

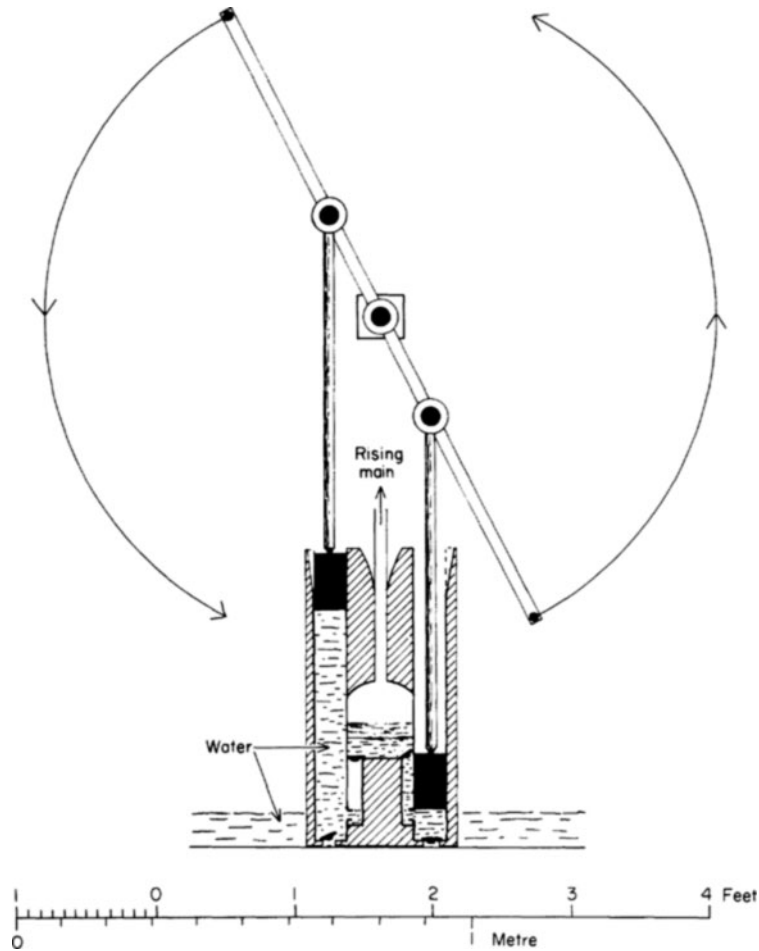
The aqueduct at Lincoln has always had many puzzling features. It was discovered in part as early as 1700 but not properly excavated until 1950–2 by F. H. Thompson.¹²⁰ Despite Mr Thompson's excavations and his ingenious solution to the problem of raising water to the town through a height of about 70ft (21m), many points are still not satisfactorily explained. The aqueduct pipeline approached the town from a north-easterly direction, appearing to come from a stream called Roaring Meg, a little over 2000yds (1.8km) away. According to Thompson's projected line it should strike the east wall of the town about 80yds (73m) north of the east gate. But the vaulted reservoir, or *castellum*, is situated on the north wall, about 210ft (64m) east of the north gate. Did the pipeline therefore branch in several directions before reaching the town, as might be suggested by a section found much further south near Lindum Road in 1857, or is there perhaps another source to be found which was led to the north reservoir?¹²¹

The pipeline was made up of earthenware pipes, each 3ft (914mm) long with a maximum internal diameter of 5½in (140mm) and a wall thickness of 1in (25mm). At one end of each pipe the diameter was reduced to 3½in (88mm) for a distance of 4in (101mm), so that this narrow end would fit into the wide end of the next pipe. The whole pipeline was encased in waterproof pink concrete to form a pressure jacket approximately 15in (381mm) square in cross section. For most of its recorded distance it ran below ground, but at a point about 160ft (48m) from the modern city boundary it had probably emerged to run along the top of an embankment, which no longer survived at the time of the excavations. The embankment seems to have given way to a series

of individual masonry piers at a point which roughly coincides with the same boundary. There were seven piers, which varied slightly in individual dimensions, but which measured approximately 5ft (1.5m) by 6ft (1.8m) with about 9ft (2.7m) between each. An eighth pier, which appeared to terminate the series at the north end, was considerably larger, 16ft (4.9m) long by between 9ft (2.7m) and 10ft (3m) wide. It is to be supposed that these piers, with arches between them, supported the pipe and its jacket across an area of lower and perhaps unstable ground, so reducing the gradient (see fig. 60).

Thompson argued that the Roaring Meg stream was the source of the aqueduct. From the stream the water could have been raised by endless bucket-chain to a tower at least 70ft (21m) high, from which it could then flow by gravity into the town, or alternatively it could have been pumped along the pipe to the same ultimate height by means of a force pump of a kind known to Roman hydraulic engineers. Thompson discounted a tower, probably correctly, on the grounds that the larger terminal pier was too slight a structure to act as a base even for a timber superstructure, and he concluded that a pump was used. There are, however, serious objections to this conclusion, over and above those already considered by him. He suggested that a double-barrelled reciprocating pump of the type found at Silchester with a bore of 3in (76mm), a maximum stroke of 10in (254mm), and 9in (229mm) between barrel centres, would be suitable,¹²² and that it would be placed on the large terminal pier acting as a platform. Under these conditions he considered that $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon (2.3 l) of water could be displaced for each double stroke or, allowing for a 50 per cent leakage rate and 20 strokes a minute, 5 gallons (23 l) of water a minute could be pumped to the colonia. This would be hardly sufficient to satisfy the drinking water needs of the population, let alone such buildings as the public baths, and if this was the only source of running water, why the large sewers? Thompson therefore suggested that a larger and more efficient pump might have been

employed, but in neither case does he consider the work load of the wretched men manning the pump handles! Roman engineers knew nothing about crank-shafts, so that a rotary system such as a treadmill could not have been employed to work the pump, which must, instead, have depended on a simple system of reciprocating levers pivoting on a central fulcrum. With a pump of the Silchester dimensions a ratio of 2:1 is about the maximum that could have been employed on the system of levers (fig. 59), so as not to give an inconveniently big swing at the handle end. It should be remembered that the pressure at the pump would be about 30lb per square inch (2.1kgf/cm²) and, with the equipment arranged as described above, the work done in forcing 5 gallons (23 l) of water up to the town would equal 3500ft lb (480kgf-m) per minute which takes no account of work wasted by leakage of water, or in overcoming friction. The latter, owing to the low velocity of the water acting against the internal surface of the pipe, would have been small and would have added only the equivalent of one or two feet to the height over which the water had to be pumped. But if the output had been doubled, then this factor would have increased four times; treble the output and the factor would have increased nine times.¹²³ With two men working the handles each would have been required at a minimum to do the equivalent of lifting a $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt (38kg) weight 1ft (305mm) off the ground at the rate of 20 times per minute. We cannot help but feel that a more efficient method would have been to employ a wagon, a pair of horses and a number of barrels! Admittedly the work-load on pumping could have been reduced by introducing intermediate pumping stations, but this must also have increased wastage, and no evidence has been found for such stations. Pumping would also have been made easier by reducing the length of the stroke and increasing the diameter of the bore, and by increasing the distance between cylinders, for by so doing, a more efficient system of levers could have been employed; but there is no evidence of pumps of these dimensions in the Roman world



59 A suggested working arrangement for a force-pump of the type found at Silchester, and suggested by Thompson to have been used at Roaring Meg

and most of those known have about the same ratio between bore and length. Lastly, pumps of this type have to be immersed in the water they were designed to lift. A platform raised above the water level as Thompson postulated would defeat the whole scheme. The raising of the pipeline on piers above the ground would not have increased the efficiency to any great extent and the system would probably have worked as well with the pipes set on or just below the surface for the whole distance.

If pumps were not used, what was the alternative? It might be suggested that the piers formed

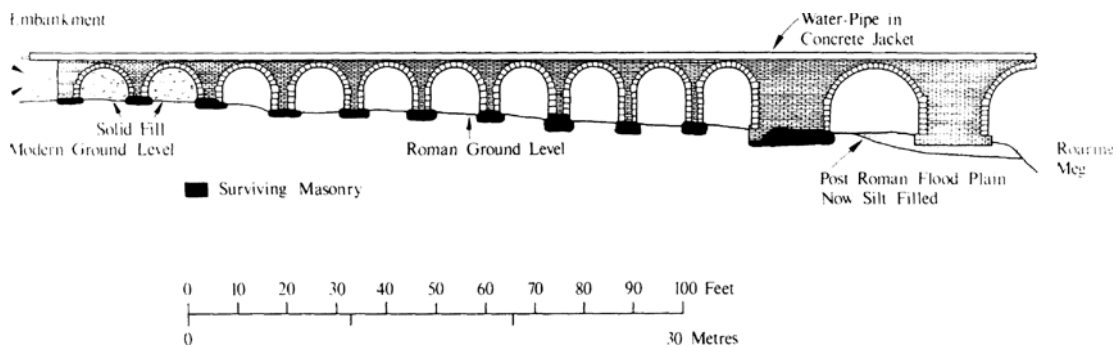
part of a conventional bridged aqueduct which was used to carry the pipeline over an area of low-lying and unstable ground, with the water flowing by gravity from a source higher than the colonia. But the piers were not substantial enough to carry a massive weight. Therefore we might visualize perhaps a low masonry structure of a kind which was used on the Hürth–Hermülheim section of the Cologne aqueduct.¹²⁴ There the spaces under the arches were filled with loam, reminiscent of the rubble filling found between piers on the uphill end at Lincoln (fig. 60). Certainly the sizes of the piers and the distances between them are very

similar. The nearest source of suitable height would be east of Market Rasen, perhaps near Otby Top, where there is a modern reservoir, and where the Lincolnshire Wolds rise to a height of over 500ft (150m). The northward swing of the aqueduct channel near the Roaring Meg stream might then be explained if a circuitous route was followed to take advantage of the slightly higher ground of the ridge which divides the Ancholme valley from that of the River Witham. The overall distance by this route would have been in the region of 20 miles (32km), quite within the capacity of Roman engineers.¹²⁵

At the time this proposal was first made, some doubt still existed as to whether the pipe in its concrete jacket could have withstood the pressures involved. Fortunately, in 1974, a section of the pipeline was uncovered in building works and a length was recovered and submitted to Leicester University's Department of Engineering to test its strength;¹²⁶ the pipe and its jacket cracked at an internal water pressure of about 90 psi (6.33kg/cm²), whereas the maximum pressure experienced at the lowest point on the proposed inverted siphon would have been in the region of 100–110 psi (7–8kg/cm²). It should be remembered though that the section of pipe used in the test did not come from the lowest point of the pipeline, and it would have survived the pressure to which it would have been subjected at Roaring Meg. Unfortunately, an attempt to locate the line from

the air during the very dry summer of 1975, when conditions were ideal, proved a failure.¹²⁷ Nearer the town, lengths of pipeline or masonry platform have been traced for some distance along the Nettleham Road, although even here there were stretches missing where no trace survived (Lewis 1984, fig. 4). But the pipe has not been followed all the way to the town wall, and another change in direction would have been required for it to have emptied into the cistern, some 210ft (64m) east of the north gate.¹²⁸ The pipeline along the Nettleham Road had been partly flanked and partly covered by layers of street metalling; at one point, the pipe had fractured and metalling had fallen in and filled it. Clearly, by then the aqueduct no longer functioned.

How then did it function? It must be admitted that no ready answer is available. Smith considered a tower as the most feasible explanation, with a tank on top filled by an endless bucket chain or some such device, as has been proposed by Oleson for Cosa (Etruria), contrary to Lewis, who favoured a pump. Both systems seem unlikely to this writer. Perhaps the answer is to be found in the broken section mentioned above and to the fact that no lime incrustations or other sediments have ever been recorded in the pipe. Was it left incomplete and never used?¹²⁹ Did the well in the forum, with suitable pumping gear, suffice? The present writer observed lime incrustation in the cistern on the north wall, when it was exposed by



60 A possible restoration of the aqueduct bridge on the south side of Roaring Meg

Wood, so that must have been used; for such deposits to have formed, the water could only have come from chalk or limestone, but from where? The puzzle is further compounded by the finding in 1857 of an isolated length of similar pipeline in the region north of Monks Road.¹³⁰ Was this intended to be a branch to supply the lower town, where at least one public fountain and wooden water main are known?¹³¹ Lewis, though, has suggested that this was an independent supply which came from south of the River Witham.¹³²

It would seem that *canabae* grew on the hillside south of the legionary fortress and that an extramural settlement developed from these origins and continued to grow after the *colonia* had been founded. Ultimately it became enclosed as part of the town, being surrounded by defences which joined the earlier circuit at its south-west and south-east corners, and which ran south almost as far as the River Witham. In this way the size of the fortified area was more than doubled from the original 43 acres (17.4ha) to about 100 acres (40ha).

Although stretches of the curtain wall of the new or lower town have been exposed from time to time in building work, it was not until 1948 that excavations could be carried out on the bank behind the wall, at Beaumont Fee, on the west side of the circuit. Since 1968, however, a long stretch of wall, in places still standing to a height of 14ft (4.3m), has been cleared at The Park just north of the previous section. Further sections on the east and south sides were cut in 1973; a long length was also cleared on the latter in Saltergate.

The new enclosure was at first possibly surrounded by a low bank, which on the east side was topped by a fence set some 10ft (3m) behind the surviving front face, with posts 6½ft (2m) apart.¹³³ However, the bank had been cut away for the insertion of a masonry wall; what was not clear here though was whether the cut represented the building of the narrow wall, which was the first masonry structure to enclose the lower town, or whether it was a cut made to accommodate its

later internal thickening. Fortunately, on the south side of the circuit in Saltergate, *two* cuts were observed, so it is probably right to assume that a free-standing bank had once existed in some places on the south and east sides. In contrast, at Motherby Hill and The Park, both on the west side, the rampart appeared to be contemporary with the narrow wall.¹³⁴ A construction date for the west side has been put at *c.* 200; yet on the east side either the narrow wall, or possibly its earlier bank, dates to the mid to late third century. Judging from the evidence of other towns, this inconsistency might well be expected (p. 75).

Whatever was the state then of the lower town's fortifications, internal towers were added to the circuit during the third century, by which time also the narrow wall was being, or had been, completed. Certainly, at Saltergate a rectangular tower had been added to the latter before widening took place; a new gate, east of the supposed main south gate at Stonebow, was also inserted by breaking through the wall (see fig. 33). A similar sequence appears to have occurred at The Park, where another new gate was knocked through the narrow wall (fig. 61; see also fig. 32); here, however it was provided with inturns, in contrast to Saltergate. Both had single portals. At some stage during the fourth century, but not necessarily at the same time as similar work was being carried out in the upper town, the wall enclosing the lower town was likewise reinforced by thickening or by complete rebuilding to a wider gauge. But it is not possible to say if this work was contemporary with the external, solid-based, rectangular towers of the gate at The Park, or with the single, hollow tower just west of the gate at Saltergate;¹³⁵ there is no evidence for other external towers. The gate-towers at The Park had several fragments of ornamental masonry incorporated, while refacing of the wall during the gate-works at Saltergate also included large pieces from a major inscription;¹³⁶ all would appear to have come from substantial public buildings of some architectural merit.

The contrast presented by the defences of the



61 The southerly West Gate of the lower town, Lincoln (*City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit*)

so-called upper and lower towns is worth some comment. If the origins of the lower town lie in the legionary canabae or vicus then it is likely to have contained a much higher proportion of native Britons, and perhaps peregrini from other provinces, in its population. We cannot doubt, however, that overall control was exercised by the magistrates and ordo of the colonia, although it is probable that the lower town was enfranchised at a later date. There would seem to be a basis for comparison here with some of the towns of other provinces where veteran settlements were planted in their midst.¹³⁷ Control of the whole colonia was normally in the hands of the veterans, although some existing institutions seem to have survived in certain cases, and customs varied from place to place, with little hint of uniformity. But the effect in some places might be likened to a town within a town, the new

organization making little practical difference to most of the peregrine inhabitants. At Lincoln we might see the existing peregrine 'town' in the successor to the legionary canabae or vicus, for there is no reason to believe that the settlement went into liquidation when the army moved out of the fortress. Indeed such evidence as there is points to a flourishing Flavian community which may, or may not, have been given the legal rank of a vicus. In time, this settlement of predominantly peregrine inhabitants, although subject to the colonia, will have become fully enfranchised, probably under Caracalla, when it reached parity with, and was able to play a full part in the administration of, the mother foundation on the hill. In time, too, this advance may have been sufficient to break down, in turn, the exclusive and rigid social barriers first erected by the colonists, and no doubt bequeathed to their descendants.

Therein perhaps lay the strength of Lincoln, and, in its absence, the weakness of Gloucester.

Not a great deal more is known about the buildings in the lower town than about those of the upper. Part of a colonnade of a building of some magnitude was found on the east side of Flaxengate in 1946–7. Its walls were decorated with marble veneers imported from the Mediterranean. Another building with flue arches is known on the corner of High Street and Clasketgate and may have been a bath-house. Further south and on the same side of the High Street, a large octagonal stone foundation, measuring 20ft (6m) across, probably formed the base of a public drinking fountain, no doubt fed by the town's aqueduct. Another find of considerable importance was made in 1845 not far from the fountain base, when an inscribed stone, reading VIC HRAPO MERCVRE[N]SIVM,¹³⁸ was discovered associated with column bases and large worked stones. This stone and probably another found in Lindum Road outside the walls, and reading [A]POLLINENSIVM¹³⁹ might refer to constituent vici, or wards of the lower town (p. 36). Several houses have been identified on Steep Hill, Hungate and Spring Hill, among which was one containing at least twelve rooms. An interesting late house, with a channelled hypocaust, was found south of Silver Street; it may have continued in occupation into the post-Roman period. Another late building with projecting apse and tessellated floors was found in Flaxengate; it has been interpreted as part of a basilica and may even have been a church (see p. 146). A third, but earlier, masonry house had been destroyed when the eastern defences were first constructed along the line of Broadgate; it had been preceded by mid-second-century timber-framed structures, one of which may have been a warehouse. A good deal of fine-quality painted wall-plaster, presumably from a nearby demolished house, had been incorporated into the layers of the rampart at this point.¹⁴⁰

There is some evidence that within the lower town, the steep hillside on its upper reaches was terraced by the construction of massive walls

across the slope. A wall, 15ft (4.6m) thick, is known to exist opposite St Michael's Churchyard, with another, 4ft (1.2m) thick, 9ft (2.7m) further north, and with made ground behind them. Richmond considered that the line marked by this terrace could be followed through, from above Beaumont Fee in the west, to the lower garden of the old Bishop's Palace in the east,¹⁴¹ but it is possible that the walls could be part of a theatre set into the hillside, with the cavea against the slope. It also seems likely that a similar terrace wall had once existed in the area between Silver Street and Saltergate, roughly following the line of the back wall of the modern Falcon Inn. In the post-Roman period it appears to have impeded drainage and a pool formed behind it, west of the late house referred to above. Bones of a heron were found in the mud which finally filled it: even when excavated in 1973, the layers were still partly waterlogged.¹⁴²

Apart from the expansion of the town into its new southern enclosure, there were also extensive suburbs, more especially across the Witham further south, and also outside the other main gates of both enclosures. South of the river, buildings extended for over $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (1km) along Ermine Street and the area became a major commercial centre, perhaps because less of the land over the river had been taken up by cemeteries; certainly far more extensive burial areas existed north of the river.¹⁴³ Lincoln also seems to have had a thriving pottery industry, with kilns in Cathedral Street, on the racecourse and slightly further away at Swanpool, Boultham, North Hykeham and South Carlton. Stone was probably quarried at Greetwell to the east and northwards along the line of Ermine Street. Apart from this, there is little other specific evidence of industries in the immediate neighbourhood of Lincoln, although smelting of local iron ores was certainly carried out in Lincolnshire,¹⁴⁴ and the coppersmith, Celatus, must have had his workshop nearby, if not in Lincoln itself.¹⁴⁵ There is some evidence for leather-working and butchery in the immediate area outside the south wall of the



62 Relief of (?)Cupid and Venus from Hungate, Lincoln (*City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit*)

lower town, where the river originally ran close to it.¹⁴⁶

Although the sites of temples in the town cannot be suggested with any degree of certainty, there is nevertheless direct evidence for the practice of the imperial cult. It is contained in the inscription from Bordeaux, which mentions one of the *seviri Augustales*, M. Aurelius Lunaris,¹⁴⁷ who was probably a rich merchant (see fig. 80). Lewis made the suggestion that the temple of the cult was represented by the hexastyle façade in the south-west corner of the intersection of the two main roads in the town centre; since the discovery of the forum, this can no longer apply, but it would be reasonable to suppose that the temple

was nearby.¹⁴⁸ Temples to Apollo and Mercury are inferred from the inscriptions referred to above and Lewis has also suggested that the temple to Mercury may be the building in the lower town where that inscription was found.¹⁴⁹

Dedications to Mars and the Fates are also known on altars. The survival of Celtic religion in what was probably the *territorium* is shown by an inscription¹⁵⁰ from Nettleham, just north of the town. It is a joint dedication to the numina *Augustorum* and *Mars Rigonemetos*, by O. Neratius Proxsimus, presumably a citizen of the *colonia*. An unusual relief was found in destruction debris from a good-quality building in Hungate (fig. 62), in the lower town; it shows a

male and a female figure seated side by side in a somewhat familiar attitude, and not unlike representations of the Deae Matres. Tentative identifications of either Venus and Cupid, or Cupid and Adonis, have been made.¹⁵¹ Another fragmentary inscription found in the foundations of the eleventh-century church of St Paul-in-the-Bail refers to a nameless imperial freedman who rebuilt a temple on becoming a *sevir Augustalis*.¹⁵² In view of his title it could refer to the temple of the imperial cult associated with the forum.

Lincoln became the centre of a see in the early fourth century when the bishop, Adelphius, attended a Council of the Church at Arles in 314, from which it can probably be inferred that Lincoln had also become a provincial capital (p. 87). There is, though, little other evidence for the practice of Christianity in the town. It has been argued that the apsidally ended building in Flaxengate was part of a basilican church, since it faces east, and there is always the possibility that the earliest version of St Paul-in-the-Bail may be late Roman.¹⁵³ It would not be the only Christian establishment to be built on the site of a Roman basilica or forum. Not far from Lincoln, symbols of Christianity occur on lead tanks from Walesby, Brough and Bishop Norton and on lead caskets from Caistor and Thorpe-by-Newark.

Apart from Lunaris and Proximus, other inhabitants of the town are known from tombstones. A decurion, Aurelius Senecio, erected a stone to his young wife Volusia Faustina (fig. 63). A veteran from Legio VI Victrix, G. Julius Calenus, who died there, and another from Legio XIV seem to have been citizens of the *colonia*, as was a nameless, retired decurion of the cavalry regiment, Ala II Asturum. The cosmopolitan nature of the population is illustrated best by the tombstones, one of a Greek, Flavius Helius, the other of a non-citizen called Sacer who came with his wife and son from the *civitas Senonum* in central Gaul. Both were probably merchants who had settled in Lincoln. Of interest also is the tombstone of Claudia Crysis, who died at the quite exceptional age of 90.¹⁵⁴ Lincoln is also noted for elaborate

tombs. One, from the cemetery near Monks Road and probably outside the east gate of the lower town, produced a remarkable stone relief of a figure with turreted crown and cornucopia. North of the upper town is recorded a narrow trench bordered by rows of *loculi*, or compartments, each of which contained a stone coffin, and which Richmond likened to the guild tomb-chambers of Rome.¹⁵⁵ Into such a context would fit the dedication of an altar to the Fates made by Antistius Frontinus, who is described as a guild treasurer, probably of a burial club.¹⁵⁶

As with all the British *coloniae* it is difficult to suggest the area occupied by the *territorium*. We might suggest that the River Trent lay within its western boundary, a deduction perhaps confirmed by the milestone of Victorinus found at the intersection of two main roads of the upper town.¹⁵⁷ This gives the distance to *Segelocum* (Littleborough) as 14 miles (22.5km). Not much is known about the Roman site at Littleborough, but by the third century it would undoubtedly have been the next place of any size after Lincoln on the most important route to York. It could well have been a *vicus* in the *territorium*. Another milestone, found in Sibthorp Street, probably marked the first mile (1.6km) on the road to Leicester and was set up by the *Respublica Lindensis*.¹⁵⁸ The Bailgate milestone was made from stone quarried near Ancaster, which has led Whitwell to suggest that this *vicus* may also have been in the *territorium*.¹⁵⁹ Another early-fourth-century milestone possibly supports this implication on the basis of figures often quoted for it. In *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, it is stated to have been found $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (400m) north of Ancaster, but 20 miles (32.1km) south of Lincoln and showing ostensibly that the distance had been most likely measured from Lincoln.¹⁶⁰ But the distance from Lincoln to Ancaster along Ermine Street is only just 18 miles (30km) so that the stone has little value in the context in which it was found. In addition no mention of the municipal authority or the actual distance is recorded on it. But the evidence of milestones in this respect is not entirely reliable



63 Tombstone of Volusia Faustina, wife of Aurelius Senecio, decurion of Lincoln (*British Museum*)

and should always be supported by other evidence, although Mommsen was able to apply the principle to parts of Italy and Africa.

Before dealing with the chief roads that ran through Lincoln it is worthwhile to consider the street system of the lower town, since some of its members presumably began as main roads leading first to the fortress and later to the original colonial foundation. The most important entrance to the fortress was through the east gate, judging from its size and from the east-facing principia. The main problem here was: how did the road from the south (Ermine Street), which must have been the most significant route, circumvent the gradient of Steep Hill and arrive at this gate? So far, no indication has been found of a bypass from the southern to the eastern approach in either period. Recent investigations of the south gate have now shown that it was probably of a more monumental character than the east gate. Could this be the reason why the forum and basilica were turned through ninety degrees, so as to face the new principal entrance? The road which traverses the steepest part of the hill, and which became the spine of the lower town, was constructed with a series of shallow steps, suitable for foot traffic but impossible for wheeled vehicles. But another street, found at the bottom of Steep Hill aiming in a north-easterly direction, might point to the beginning of a dog-leg up the slope.¹⁶¹ What is not known yet is how other north-south streets in the lower town, of which a number have now been either identified or indicated by the positions of the gates, negotiated the hill; it is possible that they stopped short of it. One such street excavated between Silver Street and Broadgate showed what could happen to them in times of heavy rain; all the upper surviving layers had the appearance of the bed of a fast-running stream,¹⁶² which is probably what the street became in wet weather, with water pouring down the hill in a torrent.

The main roads which ran through Lincoln were, from the south, Ermine Street and its alternative route, King Street, which diverged

from it at Water Newton and was reunited just south of Lincoln and then continued northwards to the Humber at Winteringham, the Fosse Way which ran south-west to Leicester from a junction with Ermine Street south of the town and Till Bridge Lane which left Ermine Street about 6 miles (9.7km) north of the town to run to Littleborough and then on to York. A road also ran north-eastwards to the coast, while other minor roads, probably serving nearby settlements and farms, left by the subsidiary gates. There is evidence of an embankment, leading probably to a bridge, where Ermine Street crossed the River Witham. Lincoln was also fortunate in its communications in having the River Witham and the Fossdyke, an artificial waterway probably of Roman date, which ran on from the Witham to the Trent. It could have been used to carry heavy and bulky goods, such as pottery, building materials and agricultural produce. That Lincoln was also a recipient of some of these goods need not be doubted, while convenient links could have been formed, via the Humber and Wash, with continental ports.¹⁶³ It is surprising, therefore, that Lincoln has produced a much lower proportion of East Gaulish samian potters' stamps than either York or the Fens.¹⁶⁴ This may have been caused, as Hartley suggests, by the fact that goods destined for Lincoln would have had to be transferred to barges, either in the Humber or the Wash, whereas they could have reached York and the Fens direct. But this difficulty was obviously overcome when dealing with other imported goods, whether wine, foreign stone or goods of which no trace survives, and it may be that the samian markets at Lincoln were already monopolized by merchants from Central Gaul, and their more discerning patrons showed little desire for the poorer quality East Gaulish vessels. This system of waterways was probably also responsible for the fact that stamped mortaria, manufactured at Lincoln, are found as far north as Newstead and the Antonine Wall. To cope with this waterborne trade, wharves or quays would be required on the banks of the River Witham, and a 20-foot (6m) long

stretch of large, dressed blocks of stone, sitting on what appeared to be an old river bed, has been observed near the south-east corner of the lower town in St Rumbold Street. Alternatively, it might have been part of the structure of a mill-stream, used for grinding corn or even sawing wood or stone. Fragments from the stone hubs of two wooden water wheels have been found in the river south of the lower town,¹⁶⁵ and they may have formed part of a fairly extensive system. But such activities would have been separated from the main navigable channel of the river.

Excavations on both sides of Saltergate have revealed more information about the waterfront. On the north side several layers of rammed metalling were observed to lie against the front face of the wall, as though a road ran along it; unfortunately its width could not be ascertained.¹⁶⁶ Further west and nearer the High Street another road was discovered running eastwards from the main road, but at a greater distance from the wall; it also appeared to be descending a slope. Beneath it were quantities of material, either deliberately dumped to reclaim land, or as the result of refuse disposal.¹⁶⁷ But so far no further evidence has been seen for wharves or quays on the scale of London (p. 98), although there are slight indications of some projecting jetties.

The end of Roman Lincoln still presents many problems. The fourth century, as in some other towns, may have been a period of shifting population, which went hand-in-hand with the construction of fewer but larger and more widely spaced buildings. To what extent this was due to Lincoln becoming a provincial capital cannot be estimated. It could be argued that there was more money about, but that it was concentrated in fewer hands. But the money still had to be serviced, and those who did so must have lived and worked somewhere. It has also been suggested that at Lincoln the growth of an administrative 'industry', producing larger and more elaborate houses, led to the displacement of normal commerce into the extra-mural areas, especially south of the town; here development

continued into the third and fourth centuries.¹⁶⁸ But, as has been emphasized above (p. 66), grave errors can be made in assuming that commerce and industry can only be practised in narrow strip buildings; more and more archaeologists are tending to say so, and, indeed, it is almost becoming an article of faith, if not certainly a new myth. Commercial premises were often linked with comfortable and even sumptuous dwellings under the same roof.

As time passed in the fourth century, there are slight indications that the surviving population in Lincoln was gradually retreating down the hillside towards the river. Possibly, as the roads were less well repaired, or became more dangerous, the importance of the river as a means of communication was better realized. This process of contraction saw the piecemeal desertion of buildings in some places, but renewed construction in others down to the second half of the fourth century. But the argument here, as for some other towns, that Dark Earth was deliberately spread over ruined buildings to make the ground suitable for gardens or agriculture, should be treated with the greatest caution. The primary question would be where did the immense quantities of soil come from?

There are few signs of detachments of the late Roman army at Lincoln.¹⁶⁹ The western passage of the north gate was blocked, so resembling the treatment of gates in some other towns, such as Colchester (p. 121), Caerwent (p. 390) and Silchester (p. 289), where this happened. There are indications of the breakdown of civic discipline, with a rubbish dump forming in front of one of the towers of the lower west gate towards the end of the fourth century; but the road was kept clear and in use at least until the early fifth century. Dead dogs were disposed of in one of the internal towers on the wall. A further instance of the collapse of civic discipline was the use of the forum piazza for burials in the fifth century; probably Christian, they were most likely connected with the continuing practice of this religion, which ultimately led to the production of the church of St Paul-in-the-Bail.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps here

lies a tenuous survival, in which militant bishops, like St Germanus at Verulamium (p. 236) and St Severinus in Pannonia (p. 414), maintained a semblance of order and organized defences to beat off any marauding Saxons. Myres once pointed out that little early Saxon pottery has been found in Lincoln and proposed a 'Saxon-free' enclave,¹⁷¹ perhaps based on the old colonial territorium. Much more pagan Saxon pottery has now been identified from the town, but there are no major early cemeteries of the type found not far away at Caistor.¹⁷² Certainly, these enclaves have been proposed for other towns, such as Silchester (p. 290) and Verulamium (p. 238), and they could have been the product of the period of equilibrium reached between the incoming settlers and the surviving Romano-British inhabitants after the battle of Mount Badon. But this is probably stretching the evidence too far; it is difficult to prolong any significant occupation of Lincoln beyond the middle of the fifth century, if that far. Yet, there is one curious survival mentioned by Bede.¹⁷³ He refers to an Anglian *praefectus Lindocolinae* at Lincoln in the mid seventh century. But this return to Roman titles and place names can be seen as no more than the echo of a cry from a vanished world.

GLOUCESTER

(*Colonia Nervia Glevensium*)

A comparison once made between the coloniae at Gloucester and Lincoln suggested that they were so similar in foundation and early plan that they might both have been built by the same public works contractor. But recent excavations in both places have shown that this comparison was misconceived, for the planning at Gloucester appears to be very different from that of Lincoln.

The official name and probable date of foundation of the colonia at Gloucester can, however, be fixed with greater accuracy than that of Lincoln. A tombstone¹⁷⁴ found in Rome of a *frumentarius* of Legio VI (fig. 64), which describes him as being *Ner(via) Glevi*, gives the official name as *colonia*

Nervia (or *Nerviana*, as Richmond pointed out) *Glevensium*.¹⁷⁵ Founded presumably therefore in the principate of Nerva, the date must fall between AD 96–8. The reason for the choice of site would seem to be the same as for that of Lincoln. Excavations by Hurst and others have shown that certainly from c. AD 67 a legionary fortress existed on the site of the colonia at Gloucester. Earlier theories relating to the legionary fortress have suggested a date c. AD 49 for the initial foundation at Kingsholm, just north of the later site.¹⁷⁶ Excavations in 1972 and 1974 have confirmed the conclusion that the first fort or fortress lay in that area. The second fortress site at Gloucester, now known to have covered an area slightly over 43 acres (17.4ha), was occupied from c. AD 67; there is still discussion as to which legion constructed it.¹⁷⁷ The land chosen for the new colonia was therefore, as at Lincoln, already imperial property. It would seem that expediency played as much part in the choice of sites for both coloniae as the fact that they were not far from potentially hostile tribes.

It had always been assumed that the last legion to occupy any fortress in Gloucester was Legio II Augusta, between being stationed at Exeter and then being moved to its permanent quarters at Caerleon in the mid to late 70s; the fortress at Gloucester was then converted to a colonia by the simple means of adapting barrack blocks for domestic dwellings.¹⁷⁸ However, Hurst has now revised his earlier interpretation, with the result that his first-phase colonia has now become the second phase of the city-centre fortress (fig. 65).¹⁷⁹ This places the date of foundation of the colonia much closer to the time of its accredited founder, the emperor Nerva. But it produces other difficulties. When the Gloucester fortress was supposedly being rebuilt, c. 87–8, Legio II Augusta was presumably in full occupation of Caerleon. Hurst has suggested that the centurial stone referred to above (n. 177) came from the second-phase fortress which was rebuilt partly in stone, so linking it to Legio XX. But at this date Legio XX, according to orthodox interpretations,



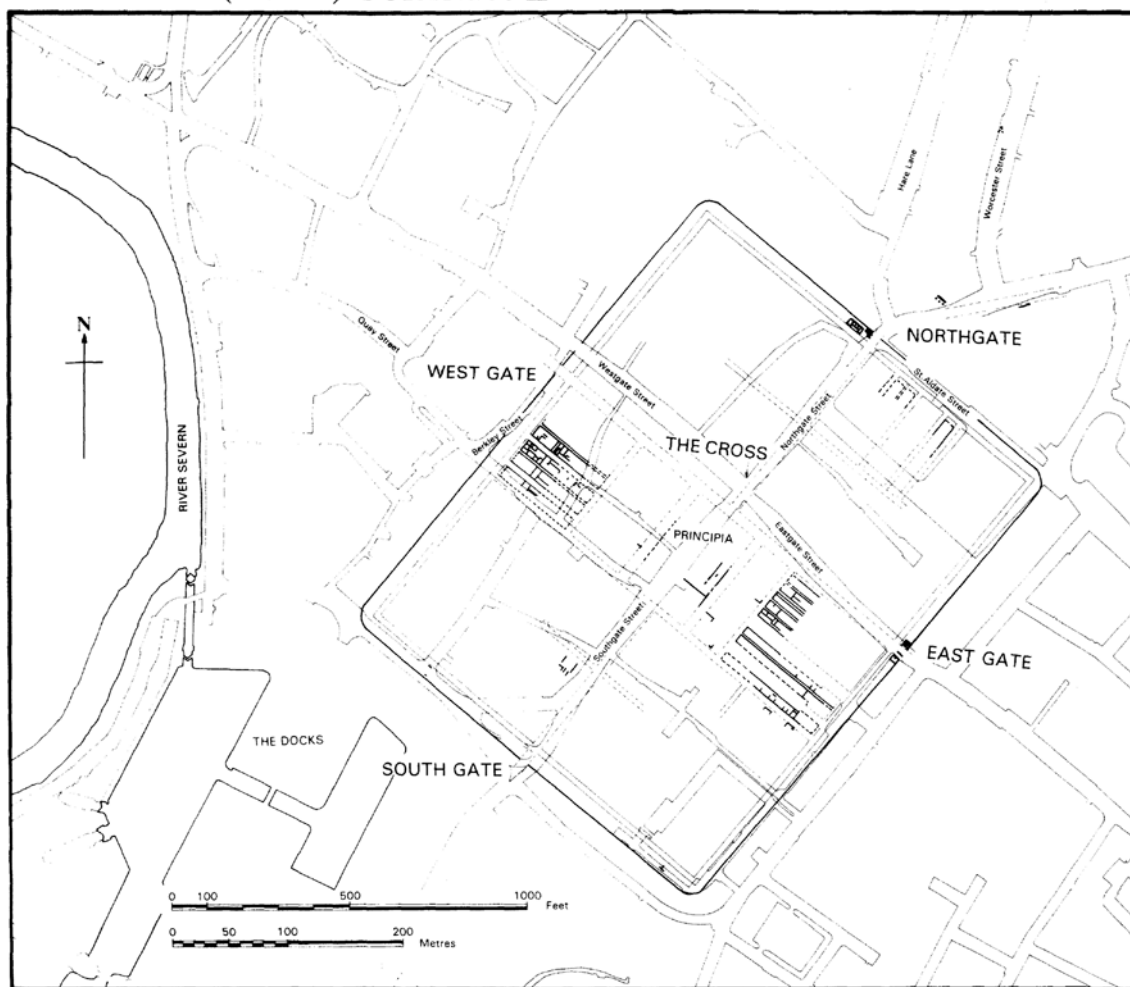
64 Tombstone from Rome of M. Ulpius Quintus (*Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Roma*)

had just been withdrawn from Inchtuthil, returning either to Wroxeter or Chester.¹⁸⁰ It is difficult to see how this problem can be resolved on present evidence, but, if Hurst's interpretation is correct as far as Gloucester is concerned, then the foundation of the *colonia* could fall in the sixteen months of Nerva's principate.

Some buildings in the fortress seem to have been retained for civilian use, although it is

difficult to disentangle the contrasting occupations; nevertheless a large smithing furnace situated in the centurion's quarters of a barrack uncovered in Berkeley Street is hardly likely to have a military context. In the same area, some buildings were demolished piecemeal without immediate replacement. A similar state of affairs seems to have existed on the eastern side of the town, south of Eastgate Street.¹⁸¹ At this stage,

GLOUCESTER (Glevvm) FORTRESS C A.D. 88



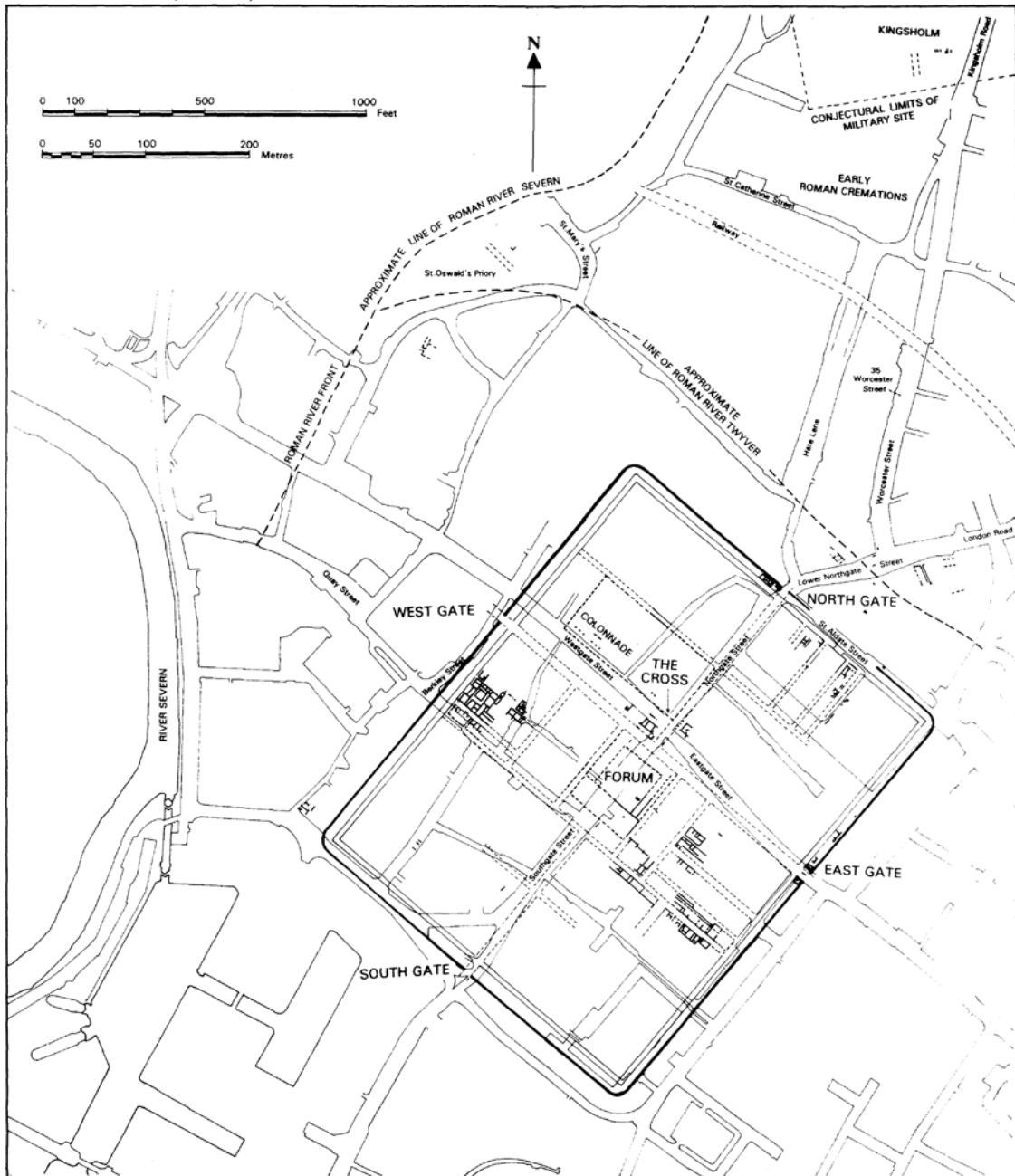
65 Plan of the 'second fortress'/early colonia at Gloucester (after Hurst)

many of the streets and alleys which had divided the blocks of the fortress were perpetuated, although some on the east side were built over.

As at Lincoln, the forum and basilica at Gloucester were built on the site of the legionary principia. The basilica is known to lie across the south-west side of the forum and, if it has a normal plan, the whole complex, which probably measures 320ft (97.5m) by 225ft (68.6m), was slightly larger than the principia, and extended over the legionary streets to the north-west and south-east. The forum is thus in the unusual position of

interrupting the street grid to cut across the line of the principal north-east to south-west street, which followed the lines of the legionary viae praetoria and decumana (fig. 66). In this respect it is in direct contrast to Lincoln (p. 136), where the forum was turned through ninety degrees to enable the main east-west street to pass through the piazza. The first forum, presumably of Trajanic date, had a gravelled court flanked by ranges suggesting part-timber construction, with wooden columns. Later, possibly when the wood decayed, they were replaced by masonry and the

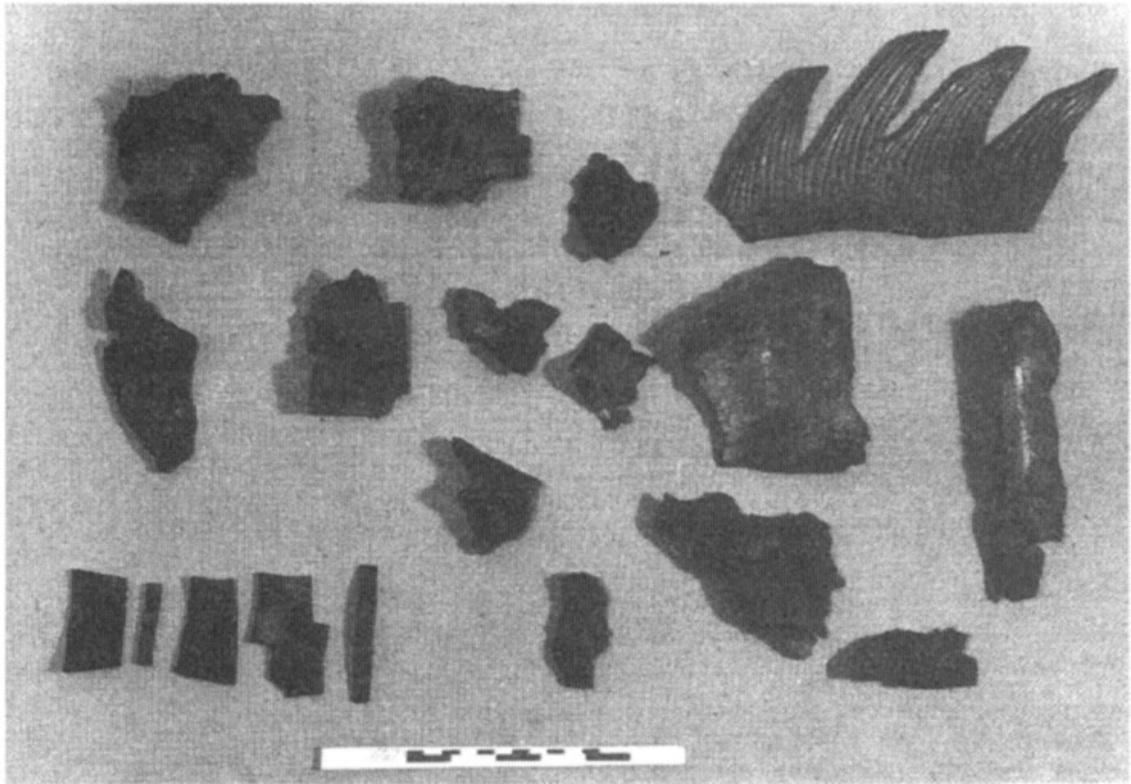
GLOUCESTER (Glevum) COLONIA C.A.D. 150



66 Plan of the mid-second-century colonia at Gloucester. This plan also shows the position of the early military site at Kingsholm (after Hurst)



67 Forum courtyard at Gloucester in the mid second century: the plinth for the statue is in the centre front of the photograph (*Gloucester City Museum*)



68 Fragments of bronze from an equestrian statue, which stood in the forum at Gloucester (*Gloucester City Museum*)

piazza was provided with a floor of sandstone flags. On the south-east side, where excavations have taken place (fig. 67), there seems to have been no more than a double portico. A gutter ran round the piazza close to the stylobate. Near the south corner of the piazza there was a base for a monumental statue. This had been rebuilt at a later date when the surrounding floor had been resurfaced with broken tile and crushed limestone. On top of this new surface, fragments of cast bronze were found (fig. 68), suggesting that an equestrian statue had once stood on the base.¹⁸²

The colonia was supposedly defended from the first, reusing the fortifications of wall, rampart and ditch belonging to the second legionary fortress; in this respect it scored over Lincoln. These fortifications consisted of a narrow wall in front of the original rampart, but here the mistake made at

Lincoln, where the first masonry wall had been built over the inner part of the filled fortress ditch and subsequently subsided (p. 135), was avoided. The original width of the wall at Gloucester is difficult to assess since it was masked by later rebuilding. It does not seem to have exceeded $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft (1.4m), but it was, though, curiously constructed, with unmortared rubble packed behind a face of massive, regularly coursed blocks of oolite; the overall width of both would have been in the region of 8 ft (2.4m).¹⁸³ Only the north, east and west gates have been identified so far (p. 157) and Hurst has argued, on the similarity of the masonry, that they were contemporary with this first wall,¹⁸⁴ and probably date to the late first century.

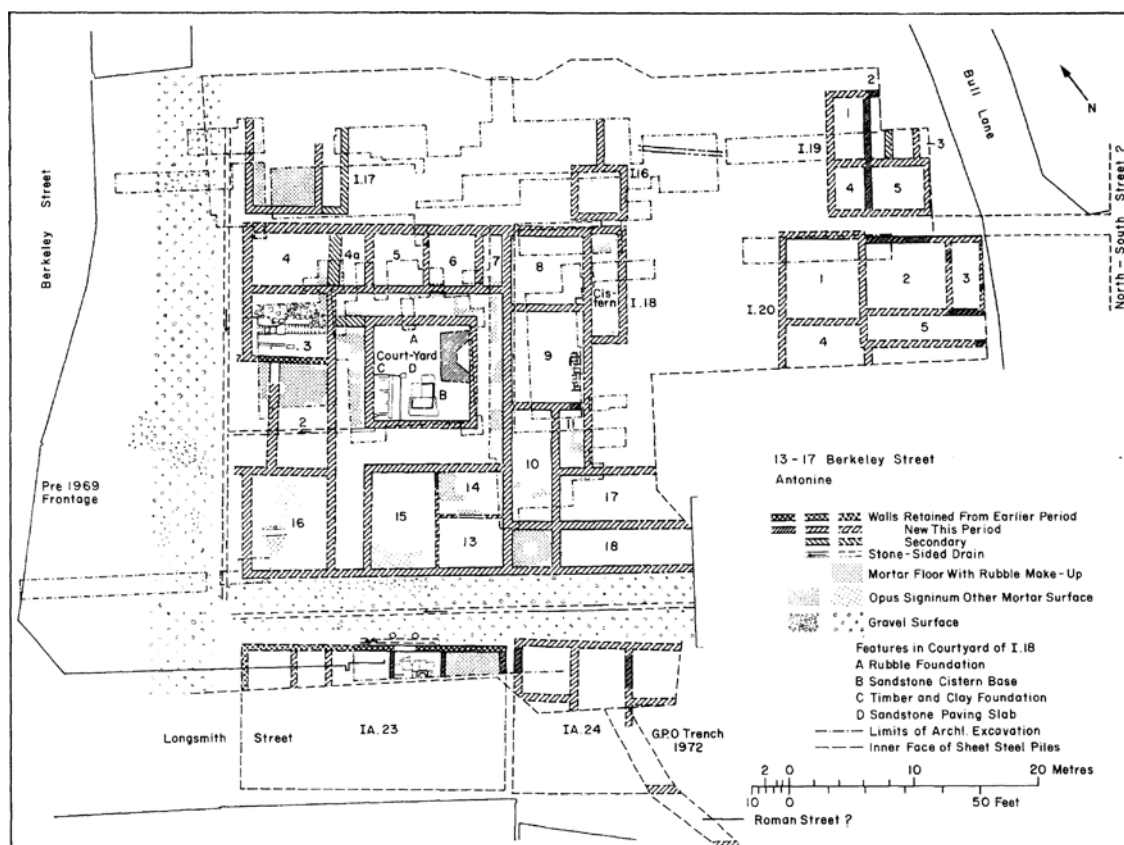
The first houses of the veterans began early to take on a more individual appearance (see fig. 66).

Partial demolition and rebuilding of separate houses on both the Berkeley Street and New Market Hall sites seems to have occurred within a few years of the initial construction, giving rise to modifications which embraced more substantial and better quality foundations and floors. These alterations were followed by more radical changes which continued seemingly down into the Antonine period. Some of the simpler houses now disappeared, their places being taken by small detached dwellings which were by no means always as spacious as the originals. There does, however, still seem to be some continuity of plots, although not all appear to have been built on. This undoubtedly represents changing social conditions, to be explained in a number of ways. By c. AD 125, when these changes were taking place, few of the original veterans could still have been alive, so that if there was a continuity of ownership, these new houses might have been occupied by their families, but possibly in rather reduced circumstances. Perhaps the life of a veteran in his declining years, with his savings partly or completely gone, and having to rely on his wits, was not the sinecure modern writers often make it out to be.

In some cases, however, we might envisage a veteran who had prospered sufficiently to move to a villa in the territorium, in which case he might have set up commercial premises on his town site, with a slave or freedman in charge. Certainly there is evidence of small-scale industrial processes, with both iron-working and pottery manufacture being carried on in different premises. The essential clue to this period seems, however, to be partly provided by the next, for on the Berkeley Street site, by the middle of the second century, a number of plots had been amalgamated and a single house built upon them. Moreover, at least part of what must have been a public right-of-way had been extinguished, though the *Lex Ursonensis* and other charters¹⁸⁵ emphasize that all such roads belong to the colonia and were to remain so. We need not doubt therefore that the owner of the house was not only a man of substance who had

succeeded where others appear to have failed, but also that he must have had considerable influence in the public affairs of the town. The compact style and plan (fig. 69) of the new house is reminiscent of the peristyled courtyard houses of Italy, of which similar examples are known at Colchester (p. 123), and surprisingly also at Caerwent (p. 389). A mosaic had been laid in what may have been the principal room, and at least one other room had another. There was provision in the courtyard for a cistern which may have fed an ornamental fountain. Another, larger cistern was found outside the east corner of the building. The house was demolished either towards the end of the second century or during the third, and thereafter the site seems to have remained vacant, although a building nearby, slightly further from the defences, continued in use until the late Roman period. The same sequence was observed on the New Market Hall site in Insula v south-east of the forum. Here the terrace houses appeared in the same first building phase, but underwent less change later; they apparently remained in existence until the end, two dispersed coin hoards of Theodosian date being found in the ruins. At some stage mosaics had been inserted in many houses, and one had a leopard portrayed in the centre.¹⁸⁶ A somewhat similar type of building was also found on the Bon Marché site, near the north wall in St Aldate's Street, where the intervallum street met one from the south. This house possessed a colonnade on its north side, and a mosaic had been inserted in one room, c. AD 200.¹⁸⁷

Towards the end of the second or early in the third century, the fortifications inherited from the fortress were modified. Some buildings which had been inserted into the back of the surviving legionary bank, just inside the east gate, were demolished and a series of internal, rectangular towers were built against the inside face of the curtain, as well as in the corner angles; the interval between the towers was about 230ft (70m). At the same time the rampart was extended for some distance to the rear, obliterating the intervallum



69 Plan of an Antonine house in Insula I, Gloucester (after Hurst)

road.¹⁸⁸ Probably around the late third or early fourth century, a programme of rehabilitation of the curtain wall began (fig. 70). It started with the replacement of lengths of the first wall, in which some of the large ashlar were reused in the base courses. In the second stage the remainder was replaced, when more of the earliest ashlar were re-employed and the masonry was underpinned with a piled foundation. It is not unlikely that both these stages were part of a continuous but fitful process; a curve existing south of the east gate was also ironed out and external towers added. The latter seem to have been built on almost square, about 22–3ft (6–7m), masonry foundations. Although there were no indications of the shape of the superstructure, the fact that

Gloucester lies in the same area as Caerwent and Cirencester might suggest that the towers were polygonal. Certainly, some of the towers at Cirencester which were so shaped had been based on square or rectangular platforms, but many angled facing stones were recovered from destruction debris to provide the clue to the form of the superstructure. No such stones have yet been found at Gloucester.

The south tower of the east gate has been excavated; it appears to have been rectangular, flush with the front face of the wall, and it contained two rooms. The width of the roadway would suggest twin vehicular portals. The north gate was somewhat different and superficially appears to have had only a single carriageway (see



70 Inner face of town wall of Gloucester, showing junction between second and third builds (*Wacher with permission*)

fig. 31). This is curious since it was presumably the principal gate, first of the fortress and then of the town, leading to the largest and most prosperous suburb and also to the main road to London. But, for this reason, Hurst has argued for a larger and more elaborate structure and he sees a triumphal arch at the core of the gate, but still with only a single portal. Yet he considers that the L-shaped inturns were substantial enough to have supported flanking towers. Observations at the west gate have only revealed what was probably part of the south tower.¹⁸⁹ The north, east and south gates all correspond with the positions of the medieval gates, but the west gate lies some 50ft (15m) south-west of its later equivalent. Persistent water-logging has also prevented attempts to locate the Roman ditches, if indeed they had

survived the deep medieval recutting which had taken place.

Apart from the forum, the sites of other possible public buildings are known from Westgate Street where a colonnade with Corinthian capitals was found just north of the modern street.¹⁹⁰ Its position led Richmond to suggest that it represented a street frontage,¹⁹¹ but now that the street is known to be further south, we must conclude that it forms an internal feature of a large building. Fragments of another massive building are known near the Cross in the centre of the modern town.¹⁹² Originally interpreted as the forum it would now appear to belong in the next insula north-east. In 1971 a column, 3ft 6in (1.7m) in diameter and still standing to a height of 6ft 6in (2m), was discovered during commercial excavations below the basement of 4 Westgate Street. It could be part of the same, or a neighbouring, building. A bath-house is suggested by an apsidal hypocaust dated to *c.* AD 120, on the site of the Westminster Bank in Westgate Street.¹⁹³ In its massive colonnades, Gloucester closely resembles the upper town at Lincoln and both testify to the aspirations of the inhabitants to create towns worthy of the Roman model. There is also a close correspondence between their mosaics, and in this respect all three military *coloniae* exhibit singularly constant tastes. Of other public works, an aqueduct is implied from iron junctions for wooden water-pipes which have been found in the town, as at the east gate,¹⁹⁴ and some form of continuous supply would appear to have been needed for the mid-second-century house on the Berkeley Street site in Insula 1 (p. 156). Another possible cistern, measuring 6ft (1.8m) by 3½ft (1.1m) was found on the premises of the National Provincial Bank in Eastgate Street. Its water supply had been carried in lead pipes.¹⁹⁵ Two other tanks are known, which had been built into the back of the town bank just south of St Aldate's Street.¹⁹⁶ Unlike at Lincoln there would have been little difficulty in finding a convenient nearby source on the Cotswold escarpment and in conducting the water to the town. Indeed, a linear

feature has been observed on the north side of the town possibly running towards the east corner; another source could have lain at Robins Wood Hill, south of the town.

In spite of the nearness of the Forest of Dean and its mineral deposits, Gloucester has produced little evidence of industry within the town. A pottery kiln and iron working furnace have already been referred to (p. 151). Three other first-century kilns are known outside the east gate,¹⁹⁷ but they almost certainly belong to the legionary period, during which characteristic forms and styles based on continental prototypes were produced; such pottery used to be called Glevum ware,¹⁹⁸ but it has now been recognized as part of a much larger repertoire which extends up the Severn Valley as far as Wroxeter.¹⁹⁹ Once the legion had departed, pottery production around Gloucester diminished and by 200 had virtually ceased. But for a time its place was taken by a publicly run, local brick- and tile-works, presumably to supply the needs of the developing town. One of the principal areas of production has been found at St Oswald's Priory, almost due north of the colonia and close to the contemporary course of the Severn.²⁰⁰ Many of its products were stamped with the initials *RPG*, standing for *Rei Publicae Glevensium*, and in addition sometimes included the abbreviated names of *duoviri* or *quinquennales*, who were presumably responsible for controlling public works. Normally, the pair of magistrates in charge of the day-to-day supervision of these affairs would have been the aediles; why, therefore, the *duoviri* as well as the *quinquennales*, only appointed every five years (p. 36), should be included is something of a puzzle. It may be that the manufacture was carried out by a private individual or company under contract to the municipality. Normally such contracts were awarded or renewed by the *duoviri*, but every fifth year these magistrates were replaced by the *quinquennales*, who, although still *duoviri*, were dignified by the latter name. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that it occurs less frequently on the stamps, if it was used only once in five years.

Richmond quotes the case²⁰¹ of Urso in Baetica, where production of brick and tiles was closely controlled by the municipality and forbidden altogether inside the town.²⁰² The region of Gloucestershire as a whole has produced far more tiles stamped with non-military marks than any other part of Britain. Another series is known beginning *TPF*, followed by a further letter of which *A* to *P* have so far been recorded. The first three letters probably refer to the name of the manufacturer, the fourth may be a batch letter. Apart from a small number, most of these tiles have been found outside Gloucester and chiefly at Cirencester, but they are known as far away as Wanborough (*Durocornovium*). Other stamps, presumably of private companies or manufacturers, known from the region are *VLA*, *LLH*, *TCM*, *LLQ*, *TPL*, *LHS*, and also the more fully expanded names *IVCDIGNI* and *ARVERI*. Some at least seem to have been made at Minety, about 7 miles (10km) south of Cirencester, where there is evidence for brick and tile production on a large scale.²⁰³

Other industries have been related to Gloucester: evidence of bone-working was contained in two pits outside the south-east wall of the town. As might be expected, iron-working was common, with the Forest of Dean on the other side of the Severn being one of the principal sources of ore in Roman Britain. Production seems to have grown in the third and fourth centuries, when slag was used for resurfacing streets and yards.²⁰⁴ With the town surrounded by an abundance of good building stone, large quarries no doubt existed, particularly on the oolite of the Cotswold edge; but as major buildings were completed, the demand would lessen and later structures could always make use of salvaged stone. As an adjunct to the quarrying industry, a large lime-burning area has been reported along the London Road about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (700m) from the north gate.

Military tombstones at Wotton Pitch²⁰⁵ would suggest the site of an early cemetery connected with one or other of the fortresses, or possibly with an earlier auxiliary fort. Excavations in the

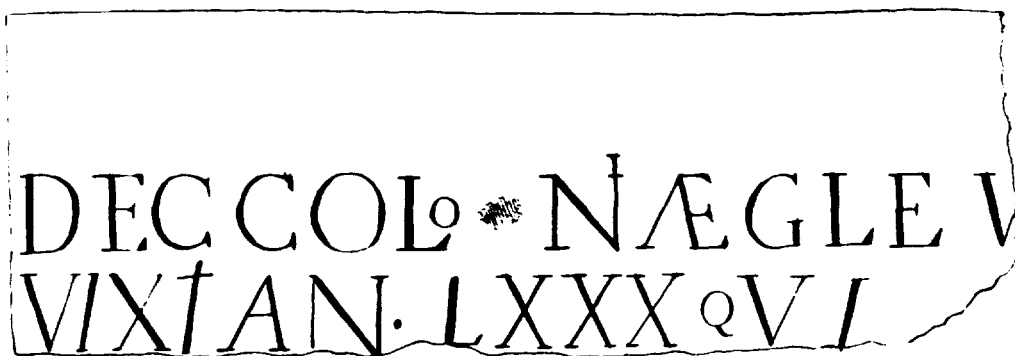
Kingsholm area and to the north of it have now greatly widened knowledge of the cemeteries of the colonia, and have indicated some curious burial rites. Several different orientations have been observed here, and some 300 interments, out of an estimated 2000 for the whole cemetery, have been recorded. Among the later burials were a number orientated east-west; many had been buried in coffins, which sometimes lacked lids and bottom boards, the bodies instead resting on staves placed lengthways. A number of bodies were headless, but jawless heads found in a nearby ditch need not necessarily have come from them. In some cases, successive burials in the same place suggested family groups.²⁰⁶ Other cemeteries have been identified outside the South and East Gates; the latter included burials of late-fourth or early-fifth century date. Yet another lay at Barnwood between the town and the villa at Hucclecote.

In the absence of a collection of tombstones such as those at Lincoln and York, we can say little about individual inhabitants. A nameless decurion of the colonia died at Bath at the age of 80;²⁰⁷ presumably he had gone to take the waters as a cure, but to no avail (fig. 71). A recent find from the Coppice Corner cemetery, beyond Kingsholm, was the tombstone of a veteran of Legio XX, dating to the second century or later.²⁰⁸ It demonstrates the continuing connexion

between this legion and the colonia. The names or initials of several magistrates are also recorded on the municipal tiles (p. 159), giving us the largest list for this class of official in any town in Britain.

Not a great deal more is known about the religious beliefs and practices. We should assume temples to the main imperial and Roman cults. A small fragment of an altar to Mars²⁰⁹ has been found in the Kingsholm area, north of the town, where perhaps an extra-mural shrine existed, and is a reminder of the shrine to Mars Medocius which existed outside the south wall of Camulodunum.²¹⁰ The Kingsholm altar was found with another, dedicated *Deo Genio Chogunci* by a man called Orivendus, together with three uninscribed altars.²¹¹ Another deity is attested on a jet plaque, possibly depicting a Celtic god, which was found in a medieval rubbish pit on the Market Hall site.²¹² Recently an altar was found on the Bon Marché site carved to represent Attis playing pan-pipes: he was consort of Cybele.²¹³

Substantially more, though, is now known about the suburbs. The main inhabited areas beyond the defences lay to the north and north-east, and also in the land lying between the colonia and the Severn. The latter appeared to expand as the others contracted from the third century onwards. On the south side there seems to have been a break in the second century; in the late first and early second centuries a row of timber



71 Fragmentary tombstone from Bath of a nameless Gloucester decurion (R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vol. I: *The Clarendon Press, Oxford*)

buildings was associated with iron-working. Following a period of abandonment, these buildings were replaced by a courtyard house and a strip-building of masonry in the third century.²¹⁴

The most important suburb was almost certainly outside the north gate and its origins probably lay in the *canabae* of the fortresses. Here the branch roads joining the *colonia* to the Kingsholm area and to the main Cirencester road were flanked first by timber, and then by masonry, buildings fronted by colonnades, some of which were associated with commercial use. At least one, and possibly another, monumental structure has been identified in this area and it has been suggested that a foundation situated in the make-up for the road may be part of a triumphal arch; alternatively it could be the abutment for a bridge carrying the road over a branch of a small stream, the Twyver, which roughly bisects the suburb from north-west to south-east.²¹⁵ All told, there is a marked impression of an extensive and prosperous built-up area outside the walls, which would virtually have doubled the total inhabited area of the town when added to that within the walls. An unsuccessful attempt has been made to suggest that part at least of this extra-mural settlement on the west side was enclosed by fortifications; if so, the town would have more closely resembled Lincoln. But the wall seen in Lower Westgate Street is more likely to have been connected with the river frontage. This absence of secondary defences enclosing the essentially non-colonial element of the population provides the sharpest distinction between Gloucester and Lincoln.

As might be expected, the River Severn provided one of the chief links with other places. Part of a quay composed of massive masonry, has been found on a line set back from the old course of the river. Certainly there is evidence of an earlier, late-first-century harbour in a creek off the river, which had timber wharves or landing-stages. Observations by C. Green in 1936–7 would seem to confirm the suggestion of a later and more massively built harbour wall situated in a creek or bay away from the main current.²¹⁶

More recent work has revealed further river-front structures. At Quay Street, oolite rubble had been packed on top of timber piles, probably as a foundation for a wall to protect reclaimed ground behind it; it aligns with other sections of quay. In Upper Quay Street, an inlet running eastwards from the main river may have served as a landing place on the shoreline in the first century; the main road leading from the west gate ran parallel, and a number of timber drains, hollowed from tree trunks, were associated with it.²¹⁷ Later, in the second or third century, probably due to silting of the inlet, the land was reclaimed with dumps of rubbish, and a new quay wall was constructed under the line of Lower Quay Street. Apart, presumably, from the existence of warehouses, this reclaimed land also became one of the principal suburbs in the fourth century, with at least one building containing a mosaic and a columned portico.²¹⁸ This apparent migration or shrinkage of the town towards the river frontage is similar to what seems to have happened at both London (p. 109) and Lincoln (p. 149); in turn it points to a greater reliance on water transport as roads may have become unsafe or less well repaired. But in the days when land transport was more reliable the four principal roads out of the town led to: Cirencester and Worcester through the north gate; the Forest of Dean and south Wales through the West Gate; a reputed settlement at Painswick through the east gate; Sea Mills at the mouth of the Avon through the south gate.

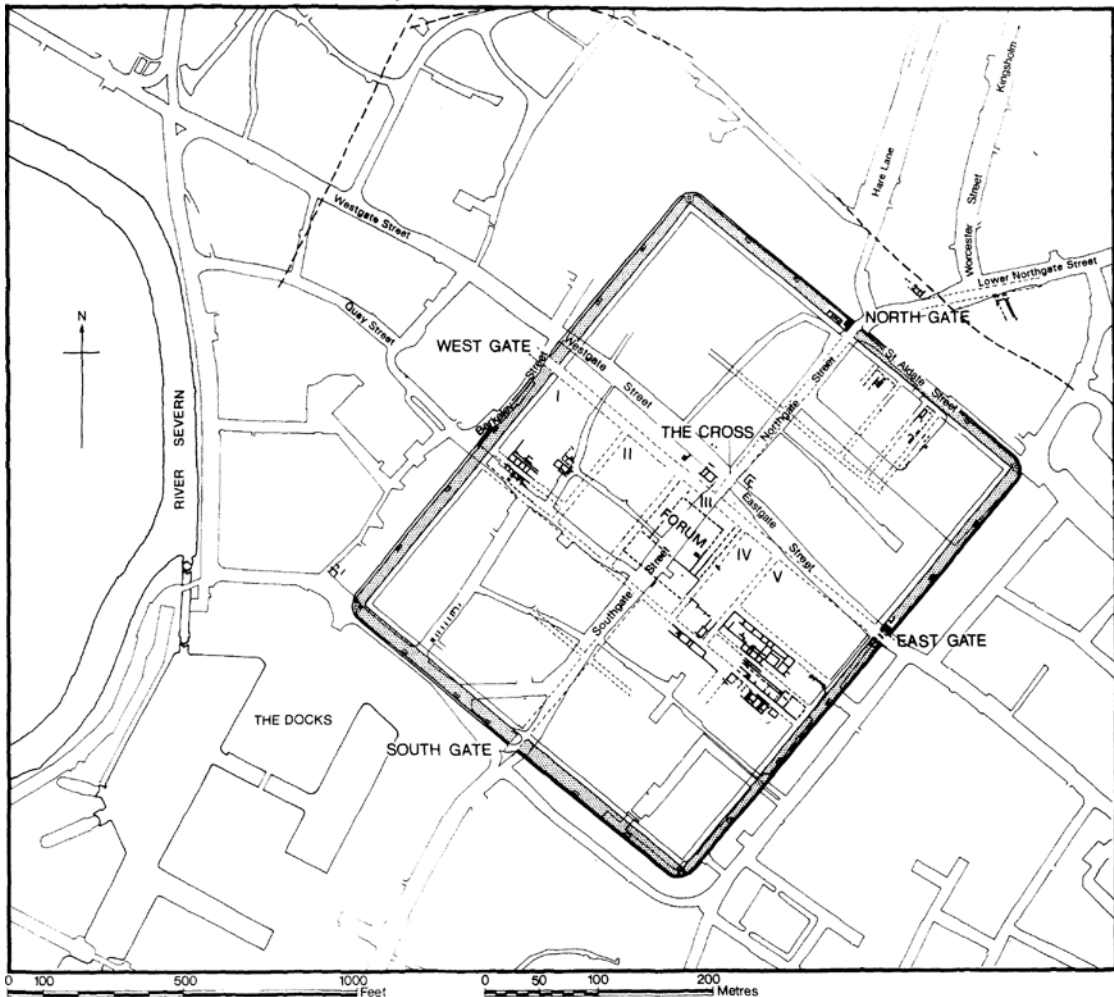
As at Lincoln and Colchester, various attempts have been made to define the extent of the *territorium* at Gloucester. Richmond following Clifford concluded that it lay on the river terraces, around Gloucester and Cheltenham, adducing the distribution of *RPG* tile-stamps in evidence,²¹⁹ although he was careful to add the rider that they may not indicate the full extent of the *territorium*; yet they spread as far as Kenchester, 28 miles (45km) away, which surely must lie beyond its boundaries. Nevertheless, they have been found at the villas at Hucclecote, about 3 miles (4.8km) south-east of the town: at Ifold, about 6 miles

(9.7km) due south, at Dryhill, about 4 miles (6.4km) beyond Hucclecote, and Frocester.²²⁰ A note of caution should be sounded here; it is surprising how far building material can travel, and it would be as well not to accept these tiles as evidence for buildings in the territorium without further proof, especially as tiles with other stamps, notably the TPF series, also occur at Hucclecote.

On the other hand some facts may be recorded, without comment, with regard to the alignments of roads and the spacing of some villas in the area round Gloucester, which may reflect on the territorium and also on possible centuriation. It should also be remembered that, in laying out the territorium of the new colonia, recourse would have been made to roads which were already in existence, and that there was no obvious intersection of main roads in the town itself from which to start measurements. But a road intersection in the town centre was not always the starting point, and at Salona (Dalmatia) the principal grid directions appear to have been aligned on parts of the west and south walls of the old town, which were already in being when centuriation was imposed.²²¹ It has often been pointed out that two of the main roads approaching Gloucester are aligned on the early military site at Kingsholm. What is not so often realized is that, if the main alignment of the Gloucester–Sea Mills Road, as apparently represented by the stretch of modern road from Whitminster to Hornshill, is produced north-eastwards it strikes Ermin Street at precisely the point where the latter changes direction towards the north gate of the colonia. Moreover, it strikes it at an angle which is only two degrees more than a right angle. This coincidence can be pursued further. The Sea Mills line passes the south-east side of the town, which is not quite parallel with it, at a distance of about 800yds (730m) from the east gate and 775yds (708m) from the edge of the metalled area outside the defences. On the north side, the continuation of Ermin Street westwards, again not quite parallel with the curtain wall, passes the north gate at a distance of a little over 800yds (730m). The

territorium perhaps ended on the south-east against the steep scarp of the Cotswolds, except possibly where this projected abruptly into the valley below or formed isolated hills. Therefore, it is interesting that on the lower ground, from about Cheltenham south-west to Aust, there survives a skeletal pattern of modern roads, tracks, footpaths and parish boundaries, which conform with a grid of 20-actus squares²²² laid out with respect to the two coordinate roads. The lines of roads and paths have been much warped in later years, but it is significant that the grid lines cannot be satisfactorily extended either north-west of the River Severn, or much above the 200ft (61m) contour of the Cotswolds. The area so covered by the grid is about 200 sq. miles (500sq. km), which is within the expected range for a territorium. Hurst, though, has since calculated a much smaller figure of 48 sq. miles (122 sq. km) and moreover has dismissed the possibility of regular centuriation as being 'theoretically improbable' since, he argues, the territorium of the colonia was the same as that attached to the earlier fortresses.²²³ More importantly, Rawes has examined field boundaries and other alignments in the vicinity of the town, mainly to the north, through east round to the south, without finding any conclusive evidence.²²⁴ He did, however, find sundry field boundaries, which would not have fitted the larger units of centuriation either in size or orientation; but none were closely dated. Other difficulties arise because a number of Iron Age sites, which possibly span the transitional gap into the Roman period, have now been identified in the vicinity of the town, and it is difficult to see how they could have been accommodated in the territorium if centuriation had existed. One such site at Saint-bridge, south-east of the town, contained timber-framed buildings, a hearth and a well which were dated to the early second century. At another at Abbeymead, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (800m) to the east of the former, an Iron Age site was abandoned in the Roman period and then subdivided into larger enclosures, but without regularity of size or orientation.²²⁵ Of greater interest, though, is a site

GLOUCESTER (Glevvm) COLONIA c. A.D. 250



72 Plan of Gloucester c. 250 (after Hurst)

north of Kingsholm in Sandhurst Lane, where there is evidence for what may have been an Iron Age religious centre, enclosed within a large ditch. It has produced a quantity of Dobunnic coins together with brooches and pottery. Within the enclosure was a smaller three-sided structure, about 13ft (4m) in diameter; a pit in the middle was interpreted as containing a large free-standing post, or totem. It is thought that the centre survived into the second century, after which there was an abrupt change, when the land was

ploughed: conversion to the *territorium*?²²⁶

Considerable changes took place during the third and fourth centuries to the stock of commercial and domestic housing inside the town. The courtyard house in Berkeley Street (p. 156) was deliberately demolished no later than early in the third century and its materials salvaged for reuse: its site seems then to have remained partly vacant, although the street frontage to the south-west was rebuilt. In the New Market Hall area, some Hadrianic buildings were abandoned later in the

second century, while others survived into the fourth century, often with the added embellishments of mosaics and painted plaster. Yet the forum seems to have been no longer used before the end of the fourth century, with rubbish accumulating in places where paving-stones had been removed from the piazza. During this later period, Hurst has suggested that there was a gradual but progressive move by the inhabitants to the countryside.

We do not yet know what happened to Gloucester in the fifth century, although it would seem that the northwards movement of Westgate Street (p. 158) to its medieval line then took place, possibly because the Roman west gate was ruinous and the carriageways blocked.²²⁷

In some areas of the town, including the forum, a layer of uniform grey loam up to 2ft (600mm) thick has been found. That overlying the forum courtyard is largely stone and debris-free and clearly points to disuse under wet or even flooded conditions. Since the forum floor had remained at the same level, while those all around rose, local flooding may have occurred. In Saxon times, an alder tree was growing there, so that even then marshy conditions still existed.²²⁸ Elsewhere the loam contains much stone, late Roman pottery and bones, suggesting the dumping of rubbish in unoccupied areas. But with the rise in sea-level during the late fourth century causing the backing-up of streams and the possible reactivating of springs, local flooding of the town may have taken place from time to time. York was similarly affected (p. 188). A coin of Valens has been found beneath a mosaic in Southgate Street, and fragments of imported north African amphorae have been dated to the fourth or fifth centuries. Life must therefore have continued in a normal manner into the fifth century. But we do not yet know if the epidemic which may have reached Cirencester at some time in the middle of the fifth century (p. 419), or that of a century later, also affected Gloucester. The final episode in the history of the town is, however, better recorded. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in AD

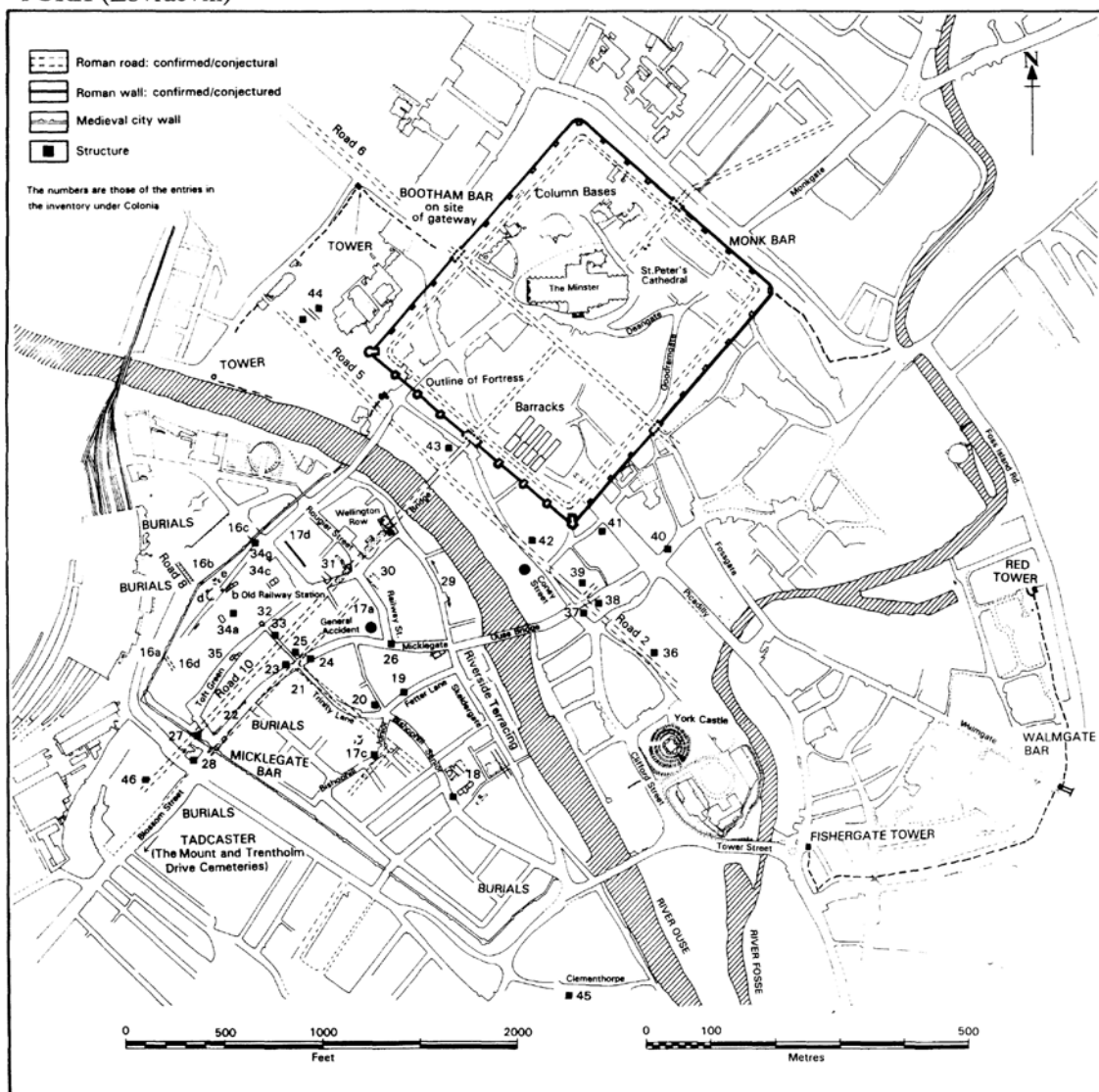
577 Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Dyrham, some 35 miles south of Gloucester and killed three kings, Conmail, Condidan and Farinmail, and captured three cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath. If the order in which the cities are given applies equally to the kings then Conmail may have been 'king' of Gloucester. The name is of Celtic derivation, which might suggest that by the end of the sixth century Gloucester had already passed under the domination of Celtic immigrants, probably from Wales or Ireland.

It is impossible to discuss Gloucester without making some comparison with Cirencester, which lay only 17 miles (27km) to the south-east. They are exceptional in Britain, being the two most closely situated major towns. It might be expected, therefore, that some interaction, even competition, may have occurred between them. The essential difference between them has been most adequately summed up by Richmond: 'All the evidence suggests that the colonia remained an efficient going concern, but did not grow and did not attract to itself expensive enterprise or expensive art. This is symptomatic and the cause is not far to seek. It has already been observed that the capital of the Dobunni, out of whose territory the colonia was carved, lay only 17 miles away across the Cotswolds. Of all the Romano-British tribal capitals Corinium Dobunorum was quite the most successful.'²²⁹ Recent evidence from both towns has tended to confirm this analysis. Gloucester may now perhaps be seen as more prosperous and larger in area than was thought, but we cannot altogether escape the image implied by those early houses of the colonia found on the New Market Hall site. Even in the better class houses of the mid second century the effect is still one of constraint: good taste instead of ostentation: present comfort rather than gambles on future wealth. Gloucester possessed, as far as can be seen, all the necessary, grandiose public buildings and utilities, and presumably supplied all the creature comforts which a retired legionary might have expected. All this may have provided

the cause for the difference between the two towns, but it does not, unless taken further, explain why the cause should have operated. Here we must hark back to an argument already used to explain why Cirencester and not Gloucester became a provincial capital in the fourth century (p. 87). It all depends on the character of the people concerned. Hurst may well scoff at the idea of red-faced centurions in the Roman equivalent of Cheltenham,²³⁰ but he overlooks at his peril one very important fact. It is people who create the character of a town and its buildings and services, not the town which creates people; they transmit a reflection of themselves (p. 68). It probably happens less so nowadays because everyone has far greater mobility and there is more social mixing, but certainly before the age of universal transport, once a town was set in its mould, it probably took a very long time to change. The original inhabitants of Gloucester with their military origins would have made a tightly knit community with rigid social strata according to army rank and years of service. Snobbery was no doubt rife, especially with regard to non-citizens in the community. Such people tend to be introverted and ultra-conservative, while their army background would give them a respect for, and obedience to, regulations. These were not the people to make great sums of money out of commercial enterprise. The entrepreneurial spirit, often sailing close to or beyond the law, might in most cases have been almost entirely lacking. If, as already has been suggested in an earlier chapter, connexions were maintained between Gloucester and the legionary fortress at Caerleon, then it is possible that the veteran class was constantly replenished, so perpetuating the character of the town, as derived originally from the character of its inhabitants; we know of at least one veteran who retired to the town nearly a century after its foundation (p. 160): like attracts like. No wonder then, that the bolder spirits departed from this constricting atmosphere, and that traders, given the choice, settled in neighbouring Cirencester. In contrast, Hurst has argued that: (1) a territorium of

between 50 sq. miles (130sq. km), or even less, and 70 sq. miles (180sq. km) would suffice for the needs of a prosperous colonia;²³¹ yet that: (2) this small area would put the inhabitants at an economic disadvantage when compared with Cirencester, which commanded the whole area and wealth of the civitas Dobunnorum; there seems to be a contradiction here. On the one hand he pleads that Gloucester was as successful and prosperous as Cirencester, and on the other admits rather lamely that Gloucester could not compete because it only possessed a small territorium in comparison with a whole civitas. Quite so. He further considers that at Gloucester there would be no natural 'upper class',²³² as there would have been in a civitas. But what of his red-faced centurions, not only senior in rank, but also probably a good deal richer, if rates of army pay under Domitian are considered?²³³ Even years of service probably counted as a distinguishing feature. But there is no reason why Gloucester could not have traded as widely as Cirencester, given the right people and atmosphere; the boundary of the territorium was presumably no barrier to commerce. Indeed, the port itself, if it had been as Hurst claims 'one of the principal ports of the province', would have immediately breached the barrier, bringing in both trade and traders of a cosmopolitan sort. Yet both towns probably started on very equal terms, but at Cirencester a firm base was provided for the future, which led not only to a continuously prosperous town but also to a wealthy countryside, where lay the real wealth. The farmers of the Cotswolds obviously looked to Cirencester and not to Gloucester for their markets, as indeed they do today. Theoretically, both were equally available in terms of distance. There was nothing intrinsically wrong with Gloucester as a town or as a site, and it was no doubt a comfortable and civilized place in which to live. The fault, if fault it was, lay with the inhabitants, and, unlike Lincoln, they do not seem to have been able in later years to divest themselves of their original image. Here then lies the real distinction between Gloucester and Cirencester, although we can probably

YORK (Eboracvm)



73 Plan of the colonia and fortress at York (after the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England: Crown Copyright – reproduced with permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and the York Archaeological Trust)

conclude that the inhabitants of Gloucester were quite contented with their lot.

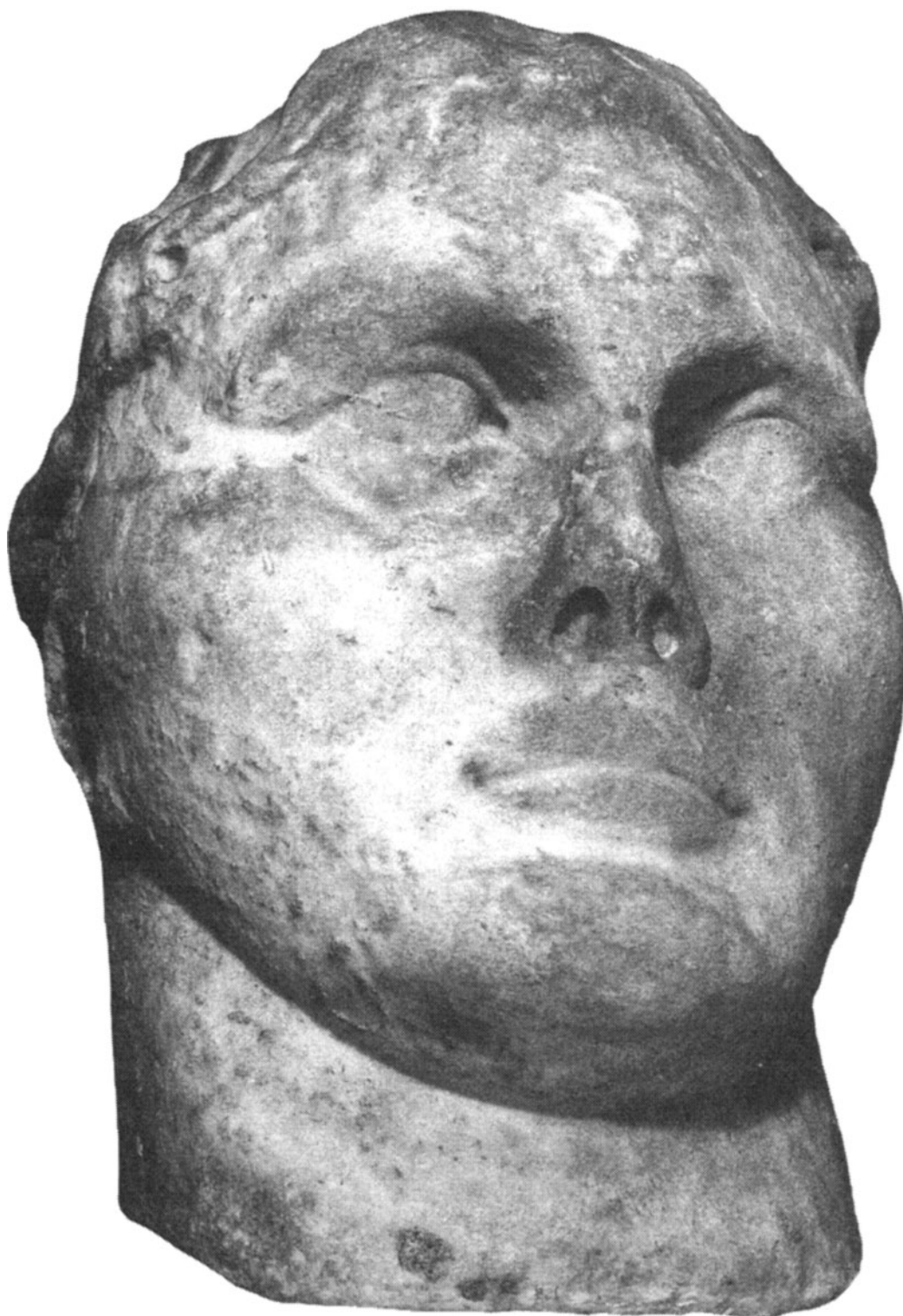
YORK

(*Colonia Eboracensium*²³⁴)

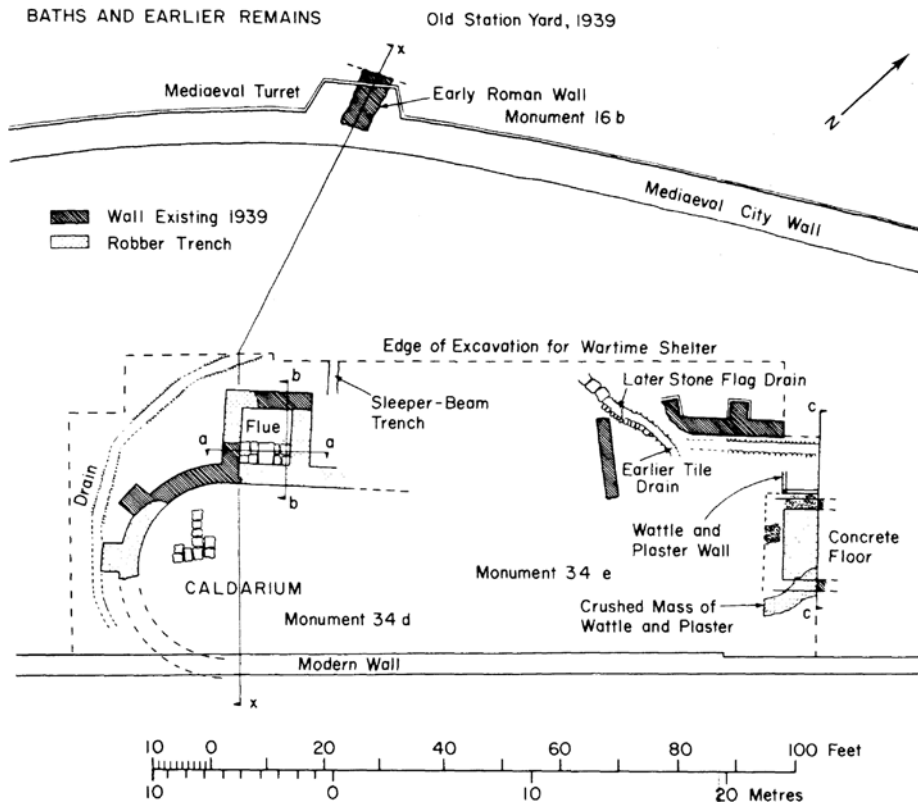
During the early Empire it often happened that an existing town was promoted to the status of a municipium and sometimes later to that of a colonia. This practice became commoner from the late first century onwards, and by the third and fourth centuries was virtually normal for towns which had reached any degree of size and importance. In this respect therefore York differs from the three other known British coloniae in that the status was conferred on an existing settlement.

The promotion of York to colonial status probably occurred under Caracalla. It is known that some replanning took place during the early third century (see p. 174 below), which would equate well with a reorganization of the town (fig. 73). It is also known that a substantial settlement already existed when this happened, which might suggest that it had earlier received municipal status. This would be in accordance with common practice in other provinces, where promotion to municipium usually preceded later promotion to colonia.²³⁵ The earliest date at which it is known to have been a colonia is provided by the Bordeaux altar, dated to AD 237.²³⁶ Aurelius Victor in his account of the death of Severus in AD 211 refers to it as a municipium,²³⁷ but this may not be entirely reliable, although Mann and Jarrett accept the description.²³⁸ It should be remembered also that, from the early third century, York was a provincial capital. Moreover, during the three-year visit of Severus,²³⁹ and, probably again later under Constantius I and Constantine I (fig. 74), it was, for short times, a major centre of the Empire. Both these factors are likely to have affected the town, not least by the existence of an imperial palace. A *domus Palatina* is mentioned in the biography of Severus,²⁴⁰ and, if it had survived, it would surely have been used again by

Constantius I, who died at York, and by Constantine I who was there proclaimed Augustus. The analogy between York under Severus, and Carnuntum under Marcus Aurelius during the Marcomannic Wars, has already been drawn by Richmond.²⁴¹ At Carnuntum an imperial palace, built by Marcus Aurelius, was maintained for a considerable time after its first use. The site of the imperial palace at York is not known with any certainty. However, some tentative suggestions may be made as to its position. When the old railway station was being constructed in 1839–40, and again in 1939 during excavations for an air-raid shelter, several fragments of very large buildings were found in the area.²⁴² Part (fig. 75) was obviously a bath-house of some size, with a caldarium (34d) 30ft (9m) wide and over 35ft (10.5m) long; except for the bath-house on Huggin Hill, London, none other so large is yet known in Britain, although the baths at Dorchester may run close (p. 325). The most noticeable point about these buildings at York is that, with one exception, they all appear to be slightly off line from those of the colonia, as though they were in existence before, and were left untouched when the town was reorganized in the early third century. Other parts of this complex which have been found included three separate cold plunge baths (34b, c). At a short distance from the bath (35b) a small room only 5ft (1.5m) square was discovered in which the altar to Fortune, originally set up by Sosia Iuncina, wife of the imperial legate, Q. Antonius Isauricus,²⁴³ was found to have been reused as a building stone (fig. 76). South-west of these bath fragments was another isolated find, consisting of a room (34a), 39ft (12m) by 24½ft (7.5m), with a semi-circular apse at the north-west end; one surviving wall fragment was 5ft (1.5m) thick. Slightly further to the south-east was a smaller, apsidal room with an external buttress at the head of the apse (32). From below its foundations came the early-third-century dedication (fig. 77) to Serapis by Claudius Hieronymianus, legate of Legio VI,²⁴⁴ but the building which was erected over it aligns with other colonia



74 Head of the Emperor Constantine from the legionary fortress, York (*The Yorkshire Museum*)



75 The bath building under the old railway station, York (*Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England: Crown Copyright – reproduced with permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office*)

buildings and not with the baths. The latter seem to have been bounded on the north-east side by a massive wall which was traced for about 100yds (90m) and by perhaps another parallel with, and about 40ft (12m) south-west of, it. These walls, may, however, represent terraced buildings. Traces of earlier buildings, including late-first-century timber structures, have also been observed near the caldarium to be on the same alignments as those of later years. So continuity had been observed, which probably shows that the alignment was earlier than the colonia.

These fragmentary remains are obviously not enough for an imperial palace to be created round them, even if all belongs to one complex and period, and there is nothing to prove that they did. The date of most of the fragments must remain in

doubt, and, moreover, excavations on the caldarium showed a complicated history of development. Yet there are features about the buildings, together with other finds, which seem to distinguish this quarter of the colonia from other parts. It is curious that the alignment first taken by the early timber buildings should have been perpetuated by such large and massive successors, which ignored subsequent development in the colonia. This would, by itself, set the buildings apart from the general run, and would show that they were of sufficient importance not to have been demolished and brought into line with the rest. It is also noteworthy that the area should have produced two inscriptions testifying to imperial legates. As reused building stone they might have travelled some distance from where



76 Altar to Fortune, erected by Sosia Juncina, wife of Q. Antonius Isauricus, imperial legate: from Building 34b, York (*The Yorkshire Museum*)



77 Dedication tablet from a temple of Serapis, found at Toff Green, York, in Building 32 (*The Yorkshire Museum*)

they were originally placed, but altars to Fortune are sometimes found in baths, while the size of the stone dedication to Serapis might suggest that it had not moved far. There are, in addition, the two bronze plates set up by Demetrius, which were found in the same area. One is a dedication to the deities of the governor's residence, the other to Ocean and Tethys.²⁴⁵ Demetrius has been identified as the schoolmaster whom Plutarch met in AD 83–4 and who is mentioned in *de defectu Oraculorum*. Whether the identification is correct or not, Demetrius was clearly attached to the governor's staff. The deities of the residence could presumably be invoked anywhere, and, if Agricola was the governor in question, they could have been placed as easily in a building in which he resided at York, as in an official residence anywhere else. Moreover, since Agricola spent much time on active service in the north, and because the praetorium in London does not seem to have been fully finished much before the end of his governorship, if not later, he may well have had campaign headquarters at York. It could be argued that small objects such as bronze plates could have been carried as rubbish to the site where they were found, although as rubbish they would more likely have been melted down. But this would add to the coincidence. We might conclude therefore that the area in question seems from the first to have been used for an official dwelling connected with the imperial administration. It could equally have been the site of a different type of praetorium, of the sort suspected at Brough-on-Humber and at *Praetorium Agrippina* in Holland, where important imperial officials were accommodated on tours of duty;²⁴⁶ what better nucleus for an imperial palace?

When York became the capital of Britannia Inferior, probably under Severus, the governor of the new province would also have required a residence. Since, however, the governor was also legate of Legio VI, it is more probable that he continued to occupy the legionary praetorium in the fortress across the river from the colonia. With the reorganization of the Empire in the late third

and early fourth centuries, the civil and military jurisdictions were separated. Then York became military headquarters for the whole northern region under the *dux Britanniarum*, in addition to being the base for Legio VI, which was by then probably smaller in size and commanded by a prefect. Britannia Inferior was also subdivided into two provinces and York was the capital of either Flavia Caesariensis or Britannia Secunda. By analogy with what happened to Britannia Superior, and also with other provinces where similar subdivisions took place, it is probable that York was in Flavia Caesariensis. There would have been the seat of the governor of the new and minor province, which would have been located in the colonia. Richmond has suggested that a riverside site would have been selected, like those at London, Cologne and *Aquincum*.²⁴⁷ So far, little is known of the buildings which flanked the River Ouse, but evidence for early-third-century terraces, some distance back from the river, in the grounds of Bishophill Senior, possibly points to provision having been made for them; quantities of painted wall-plaster have been recovered, which included a fragment depicting a toga-clad figure.²⁴⁸ These terraces, of which at least four may be inferred, were much slighter than those at Lincoln (p. 144) and were retained by walls about 3½ft (1m) thick, which may have stood originally to a height of about 10ft (3m).

At present, only a small amount is known of the fortifications which enclosed the colonia. It might be assumed that they were constructed soon after the promotion, when the town seems to have been replanned. The defences of the legionary fortress over the river are partly followed by the later medieval wall.²⁴⁹ That being so, it is probably also right to assume that the colonia walls will likewise have been followed by much of the medieval circuit on the other bank. Nevertheless, but for the north-west section, some caution must be exercised with regard to the remainder. Sections of the wall have been shown to be embedded in the medieval mound in the area of the old railway station. In making a tunnel to an

air-raid shelter (p. 167) a wall, about 6ft (1.8m) thick, of roughly coursed rubble masonry was encountered. It was there slightly in advance of the medieval wall and appeared to be diverging outwards, presumably towards the point where Road 8 entered the town,²⁵⁰ and where presumably there was a gate. Some 300ft (91m) further south, two other sections of wall were uncovered again during work on the railway. Their respective alignments, if correct, would suggest an angle, with a turn being made towards the south-east. This would have brought the wall inside the line of the medieval circuit at the western corner at least as far as Micklegate Bar. Had that been so, it is difficult to see why the medieval builders should have undertaken so much extra work for so little increase in the defended area.²⁵¹ A gate must have existed where the Tadcaster road strikes the wall, but unfortunately the Royal Commission placed it on their Road 10. It is now clear from recent work that the main axis of the town, leading to the Ouse bridge and the fortress was their Road 17a; consequently the gate must lie close to Micklegate Bar.²⁵² Along the river, an ashlar wall encountered in Rougier Street was thought to have belonged to a riverside wall, but it seems too far out of alignment to have been part of the defences, and was, in any case, later covered by a street.²⁵³ Nothing else is known about the defences.

York suffers as much archaeologically as many other towns in Roman Britain which escaped the wartime blitzes. Now a major conservation area, its Roman origins are masked below later buildings which are seldom subject to development. Consequently there is a shortage of excavation sites, which means in turn severe restrictions on our knowledge of the interior of the Roman *colonia*. However, this situation has been partly redressed in the last decade or so by two major excavations: the General Accident site at the junction of Rougier Street and Tanner Row, the other in Wellington Row. Both sites lie in the northern sector of the town, not far from the probable site of the bridge across the River Ouse.

The latter site provided the best opportunity so far to observe the main road leading to the bridge from a south-westerly direction. It had been constructed on a raised gravel causeway as the river was approached, after earlier flooding had shown the need, and it had been well maintained until the late third century. The width of 30ft (9m) is quite exceptional for town streets and it is not surprising that in the fourth century timber-framed buildings encroached on its surface resulting in a reduction to a single carriageway;²⁵⁴ this is reminiscent of circumstances at Winchester (p. 301) and Canterbury (p. 202), although these were somewhat later. A timber-lined drain²⁵⁵ was later cut through the metalling behind the buildings, but it appears to have silted naturally before becoming covered by dark earth.²⁵⁶ But apart from these two streets mentioned above, and those shown on the plan (see fig. 73) little else is known about the basic town plan. The Royal Commission's Inventory has suggested that the lines of other streets may be presumed in a warped form in the medieval street plan, but this idea should be treated with caution, bearing in mind the comparative plans of Roman and medieval Canterbury and Winchester. Another street at York is, however, indicated by a street fountain, which was found in Bishophill Junior.²⁵⁷ Its direction ran parallel with that represented by 17a. The Royal Commission's original inventory²⁵⁸ placed 17a in such a position that it could not have crossed the full width of the *colonia*, being interrupted by a large colonnaded building. Now that this street has been realigned, it can be seen to skirt the building.

Some of the principal buildings inside the *colonia* have already been discussed. But of extra significance are those which preceded its foundation, seldom before seen in excavation. At the General Accident site a sequence was recorded dating from the early second century, although there appeared to be nothing before that (fig. 78). The earliest features point to a low-lying wet site with a small stream running through it towards the Ouse; at one point a cambered street leading in



78 Early-second-century timber buildings under the colonia on the General Accident site (York Archaeological Trust)

the same direction was encountered, which was ultimately covered in a thick deposit containing much horse dung. A platform of redeposited turf, loam and peat about 3ft (1m) thick was built up beside the stream before the middle of the second century. In the second half of that century timber-framed buildings were erected on the platform; the wood was well preserved by the damp conditions and exhibited interesting details of the carpentry and other structural features, including one instance of an unusually weather-boarded cavity wall (fig. 78). The buildings seem to have been domestic houses, although a combination with commerce or industry cannot be ruled out.²⁵⁹ This site has also produced ample environmental evidence (p. 187).

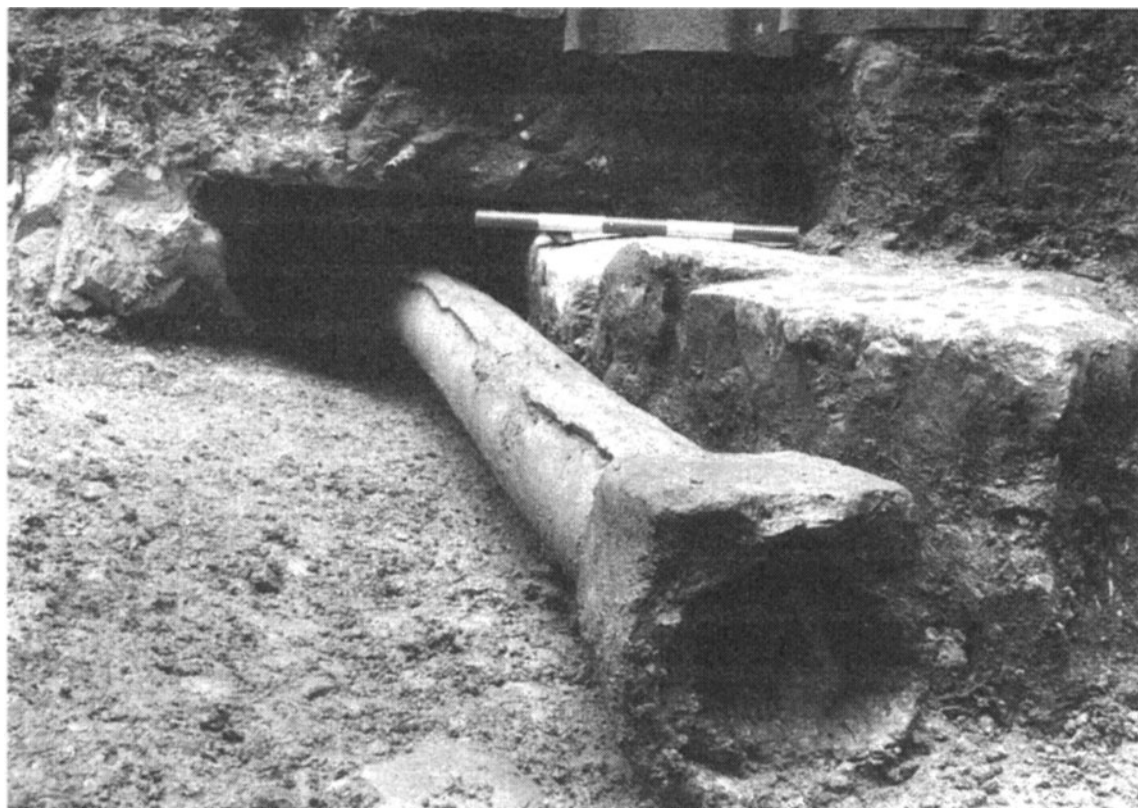
In the late second or perhaps early third century

these timber-framed houses were demolished, the ground was levelled and deeply piled, and masonry structures were erected. They probably date to the replanning which accompanied the conferment of municipal or colonial status. Other fragments of buildings belonging to this period are also worthy of mention. The most important perhaps is the colonnaded building (Building 30) referred to above. Two parallel lines of column bases were found 40ft (12m) apart. The bases were 3ft (0.9m) in diameter and were placed 6ft (1.8m) apart; seven were found in the row nearest to Railway Street, four in the other. Another base apparently occupied an odd position equidistant between the two terminal columns at the north-west end. We might wonder if indeed it was intended to support a column, as the distance to be

spanned on either side would have been of the order of 20ft (6m). Perhaps it was not an 'architectural solecism' as Richmond called it, but the base for a statue, or it could have belonged to an earlier structure. No specific date can be ascribed to the building, although a coin hoard found in the same area, but not necessarily connected with it, contained coins as late as Geta. Richmond has suggested that it may have been a basilica.²⁶⁰ An altar, dedicated to the *numen Augusti* and the *genius Eboraci*,²⁶¹ was found below the same modern street. Other colonnaded buildings are known under Trinity Lane and at the junction of Micklegate with Railway Street,²⁶² but neither building had columns of significant size. Since it is not yet possible to say which was the principal north-west to south-east street, it is difficult to assign the forum even to a tentative position. Building 30 must obviously be a candidate, with its colonnaded 'basilica', and would have flanked the south-eastern side of the main road leading from Micklegate Bar to the Ouse bridge. Another possibility, in a better position, is Building 25 in the Royal Commission's Inventory, which is described as being 'divided into compartments', a description reminiscent of the wings of some fora, or of a macellum; but there is now some doubt if this building actually existed.²⁶³ Another probable public building was revealed at the junction of Micklegate and Skeldergate (Queen's Hotel), where early-third-century walls were excavated. Some were as much as 6½ft (2.2m) wide and still stood over 10ft (3.3m) above the foundations, which were almost equally deep. One wall contained two tile-built arched openings, of which one had been subsequently blocked; its adjacent wall had a similar opening, later converted to a drain, with another tiled archway nearby. Thick *opus signinum* floors had been broken up to accommodate a later flagstone floor; the second phase is probably late third century. The building has all the appearance of a bath-house, but it is not possible to say whether for the colonia, or, as has been suggested, for a *praetorium* or even for the *domus palatina*.²⁶⁴ But

whatever its identity, it may have been part of the baths (Building 19) known to lie in Fetter Lane,²⁶⁵ where an equally massive wall 4ft (1.2m) thick was encountered. A cold plunge, 9ft (2.7m) wide and over 20ft (6m) long was flanked by two other large rooms. Interestingly, in one of the latter, the floor was made of tiles stamped LEG IX HISP, presumably left-overs, or salvaged, from the early fortress. Some timbers, measuring 1ft (305mm) square and 30ft (9m) long, were also found and suggest roof beams, presumably from the unheated part of the baths.

A running water supply is indicated by the street fountain referred to above (p. 173), and by lead pipes connected to the baths in Building 34, and there would have been little difficulty in providing the colonia with a continuous flow from an aqueduct. Its possible line may be indicated by a clay and cobble channel found on the site of the Railway Offices (R.C.H.M. 17d). Terracota pipes, almost identical with those from Lincoln (p. 138), have been found on the other side of the river, leading towards the west angle of the fortress. It was concluded that they represented the supply for St Mary's Abbey,²⁶⁶ but their similarity with known Roman pipes must raise doubts, and it is possible that they supplied water from the Bur Dike further north-west. A recent find, though, to some extent confirms this implication that the fortress and colonia may have shared an aqueduct, at least for a time. The excavations in Wellington Row revealed a lead pipe of mid- to late-second century date, which seems to have carried water across the bridge over the river and down the centre of the widened main road.²⁶⁷ The pipe was 7in (180mm) in external diameter, the largest cylindrical lead pipe yet known in Britain,²⁶⁸ and was protected from damage by a series of massive limestone blocks placed above it (fig. 79). The water which it carried seems to have come from the south-west, possibly from a castellum in the area of the Old Station, and clearly supplied users on the fortress side of the river. Aqueducts and water supply in a town came under the control of the aediles. This implies that areas outside the



79 A large-diameter lead pipe which carried water across the Ouse bridge. Note the junction box between two sections (*York Archaeological Trust*)

fortress fell within the jurisdiction of the colonia and were not under military supervision.

Other public buildings still to be sought and as yet entirely unknown, are a theatre, or amphitheatre, the temple of the imperial cult,²⁶⁹ and the temples of the official religion. The lifesize statue of Mars found in Blossom Street, with an altar dedicated to the same god, are supposed to have been dumped there in post-Roman times.²⁷⁰ There is no way of saying if they came from the colonia or the fortress, although they are much nearer the former, and therefore might be slight evidence in favour of a temple there. Greater certainty, however, must exist over the dedication to, among other unknown deities, the deities of the emperors and the Genius of the place, found in 1976 at Clementhorpe. It refers to an arch and a

vaulted passage to these deities donated in 221 by Lucius Viducius Placidus, a merchant probably in pottery.²⁷¹

Despite the dearth of temple structures, the religious life of the town is well represented by a series of inscriptions. In addition to those already mentioned, Mithraism is represented by a Tauroctony found in Micklegate, opposite St Martin's Church, which might suggest the site of a Mithraeum,²⁷² and by a rare dedication to Arimanes, a Mithraic god, found near Building 34g.²⁷³ Other stones record dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Britannia Sancta, Genius loci and Deae Matres in the colonia.²⁷⁴ Another shrine or temple is known across the river and outside the southern angle of the fortress. A dedication to Hercules was found beneath the Midland Bank in

High Ousegate (Building 37), while another inscription, dedicated to the deities of the emperors, and found on the same site, would suggest joint dedications for the same building.²⁷⁵ The temple, despite its position near the fortress, appears to have been connected also with the *colonia*, as the main dedication was made by a group of people who probably had official connexions with the latter. Yet another fragmentary inscription refers possibly to work being done by a *primus pilus* together with two other men, who, Wright has pointed out, may be joint *magistri* of the *canabae*.²⁷⁶ Finally, it should be remembered that, in the fourth century, York was the seat of a bishop, and a prelate whose name was, appropriately, Eborius, attended the Council of Arles in AD 314. Somewhere a church of equivalent dignity should be situated in the *colonia*.

York has no domestic buildings which have been fully excavated. But the fragments, which have been found from time to time, both within the defences and outside them, show the veneer of opulence overlying the comfortable houses, which is to a large extent lacking in the three military *coloniae*. The reason for this difference is not hard to seek. The origins of the town lay in the wealth accumulated by merchants and traders. Only secondarily would veterans have been attracted to it, perhaps because most land was already in private ownership, in contrast to the opposite state of affairs in the military foundations. The population would therefore have the diversity of make-up which is desirable for a flourishing settlement. A house with three mosaics is known below Toft Green (Building 35). In one room, a mosaic depicted the four seasons with a central panel containing a Medusa head; in another, the mosaic was entirely geometrical in design. Another house (Building 27), perhaps lying just outside the Tadcaster Gate, contained a room with a mosaic, which depicted two stags in a central, octagonal panel and with four corner panels showing, somewhat ironically, joints of venison, so displaying an excellent

association of ideas. It would seem to be in the same vein as some much earlier mosaics, and also wall-paintings, which include a mosaic of an unswept room, and paintings depicting articles of food. Both styles are mentioned by Pliny.²⁷⁷

Evidence for trade and industry at York is not so difficult to find as at Lincoln or Gloucester. The trading connexions between York and Bordeaux have been stressed ever since the altar of M. Aurelius Lunaris was found. The altar (fig. 80) was exhibited for the first time in 1971 in Britain at York, at an exhibition organized to commemorate the foundation of the legionary fortress. It is a very substantial piece of stone, weighing almost a ton, and the standard of the carving is good.²⁷⁸ The inscription records that the altar was set up in accordance with a vow made by Lunaris 'on starting from York'. Courteault suggests that Lunaris made this flamboyant gesture to commemorate the successful expedition of Maximianus into Germany in AD 236. This is a possible reason, but other more mundane causes should be considered. If he was, as is usually suggested, a merchant, he would surely have made many trips to Bordeaux in his lifetime. The altar might therefore suggest the carriage of an especially valuable cargo from York to Bordeaux. Other occasions demanding the fulfilment of a similar vow might have been after a first trip, or after the completion of a lifetime of trips. More likely the latter, as, by the time the altar was erected, Lunaris was a rich and successful man of business, holding prominent positions at both York and Lincoln (p. 145). Why then was the altar erected at Bordeaux and not at York, or is there a companion altar still waiting to be found at York? Perhaps Lunaris was retiring in his old age to the warmer climate of south-western France. He undoubtedly started his journey from York, for, not only does the inscription say so, but also the altar is carved in millstone grit, a stone commonly used in the *colonia* and unknown in the Bordeaux region.²⁷⁹ It would seem, therefore, either that the altar was cut before Lunaris left York, or that the stone was part of the ship's ballast, or even a cargo of stone, and



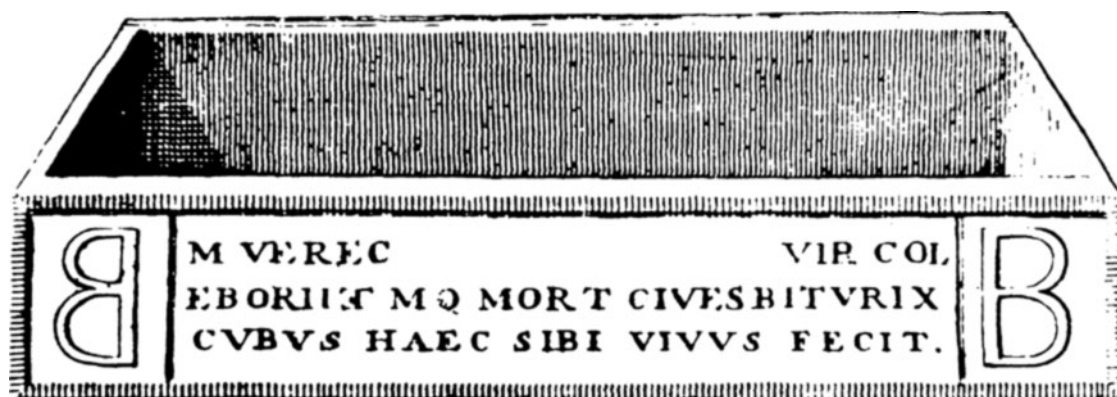
80 Altar erected in Bordeaux by M. Aurelius Lunaris, sevir Augustalis of York and Lincoln (*Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England and the Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux*)

the altar made from it on arrival at Bordeaux. This point does not seem to have occurred to Courteault. On the right side of the altar is a bas-relief of a boar, the badge, or emblem, of York derived from its name. Logically, we might expect to find on the other side the badge of Bordeaux, but instead there is depicted a river god holding an anchor. Courteault described this as a representation of the River Garonne, but, in view of the identification of the other badge, it is difficult to see why it should not be the River Ouse or Humber.

Another man, possibly in the same line of business as Lunaris, was M. Verecundius Diogenes, a native of the *Bituriges Cubi*, a civitas which was centred on Bourges. His coffin (fig. 81), together with that of his wife, a Sardinian lady, Julia Fortunata, was found near Scarborough Bridge.²⁸⁰ Diogenes, like Lunaris, was a *sevir Augustalis* of York. A third merchant of the colonia can now be added to the list from the Clementhorpe inscription: L. Viducius Placidus, who was most probably engaged in the transport of pottery from the Rhineland.²⁸¹ He was almost certainly the same man who erected an altar to Nehalennia, which was found in the Eastern Scheldt estuary off Colijnsplaat, and which originally came from a nearby shrine. He came from the *civitas Velioctassium*, whose principal town was Rouen, near the mouth of the River Seine, and the

implied connexions between this river, the Rhine and the Humber show the spread of his activities.

Another reminder of York's overseas connexions is contained in the altar (fig. 82) to the African, Italian and Gallic Mother Goddesses erected by M. Minicius Audens, a *gubernator* of Legio VI.²⁸² He is normally considered to have been a river pilot, whose skills would be required to deal with the difficulties of navigation on the Ouse and Humber; the latter is renowned for its rapidly shifting mud banks and high rate of flow.²⁸³ Further evidence for direct trade links with the Rhineland is contained in the jet articles found at Cologne and discussed below, while the Rhenish pipeclay figurine of a bald-headed man, found in a burial near Fishergate, illustrates the reciprocal nature of the trade.²⁸⁴ Mention might also be made of the massive structure found in Hungate, on a quay beside the old bed of the River Foss, south-east of the fortress (Building 52). It is usually interpreted as the base of a derrick or crane for loading and unloading heavy goods from ships. Although nearer to the fortress than to the colonia, there is no reason to believe that it would have been solely used on behalf of the former. The river frontage of the colonia would almost certainly have been lined with wharves after the manner of London. Unfortunately, although some excavations have taken place close to the



81 Sarcophagus of M. Verecundius Diogenes, *sevir Augustalis* of York: probably found near Scarborough Bridge (R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vol. 1: The Clarendon Press, Oxford)



82 Altar erected by M. Minucius Audens, gubernator. Found in Micklegate, York (*The Yorkshire Museum*)

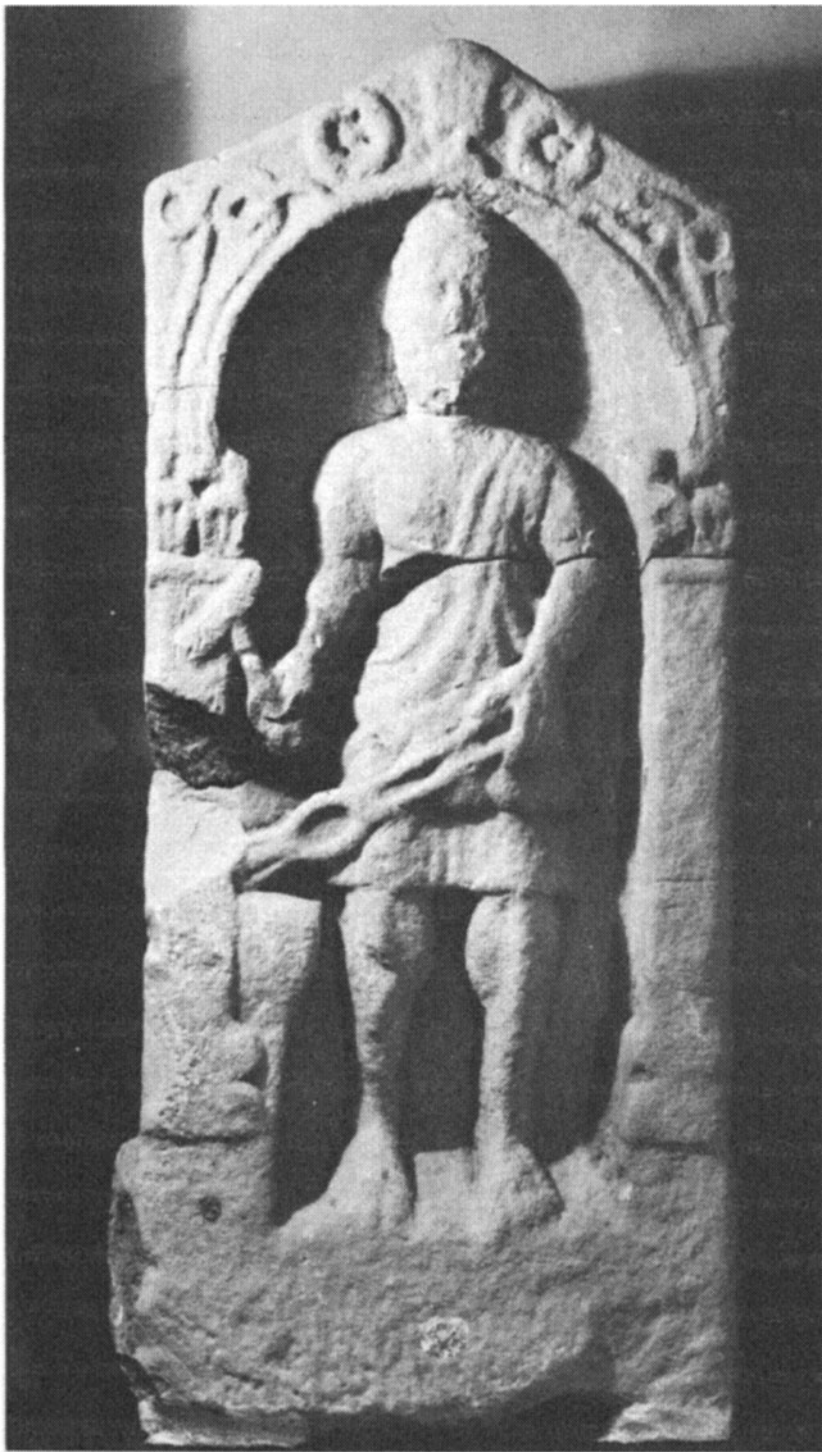
waterfront, very little has yet been found of any structures. Whatever survives of them is buried exceptionally deeply; in Wellington Row, they revealed only its position in early Roman times. A large rectangular, masonry building with a wooden floor, dating to the late second or early third century, had been constructed in the angle formed by the river and the north-western side of the main road; it is thought to have had a religious function and to have survived until the later fourth century. Only at Albion Wharf in Skeldergate have any traces of colonial riverside installations been found, in a timber-framed quay or revetment; a nearby bore-hole further downstream struck masonry, thought to be part of a quay.²⁸⁵ The position of the late-Roman river front was at first thought to have been established in Wellington Row, lying some 148ft (45m) behind the present bank, where possible timber shoring and the piled foundation of a large masonry structure were observed. But it is now believed to lie closer to the modern bank.²⁸⁶

York was the centre of a lively industry engaged in carving Whitby jet. This material was especially esteemed in the Roman world for its supposed magical properties. In addition to an extensive series of pins, rings, beads and bracelets, the workshops also produced a number of portrait medallions in the form of pendants. They depict sometimes single heads, sometimes those obviously of a husband and wife and sometimes of a family; others are ornamented with a Medusa head, and yet others are shaped as birds or animals. Debris from the manufacture, raw material and also unfinished objects were found on the site of the present railway station.²⁸⁷ It has been suggested that the objects, apart from travelling widely in Britain, were also exported to the Rhineland, where they are especially common in Cologne.²⁸⁸ Richmond has also drawn attention to the fact that, unlike York, manufacturing waste is so far unknown in Cologne. Neither do the finished products occur in Free Germany, as do other materials, such as glass and enamel work, which were manufactured in the Rhineland.²⁸⁹ A

note in the Royal Commission's Inventory²⁹⁰ refers to the rarity of the circular discs cut from the centres of rings and bracelets, which were such a common feature of the Dorset shale industry, and suggests that these cores were mainly reused. But some cores have been found, as might be expected, near Whitby. Indeed, it seems most likely that they provided the raw material for the pendants and medallions, most of which were circular or roughly oval in shape.

Another major industry, which may have flourished in York and the area around, was the growing of flax and the production of linen. The Vale of York and the region round Humberhead would provide the suitable rich, moist soil which the plant needs, and certainly both flax and hemp were grown in the Vale as recently as the nineteenth century,²⁹¹ and has now returned again in the last few years as a break crop, mainly for its linseed oil. Its beautiful blue flowers provide a welcome contrast to the otherwise ubiquitous yellow of oil-seed rape. Evidence for flax has also been found on both the General Accident and Rougier Street sites; the quantity of samples recovered increased from the mid second century but declined again into the third. This does not mean to say that linen was no longer being used in York, only that the reason for it to have occurred on these two sites had changed.²⁹² Certainly, in the fourth century, linen was used in Eboracum for wrapping bodies before burial, as shows most clearly in the gypsum burials.²⁹³ A useful corroborative piece of evidence comes from excavations at Bishophill Senior, which produced a bone spindle and pottery whorl from a deposit which is later than AD 350 and probably of fifth-century date. Mr R. Patterson of York Castle Museum has said that, in his opinion, the spindle is too fine to have spun anything other than a linen or silk thread.²⁹⁴

The same site as Bishophill Senior also produced evidence for pre-colonial bronze and iron working. The former was provided by remains of a waste tub, 18in (457mm) square, of a type recognized at Verulamium and Catterick,²⁹⁵ the



83 Uninscribed tombstone of a blacksmith from Dringhouses, York (*The Yorkshire Museum*)

latter from hammer scale. Evidence for a blacksmith connected with the *colonia*, who was wealthy enough to pay for a tombstone (fig. 83) portraying a smith at work with hammer and anvil, came from Dringhouses.²⁹⁶ Evidence of glass-working was provided by waste debris dumped as levelling in the late second or early third century near the Ouse crossing in Wellington Row, while the General Accident site produced evidence for working in iron, copper, jet and leather.²⁹⁷

A mason's yard seems to have existed in the area of the Mount before it was taken over for a cemetery. When this happened, the debris was buried in pits. In addition to coins of Severus and Gordian, worked stone, stone chippings and lead dross were found. The latter implies work of considerable magnitude, where stones were held together with iron cramps set in lead. The coins suggest perhaps a connexion with the rebuilding which occurred in the late second or early third century.²⁹⁸

There is little evidence for the local manufacture of pottery. With a flourishing industry in east and north Yorkshire, the town drew most of its supplies from there in the fourth century. Before that, much was brought from southern Britain and the continent. In the second century an attempt seems to have been made by a samian potter from central Gaul to set up a factory, as a mould for a samian bowl, form 37, was found on the site of the present railway station.²⁹⁹ No pottery kilns or workshops have yet been found. A second-century tiliary and legionary pottery connected with the fortress may be suggested by stacked tiles, with legionary stamps, and a pottery store found in Peaseholm Green.³⁰⁰

As at Colchester, the cemeteries at York have provided much information about the population. We have already met some of its members, but before looking at the activities which were followed by others, we can note the cemeteries themselves. The principal burial grounds of the *colonia* lay in the area of the present railway station, and along the road to Tadcaster as far as

Dringhouses. Others are known outside the south-eastern quarter at Clementhorpe and beyond, while single burials have been found as far away as Nunthorpe. Some burials must have been destroyed when the *colonia* was developed in the early third century, so as to make room for new buildings. The authorities seem to have displayed a certain callousness, which was matched in the late third century by funeral monuments being used in the construction of defences. A reaction ensued, perhaps from the amount of desecration which was taking place, and eventually harsh penalties were imposed by imperial edict on those who destroyed tombs or these monuments.³⁰¹ Tomb-robbing had become rife, and the plundering of Diocletian's tomb near Salona (at modern Split)³⁰² was but one better known example.

It is not possible to consider all these cemeteries in detail. They cover many gradations of the social scale, and the whole period of Roman occupation. They contain cremation and inhumation burials, including excellent examples of the latter where the corpse was encased in liquid gypsum, which not only preserved impressions of the shape of the body, but also of grave goods which have since perished.³⁰³ Burials of this type have been attributed to Christian rites and the process appears to have been derived from pagan customs in North Africa.³⁰⁴ Part of an *ustrina*, or cremation area, was found at Trentholme Drive,³⁰⁵ while there are many fragments from elaborate, ornamented tomb chambers and mausolea.

Among the burials which might be considered individually as throwing light on the inhabitants, and to which no reference has yet been made, are the following. A tombstone, from near the Mount, erected over the ashes of a 13-year-old child, Corellia Optata, included lines of verse which revealed not only the distress of her father, Q. Corellius Fortis, but also some educational pretensions.³⁰⁶ Some, like the tombstone of Eglecta and her son Crescens,³⁰⁷ and that (fig. 84) of Flavia Augustina, her son Augustinus and her daughter,³⁰⁸ were obviously from family tombs.



84 Family tombstone of G. Aeresius Saenus from The Mount, York (*The Yorkshire Museum*)

C. Aeresius Saenus, the husband of Flavia, was a veteran of Legio VI, who had retired to the colonia. The tombstone also records that it was set up for his wife and himself, so implying that he intended to occupy the same grave. Above the inscription is a portrayal of the family. Cresces, another veteran of Legio VI, is recorded on a fragmentary stone, but his name has been partly lost.³⁰⁹ Stone coffins were frequently used for inhumations in the later period. In one was buried Aelia Severa, the 27-year-old wife of Caecilius Rufus. She is described as *honesta femina*, a title normally reserved for wives and daughters of decurions.³¹⁰ Her coffin was later reused by an unknown man embalmed in gypsum, and the tombstone of Flavia Augustina, mentioned above, had been used as a cover. Another decurion, Flavius Bellator, is mentioned on a stone coffin (fig. 85) from near the Scarborough railway bridge. He had reached his distinguished position at an early age, for he was only 29 when he died.³¹¹ His heavily weathered coffin had been reused for a younger woman, who had been buried with a gold finger ring mounted with a ruby. Another decurion of the colonia, albeit nameless, is recorded on

the fragmentary remains of a sarcophagus (fig. 86) from Fishergate, reused in the Gilbertine Priory Church. His two executors included a man whose full name included Aurelius; consequently the inscription almost certainly dates to the third century.³¹² Yet another coffin found in 1956 near the castle recalls that a detachment of the Praetorian Guard would have accompanied Severus to Britain. Septimius Lupianus, having served his full time as a soldier in the Guard, but not necessarily in Britain, was promoted *centurio ex evocato* to a legion. The coffin belonged to his wife and son.³¹³

Gladiatorial shows are perhaps implied by a capital from an ornamental tomb, found near the Royal Station Hotel. Carved on the capital is a somewhat crude portrait of a *retiarius*, with his net and trident.³¹⁴ A similar implication is contained on a small bone plaque, found with a burial on the railway site, which is inscribed *Domine Victor vincas felix*.³¹⁵ A tile from a cemetery north-west of the fortress inscribed by a workman's finger while the clay was still plastic, suggests the existence of burial clubs (*collegia*) of a type already described in connexion with Lincoln (p. 146),³¹⁶



85 Sarcophagus of Flavius Bellator, decurion of York: found near Scarborough Bridge (*The Yorkshire Museum*)



86 Part of a stone sarcophagus of a nameless decurion of York (York Archaeological Trust)

although in this instance it might equally apply to a trade guild, or to a religious or peregrine group.

All the above burials represent the richer classes. In the main they were placed nearer the town, while the poorer people had to make do with burial sites further away. For instance, along the Tadcaster Road the better class monuments are nearly all found between Micklegate Bar and West Mount, while beyond, at Trentholme Drive, almost all the burials, numbering approximately 350, belonged to the poorer classes. Probably the most interesting information from the Trentholme Drive cemetery was obtained by Warwick, Cooke and Rowbotham from a study of the skeletal material.³¹⁷ There the people were buried, mostly without coffins, and seldom with grave-markers. Consequently, later graves frequently cut through earlier ones, often only a short time after burial, which led to half-decomposed limbs, heads and torsos being scattered in all directions. The cemetery appears to have been used continuously from the middle of the second century until the end of the fourth. Warwick was able to estimate that 15 per cent of the social class represented by this cemetery died before they were 20, while most deaths (about 50 per cent) occurred between the ages of 20 and 40. Only a small proportion lived beyond 45.³¹⁸ In stature the women averaged 5ft 1in (1.549m), and the men 5ft 7in (1.699m), in height, while both sexes appeared to have been involved in a hard physical life. Racially, the males represented a more

heterogeneous group than the females, with suggestions of inhabitants whose birth-places were as far away as the eastern Mediterranean. These are interesting, albeit tentative, conclusions, as they confirm evidence from other sources, which show the cosmopolitan nature of many towns in Roman Britain. They would represent not only retired members of the army, but also the numerous small traders, and the slaves and freedmen, who came with their masters from other provinces. At York alone, there are people attested from Sardinia (Julia Fortunata), possibly from Greece or the eastern Empire (Nikomedes), Raetia (L. Bebius Crescens), Gallia Narbonensis (L. Duccius Rufinus), Lugdunensis (L. Viducius Placidus), Aquitania (M. Verecundius Diogenes),³¹⁹ Italy (Gaius . . .). They must have all lived for some time at York and it is easy to see just how mixed the population would have become over the years.

Argument has always arisen whenever a *territorium* is mentioned in connexion with the *colonia Eboracensis*. Nearly sixty years ago, Collingwood made the suggestion³²⁰ that the colonial *territorium* had been carved out of Brigantian lands as a reprisal for a mid-second-century revolt. His suggestion was mainly based on an unreliable and obscure reference by the Greek topographer Pausanias.³²¹ Richmond considered this to be an unwise deduction, and pointed out that a new land settlement was not always made when an existing settlement was promoted.³²²

Although no land settlement, of a type associated with the military *coloniae*, need have taken place on its promotion, it would be surprising if some area was not attributed to it, if only for administrative convenience. This would involve little or no expropriation, confiscation or purchase of land, but simply a change in its ruling authority, which probably affected very little the mass of the population. It is possible that some of the land allocated had previously been part of the legionary *territorium*, and it is probable that the land attributed to the *colonia* lay in the Vale of York, where land divisions, *per strigas*, have been identified near Tadcaster.³²³

Recent excavations have shown that the suburbs on both banks of the river were more extensive than was previously thought. What is not clear, however, is the administrative status of those adjacent to the fortress on the left bank, although a clue may be provided by the water supply noted above (p. 175). Were they regulated from the fortress or from the *colonia*? One of the most interesting of these suburban excavations was in Coney Street,³²⁴ close to the left bank of the river. There was found a succession of early timber warehouses, possibly associated with the storage of grain, which, after burning down, were covered by the street already recorded by R.C.H.M. (Road 2), and indicating a degree of replanning at the same time as in the *colonia*. This street runs parallel to the south-west side of the fortress; at one stage, probably in the second or early third century, a wooden water-pipe had been laid along it, while in another later period, there was a stone-cut gutter.

Some of the difficulties of excavating in the *colonia* have already been mentioned; another is the very great depth of Roman deposits, up to 23ft (7m) below modern levels near the water-front. It is not surprising, therefore, that even when the sites are available, few complete building plans have been recovered; moreover, many of the levels at that depth are waterlogged. But this has one great advantage. York has now yielded probably more significant environmental

evidence than any other town in Britain.³²⁵ This impressive achievement has enabled us to confirm what many have thought for a long time: that even the highest grade of urban settlement in Roman Britain, with its running water, bath-houses and sewers, contained places that were foul, stinking, verminous and disease-ridden and probably very noisy!³²⁶ Animal and human excreta were here found mixed together, although it must be admitted that the latter was more commonly disposed of in drains. Infestations of intestinal worms, human and animal fleas, and lice were by no means rare. The black rat, a vector of bubonic plague and typhus, and hitherto not usually accepted as being present in Roman Britain, was well in evidence; life would indeed have been nasty, brutish and short for much of the population. Interestingly, though, on the two sites at Rougier Street and General Accident where the black rat appeared, it was most common in the late second and early third century, at a time when timber buildings were the norm. As wood gave way to masonry the numbers seem to have declined to vanishing point. This is not surprising as this rat lives closely associated with man. It can burrow its way into timber-framed buildings, with their cob or wattle-and-daub walls, but it is defeated by solid masonry, and it will vacate buildings where foodstuffs are no longer kept, thus providing a helpful commentary on the succession of different types and uses of structures in this part of the town; no doubt it continued to flourish in others. Another alien rodent to be introduced was the house mouse, but the also-present dormouse, considered a delicacy, may have been indigenous. Yet, although rats and mice were becoming pests, there seem to have been few dogs or cats to catch them. All manner of insects connected with rotting flesh and vegetation were also represented.

Hay was gathered from as far away as 10–12 miles (15–20km), which is not surprising, since one well-fed horse can munch its way through 48 cu. yds (36 cu. m) of compressed hay in a year, even when also put to grass; large areas of both

pasture and hay-meadow would have been required. Peat may have been used for bedding as well as fuel, and was perhaps obtained from a raised bog at Askham, only 3 miles (5km) away.

The diet of the inhabitants was quite varied, with beef, mutton, pork and chicken being equally popular. There were occasional instances of game, such as hare, teal and wild goose, as opposed to the domesticated variety, which was also represented. But how a woodcock came to be included in the samples is an interesting question; they are probably the most difficult of all game birds to snare or shoot, even with a gun! The most common cereal in use, judging from samples collected from a probable granary in Rougier Street, was spelt, although, unlike the stock from Coney Street, it had not been attacked by pests such as the grain weevil. Most of the common wild fruits occur, with blackberry, sloe, hazelnut and raspberry all represented. More exotic, and therefore probably cultivated, were opium poppy, coriander, dill, mulberry and possibly walnut; the latter also occurred in early deposits in Catterick, and the others are all attested at Silchester (p. 287), with the addition of the mulberry at London (p. 107). But olives make a rare appearance in Britain and could only have come as an import, as with the dates from Colchester (p. 119). As for fish, the people of Roman York appear to have preferred estuarine or freshwater varieties to those from the sea, although crab shells were noted, together with most of the other common, edible shellfish. Both salmon and trout feature in the list, which reflects the contemporary purity of the River

Ouse, despite the effluent which must have flowed into it.

The end of the *colonia* has already been the subject of an essay by Ramm.³²⁷ There is evidence that standards were being maintained during the last half of the fourth century, but by then a general rise in sea level was beginning to be felt. By soon after AD 350, Brough-on-Humber had been abandoned as a naval base. At York, the trouble probably took longer to materialize and would have been caused more by the backing-up of water in rivers and streams, which would have had a disastrous effect on the riverside defences, leading, perhaps as at Brough (p. 399), to their partial destruction. It would have destroyed or rendered unusable the wharves and harbour facilities, so severing one of the chief lines of communication, by which, in past years, York had grown fat. There is a tenuous suggestion of fifth-century civilian occupation in the legionary fortress. What other evidence there is of the period is one of change: hypocausts and baths disused and a deterioration in building techniques. The closeness to York of early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries has led Myres to suggest that in Yorkshire there are traces of settlement by Alamannic *laeti* in the fourth century.³²⁸ But we cannot say if this increased the speed of the dissolution of established order in the *colonia*. It would be surprising if it did not, and it is probable that, at York, there was no extended survival of Romano-British civilization as happened in some other towns in central and western Britain, such as Verulamium and Cirencester.



THE FIRST CIVITAS CAPITALS

CANTERBURY, CHELMSFORD AND VERULAMIUM

With the passing of the main part of the Roman army to areas beyond south-eastern Britain, and the early release of these parts from full military occupation, three tribal regions would have required constitution as self-governing *civitates peregrinae*, outside the areas of the two client kingdoms of the Iceni and the Reg(i)ni.

The three *civitates* then to emerge were those formed from the *Cantiaci*, the *Trinovantes* and the *Catuvellauni*. The former were made up of a number of smaller tribes welded together.¹ The *Trinovantes* appear to have continued a corporate existence, despite the *colonia* at Colchester being founded in their territory. At this early stage, it is likely that the *civitas Catuvellaunorum* only included the south-eastern part of the tribe, with the remainder in the west and north-west still under military occupation. At this same stage, we might therefore look for three *civitas* capitals, which we may conclude were founded respectively at Canterbury, Chelmsford and Verulamium.

The reasons for the selection of the first and last sites have already been partly considered (pp. 23–5). Chelmsford is considered below.

CANTERBURY (*Durovernum Cantiacorum*)

Canterbury ought to have been among the first, if not the first, *civitas* capital to emerge in Britain, and the reasons for its selection, as opposed to other Kentish Iron Age sites such as Rochester, have already been partly discussed (p. 24). Earlier hints of a military occupation under Claudius² have now been well substantiated by the finding of lengths of military ditches and rampart under the site of the old gas works in Castle Street.³ An unexpected feature, though, was the duration of this military presence, which seems to have continued until *c.* 60, with possibly a further short occupation thereafter, but terminating in *c.* 70 at the latest. This in turn must raise doubts about the town's leading position as a *civitas* capital, and indeed the continued inclusion of Canterbury in this chapter might seem no longer justified, but it has been retained here so as to keep the same general format of the first edition of this book.

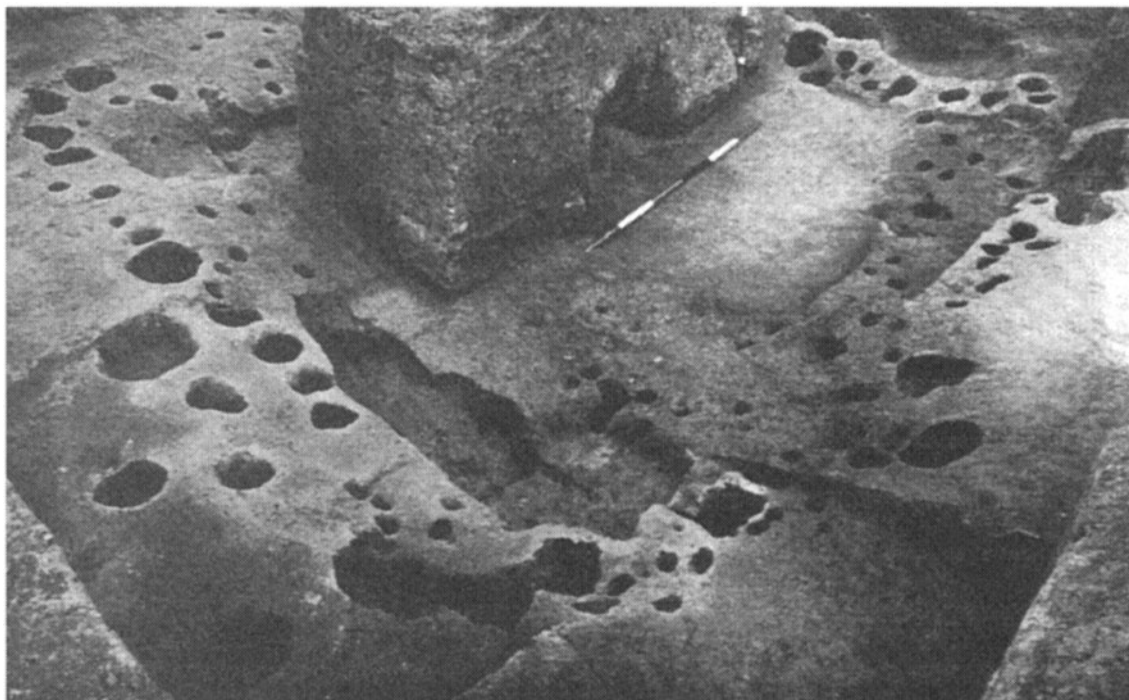
Much of the information about Roman Canterbury was recovered in the decades after the last war, when a protracted series of excavations was carried out on bombed and other areas, and then on development sites, first by the late Mrs Audrey

Williams (Mrs Grimes) and later by Professor Frere. To these sources can be added the information compiled by James Pilbrow, City Engineer in the 1860s, from trenches dug to lay a main system of sewers,⁴ and most recently by the long sequence of excavations carried out by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust since the early 1970s.⁵

The immediate pre-conquest Iron Age settlement at Canterbury was extensive, and evidence for huts and occupation has been found from as far south as Watling Street and St George's Street to beyond the River Stour in Whitehall.⁶ Lengths of large ditches in the latter area and even as far east as Trenley Park Woods would suggest the presence in the Stour Valley at Canterbury of a very considerable Belgic oppidum, possibly as big as Silchester or Verulamium; it was probably built in the years after Caesar's expeditions, when the earlier Iron Age centre at Bigbury was abandoned.⁷ This has now received some confirmation from excavations carried out between Rose Lane and St Margaret's Street, where a large triple-

ditched enclosure has been identified, containing at least two structures as well as other evidence of occupation. Several late Iron Age coins and a fragment of a fired-clay plate for making coin blanks⁸ would suggest the presence nearby of at least a mint and possibly a royal palace. Frere has shown that the site over the river in Whitehall was occupied from c. AD 10–60 and had remained comparatively undisturbed by the potential upheavals which affected so much of south-east Britain during that time.⁹ One interesting find there in the latest levels of a sunken hut (fig. 87) was a piece of reused Roman *tegula*, showing without doubt the existence of a substantial building in Claudian Canterbury which had a very short life.

It is less easy to date the end of the triple-ditched homestead uncovered near the centre of the later town. It was superseded by two large timber-framed buildings dating to the late Neronian or early Flavian period; several pieces of horse harness were associated with them and point perhaps to a military function.¹⁰



87 Excavated Belgic hut in Whitehall, Canterbury (*Entwhistle*)

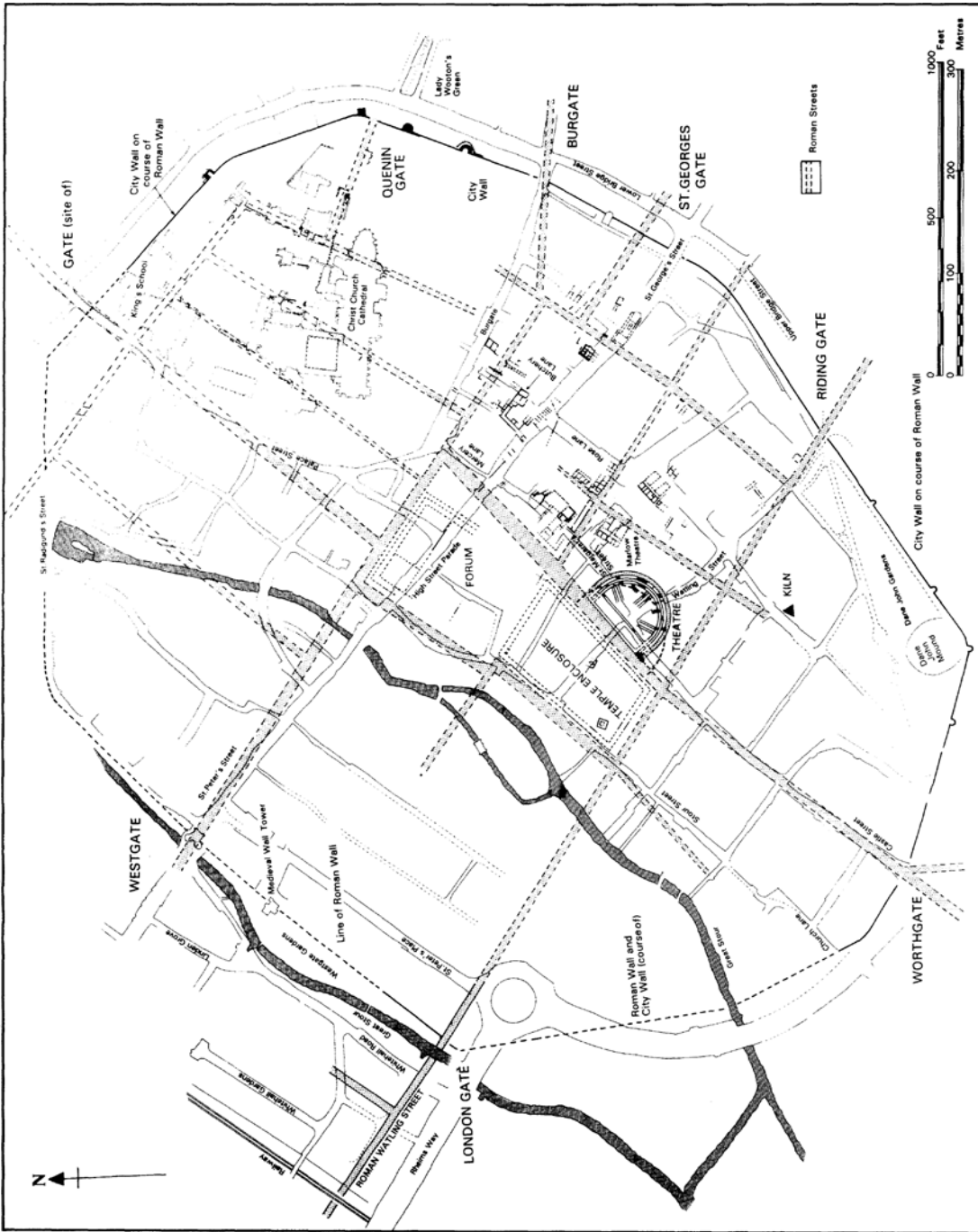
Other evidence reflects on what happened after the conquest, when the area around Canterbury was studded with native-style farms, so confirming the remarks made by Caesar,¹¹ who among other things noted that the Kentish people were also the most civilized among the Britons. Herein lies something of a paradox. If Caesar is right in proclaiming Kent as the most civilized and densely populated area among the Britons, while it was also closest to Gaul, and consequently to Rome, we might have expected the new civitas capital to have gone away to a flying start, at least as fast as London and Verulamium. But, on current evidence, it did no such thing. Indeed, with the continued presence of the army and the survival of native-style housing, its first decades exhibit a curious appearance. Yet there is no lack of Claudio-Neronian artefacts – obviously the place was still well populated. It might be argued that Canterbury, at the centre of a strategic road junction and river crossing leading from the army's principal supply base at Richborough to its operational areas, was simply too important to be left in the hands of even friendly natives.¹² The first decade of the Roman occupation must have seen an almost continuous flow of transport passing to and fro, until more convenient advanced bases had been secured. Consequently, little seems to have changed in Canterbury until the Flavian period. It seems unlikely, though, that the constitution of the *civitas Cantuariorum* would have been delayed so long. Certainly, it must also be admitted that little controlled excavation has occurred in the later town centre, where might still be concealed the appropriately Romanized early buildings in the nucleus of an embryo civitas capital, as happened at Verulamium (p. 223). But if such a centre had existed, it would be surprising if a rudimentary street system had not accompanied it, which does not seem to have been the case.

The even-spaced pattern of streets as proposed by Frere in the south-eastern half of the town has now been shown not only to be very different in character and much more irregular, but also later (fig. 88). There still remain puzzles about what

must have been the first route through the town, presumably from Richborough. This road makes a slight change of line from the top of St Martin's Hill to aim roughly at what later became the town centre. But this line, had it been maintained, would have cut diagonally across the later street system; yet only a short length inside Burgate survived to do so. Frere rightly emphasized the importance of Watling Street from Dover, which not only became one of the earliest streets through the town, as later embodied by the Riding and London gates, but also the street from which the later system was laid off.¹³ He also argued that this is evidence for the importance of the port at Dover as early as the Claudian period. Yet little has been located at Dover to support this contention, and the earliest, apparently unfinished, fort has been dated to the opening decades of the second century;¹⁴ comparatively little first-century material has been found there. One point, though, seems to have been overlooked by both Frere and Bennett.¹⁵ The final alignment of the Richborough road from St Martin's Hill onwards, if produced, strikes the River Stour almost exactly where the London Gate, carrying Watling Street, was later built. Is it possible, therefore, that there was already in existence in the late Iron Age a bridge which united both halves of the oppidum? That would raise in turn the problem of why this line was not perpetuated. But Richborough had declined as a port in favour of Dover by the early second century, just at the same time as the town streets were probably being laid out, so that by then Watling Street would naturally have become the major route.

Even if this proposal is correct, it does not solve all the problems associated with the internal streets. There are a number laid out at right angles, but few of them were evenly spaced, while several, mainly around the central religious enclosure (p. 194), adopt their own alignments, with the later streets tacked on where necessary. But this could be partly explained by the pre-existence of standing buildings, particularly of a religious nature. It is by no means improbable that

CANTERBURY (Dvirovernvm)



the *temenos* originally contained a site of Iron Age sanctity. Moreover, the first theatre (p. 194) was probably built as an accessory to the Romanized version of this cult centre, towards the end of the first century, thereby predating and so controlling the street layout.

Despite our lack of knowledge of the earliest buildings in the town centre, Canterbury, as now seems to be the case with most *civitas* capitals, did not develop on a large scale until the late first and early second centuries. Not enough is yet known about the true position, the precise boundaries or the history of the forum, for it to be closely dated. It is always assumed to have lain under the centre of the medieval town in the area around the County Hotel. An extent of rammed gravel was found below the cellars of the hotel during alteration work, and this gravel extended westwards under Stour Street, although it most likely belonged to the street flanking the forum on the north-west side. Part of an elaborate and sumptuous building was also found not far away to the rear of what was once the Fleur-de-Lis Hotel (now a Wimpy Bar). It had been decorated with marble veneers imported from many parts of the Empire,¹⁶ and a tessellated floor. It was noted that little early occupation underlay it, which might point either to a comparatively early date or else to considerable site clearance before building work began. Architectural fragments have also been found in the same general area under the High Street. One difficulty in accepting the Fleur-de-Lis building as part of the forum complex arises from the presence of a flue arch leading probably to a hypocaust, which would be unusual in a forum or basilica.¹⁷ Another arises in trying to relate these and other building fragments, found in sewer trenches down the High Street, to the known street plan. The *insulae* at Canterbury vary considerably in size. This one, which is now thought to contain the forum, is a trapezoid, roughly 460ft (140m) by 475ft (145m) at its widest, which is a large area, almost as great as the forum and basilica at London (p. 91). If the forum only occupied the north-eastern half,¹⁸ there

would be room at the narrower end for another major building, which would then lie between the basilica and the temple precinct: perhaps the capitolium? But the two latter added together would have created an outsize area, over 650ft (200m) long and 260–360ft (80–110m) wide, devoted to religious activities, which seems excessive. It might be better to reverse the positions of forum and basilica as proposed by Frere and Bennett, so that the basilica lies on the more favourable, north-eastern side of the forum, giving a building approximately 280ft (85m) long and 100ft (30m) wide. These measurements would put it into the same scale as the basilicas at Verulamium (p. 224) and Cirencester (p. 306). With the basilica so placed there would be a space for the forum of about 360ft (110m) by 330ft (100m), if external porticoes are included. The difficulties with this arrangement would be that the courtyard, stylobate and drain observed at 9, High Street would be awkwardly placed, as would the Fleur-de-Lis tessellated floor and hypocaust, which would almost impinge on the piazza. An oval building found nearby would also lie on the piazza, but could have been part of an ornamental pool, as at London (p. 92). This would account for the contemporary wooden water-pipe observed to be running north–south across the gravel of the piazza under the County Hotel. It seems clear, though, that wherever the forum and basilica are placed in this *insula*, there will be no simple solution, since however placed the space to be occupied is irregular in shape and the fragments of buildings so far identified mostly lack symmetry.

It seems probable that the forum, basilica, temple precinct and theatre, despite the observed irregularities, were all laid out as a single architectural scheme and constructed during the late first and early second centuries, perhaps with adaptations as work proceeded; such a programme could hardly have been completed in under twenty years, and possibly took even longer, given the lengthy time scale to be observed in public building works in other towns in the

Empire, where financial constrictions often caused delays (p. 345). The temple precinct, which, as already noted, probably encapsulated a site of Iron Age sanctity, was surrounded by a portico with an internal stylobate and gutter. So far, only a single timber-framed shrine has been identified in the western corner, which seems to have been randomly placed. Nearer the centre, however, was a rectangular fountain basin, which had at some later date been rebuilt to a circular plan. Both had been fed by a system of wooden water-pipes, presumably under pressure.¹⁹

Of other public buildings at Canterbury, pride of place must go to the theatre. This was discovered in 1950 in a small bombed site at the south end of St Margaret's Street. Fortunately, parts of its massive walls have survived in the basements of nearby shops and houses, while others were recorded by Pilbrow beneath St Margaret's Street and Watling Street. Further substantial fragments have been located by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust since the 1970s, so that more complete plans than those published by Frere are now known. Two successive buildings, each with different plans, were identified.²⁰

The first (see fig. 20) was constructed *c.* AD 80–90 and would appear to have been the result of encouragement given to local authorities for civic enterprises by the early Flavian governors, notably Frontinus and Agricola. It is not easy to restore the whole plan from the surviving fragments. The outer wall, 4ft (1.2m) thick, which retained a gravel bank for the seating, traced a shallow curve which, if circular, would have a diameter of 329ft (100m). However, four walls apparently radiating inwards towards a point under St Margaret's Street suggest a more complicated structure. Frere suggested that the two most southerly walls flanked an entrance passage. Another wall, however, under 5 St Margaret's Street, although attributed by him to the early theatre, makes an exact radius for the curve of the later building, and would help to fill an awkward gap in its sequence of radial walls. Another entrance seems to have existed roughly

on an east–west axis, which, if produced to cut the presumed continuation of the outer curve, would give a centre point for the building under the front of the Three Tuns Hotel at the end of St Margaret's Street where it is joined by Watling Street. The sector of the circle so cut off by this chord would measure approximately 280ft (85m) across, and the outer wall at the head of its curve would only be about 75ft (23m) from the centre of the chord. A wall found in 1950 under St Margaret's Street might suggest the boundary of an orchestra. The possible entrance under St Margaret's Street, which was first observed by Pilbrow, and which has recently been re-examined,²¹ is funnel-shaped and not unlike the arena entrance of the amphitheatre at Trier, which is dated *c.* 100.²² If the orchestra was symmetrically placed with respect to the outer wall, it would measure approximately 120ft (36m) across the long axis. However, the dimensions given above preclude the orchestra from being concentric with the outer wall, and an elliptical shape might be considered. Circles of differing radii were used in the outer and orchestra walls in the theatre at Vieux,²³ and possibly also at Paris.²⁴ In spite of the apparent asymmetry of the building, it is interesting to note that the probable width of the cavea along the St Margaret's Street axis is almost identical with the distance from the centre of that axis to the outer wall at its nearest point. All things considered, it is most likely to have been a theatre of Romano-Celtic type, with a somewhat irregular outline, for which the closest parallels are probably those at Paris and Vieux.

This Flavian theatre was completely rebuilt to a new plan (see fig. 20) in the early decades of the third century. As at Verulamium where the early fourth-century rebuilding tended to make the Romano-Celtic theatre nearer to a classical plan (p. 235), so at Canterbury the result was to turn it into one which closely resembled the great classical theatres of Gaul and Spain. The new theatre was now enclosed on the south side by two massive, concentric curving walls, 12ft (3.7m) and 8ft (2.4m) thick respectively, with an ambulatory 9ft

(2.7m) wide between them, to give it a maximum diameter of 262ft (80m). Part of the old theatre was therefore included within the new structure, although it would seem to have been almost completely obscured by the later work, while part at the west end must have been excluded and reduced to ground level. A pair of parallel walls projecting inwards from the inner circumference wall stopped abruptly on an oblique line after penetrating a short distance into the gravel bank of the old theatre. The distance between these walls was 4ft 6in (1.4m) and it may be that they formed the supports for a staircase leading up to the new cavea. Four radial walls are known: one below St Margaret's Street, one beneath 25 Watling Street and two more in a cellar near their junction. Between the latter and the staircase walls mentioned above were at least two internal buttresses in the form of flattened apses with their convex sides facing towards the stage. Buttresses of this sort were normally employed in some earth-bank theatres and amphitheatres to relieve the main walls of the weight of soil. That being so, we might wonder if the original intention at Canterbury had been to supplement the earlier gravel bank. But there is enough evidence to show that the space between the outer wall of the old theatre and the new outer walls had not been filled with earth or gravel, which should suggest the presence of masonry vaulting to carry the seats. Yet this would seem to be ruled out in turn by the lack of either sufficient, continuous radial walls, or walls concentric with the outer plan. One possible solution might have involved the partial reuse of the gravel bank of the old theatre. As the cavea descended towards the level of the orchestra, the weight carried by the radial walls would correspondingly decrease, so perhaps making possible the use of shallower foundations. A useful economy could therefore have been made by stepping the foundations up and over the surviving gravel bank, and all traces of them would have disappeared long before excavation took place. A lateral entrance leading to the orchestra is implied by the northern termination of the exterior wall,

while another massive wall running from this point towards the centre would suggest the enclosing wall of the cavea. As yet the buildings forming the stage are little known, but they certainly extended back as far as the street dividing it from the Temple Enclosure. Thus the external wall inscribes rather more than a semicircle.²⁵

One public bath-house exists in the next insula north-east of the theatre (see fig. 88), on the site of the bombed Fountain Hotel in St Margaret's Street; it contained rooms large enough to qualify as a public building. One hot room was about 30ft (9m) square with an outside wall 5ft 6in (1.7m) thick, beyond which ran a deep, substantial drain, and a further but less massive wall. North-west of the hot room was a hot plunge measuring approximately 15ft (4.6m) by 20ft (6.1m), and other rooms were observed to run out under the street and St Margaret's Church opposite; here, three cold rooms, including a plunge bath, were found to have been added in the third century. Yet another hot room with a hypocaust was found north-east of the hot bath, while further north-east again was another hot room ending in an apse, to which a stoke-hole was attached.²⁶ The drain carried away water to the west, which was the same direction followed by another conduit or drain found to cross Rose Lane near its junction with St George's Street. This bath-house would appear to date originally from the late first or early second century, but considerable later modifications were carried out. Although probably part of the original plan, a portico of monumental proportions was added on the north-west and south-west sides during the Hadrianic period.²⁷ Thus the cosmetic part of the building was only completed after the baths had presumably started to function (see fig. 12). This provides a very good indication of the time it took for major constructions to be completed, a factor which is often underestimated.

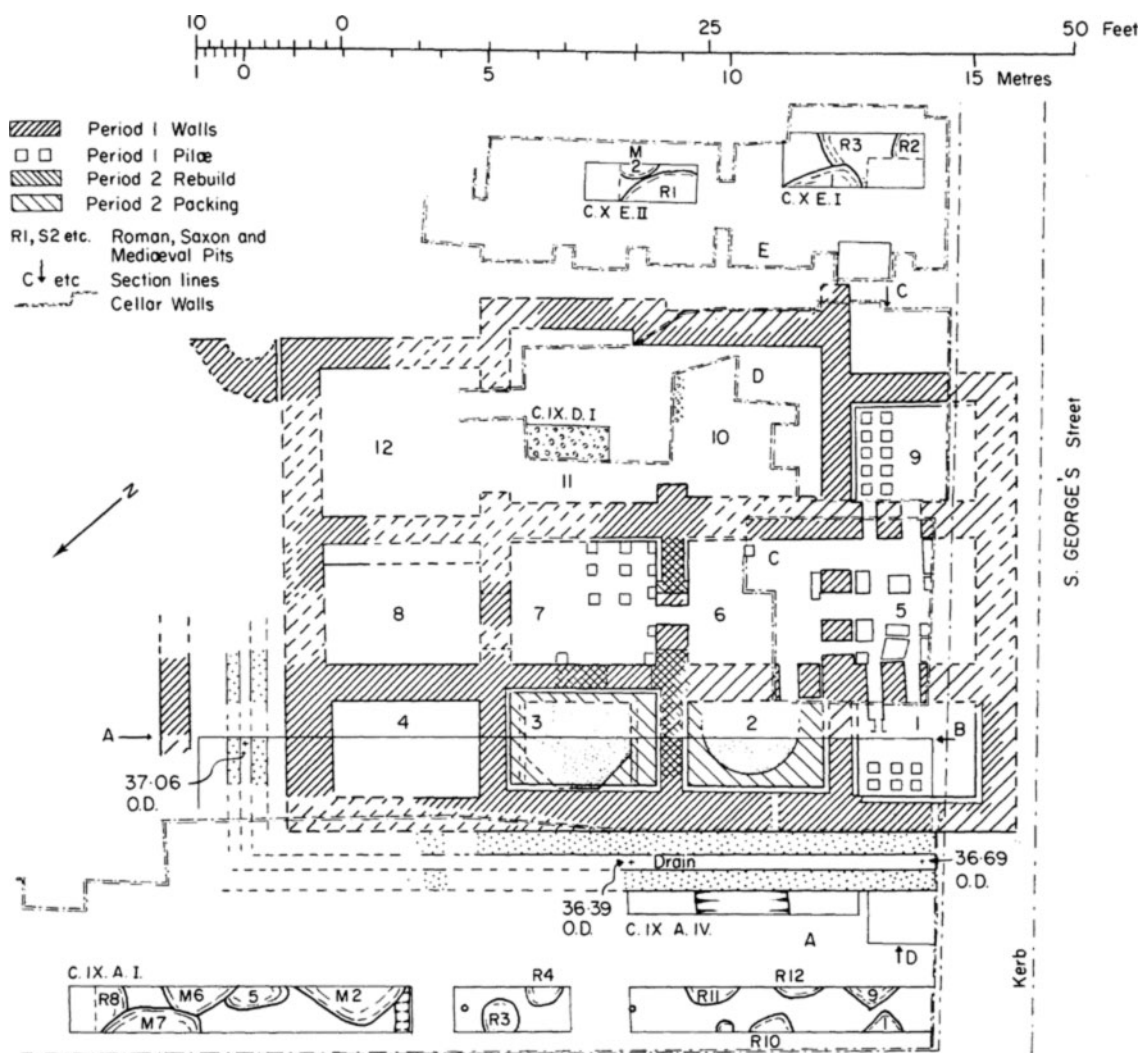
So far no trace has yet been found of an aqueduct serving the town. But the wooden water-pipes associated with the Riding Gate, the

forum and the temple precinct, as well as the public baths described above and other bath-suites attached to private houses, imply the provision of an ample source of running water. But, with hills surrounding Canterbury on almost every side, little difficulty would have been encountered in finding a suitable source. The most likely area would have been to the east or south-east, where springs are well known, and are responsible for the present name Spring Lane just below St Martin's Hill; later St Augustine's Abbey drew its water from the same area, while the Cathedral's water supply came from the other side of the hill in Old Park.

A number of private houses were encountered during the post-war excavations, while others are perhaps indicated by earlier finds of mosaics. One house, which had replaced earlier timber buildings, was situated below Butchery Lane and extended out beneath the Parade and the Longmarket. It seems to have had a front wing not quite parallel with the Roman street system, while other wings projected roughly eastwards from its ends. The earliest construction dates to the end of the first century. In the corner formed by the junction of the south and west wings, and against the internal corridor of the latter, a small room with a hypocaust had been constructed during alterations to the house, probably early in the second century. The north-eastern wing terminated in a bath-house, constructed in the middle of the second century. At a later date still, probably at the end of the third century, further alterations took place and it is possible that they then included the laying of tessellated floors in the internal corridors. The floor in one of the latter contained three conventional mosaic panels.²⁸

Other private houses have been found behind Martin's Bank in Rose Lane,²⁹ both north and south of the now demolished Marlowe Theatre, in the old Simon Langton School yard,³⁰ and possibly another in St George's Street. None show much greater degree of sophistication than the Butchery Lane house. That by St George's Church had one wing terminated by a large room

with an apse;³¹ that south of the old Marlowe Theatre had a room with a conventional mosaic.³² Possibly if there was a house attached to the early-third-century bath-suite, which now partly underlies Woolworths in St George's Street, it would have been larger and better furnished. The baths themselves consisted of a series of small rooms, arranged in a block, with small plunge baths attached (fig. 89). One larger room on the east side may have served as a changing room;³³ it is not impossible that it was a privately owned public baths. Although by the end of the first or early in the second century most of these houses had been built in masonry, some houses remained timber-framed throughout the Roman period, while others made use of solid clay walls, which were usually plastered and then often painted. Walls of this type have also been observed in other towns, especially in the south-east, where there is a lack of good building stone. One timber-framed house is known to have existed just south of Burgate.³⁴ Constructed at first in the second century as two separate houses with an 8ft (2.4m) wide lane between them, it was later merged into a single building by extensions constructed across the lane. Occupation was here continuous throughout the Roman period. North-east of this building lay one of the main streets of the town, while north-east again an interesting masonry building was found.³⁵ In the late second century, this substantial building took the place of an earlier, demolished structure. The foundations of the walls suggest a width of at least 2ft 6in (0.75m) to 3ft (0.91m) and in one place a wall still stood to a height of 5ft (1.5m) where it had been masked by a later cellar wall. The two north-east corners had been provided with clasping buttresses. The foundations enclosed an area 35ft (10.6m) by 22ft (6.7m) and a slighter internal partition wall divided it, on a south-east–north-west line, approximately into two equal halves. A doorway existed in the south-western external wall, and what may have been a portico, or walls flanking a flight of steps, appeared between this wall and the street, some 20ft (6m) further south-west. The



89 The bath-house, St George's Street (Frere)

building appears to have been completely isolated from any others. It could, of course, be a shop; but its substantial construction, which was matched by part of a thick concrete floor-foundation only surviving in the north corner, its isolated situation and its small size would suggest otherwise. For the same reason it is unlikely to have been a warehouse or a store. The excavator, Mrs Williams, tentatively suggested some type of public building, but it is difficult to see what purpose it could have fulfilled. One possibility might be a

temple,³⁶ and the general form of the building can be matched elsewhere; other suggestions might include a *schola*, or guild-room. In either case a projecting apse could be envisaged on the north-eastern side where the building disappears under Burgate.

Fragments of a considerable number of other houses have been uncovered in more recent excavations, especially in the area of the old Marlowe Theatre and its adjacent car parks. One was situated close to the bath-house in St

Margaret's Street, where it had been built across part of the original surrounding portico, which was foreshortened and a new lane added to separate it from the baths. The house dated to the second century but later alterations saw the insertion of its own private bath-suite with an extensive range of hot rooms and plunges.³⁷ The general impression gained from these results is one of limited construction, usually of timber, in the first century, followed by increasing activity in the early second, when half-timbering or masonry became more common. From then until the early third century, there seems to have been no pause, with earlier buildings often being modified and equipped with better quality furnishings. Curiously, though, very few buildings have been identified with obvious commercial functions, despite a considerable concentration of excavations near the centre of the town. The only evidence so far comes from the street frontages north-east of the Butchery Lane house, opposite the public baths, and from Watling Street opposite the temple precinct (p. 202). Again, it is worth remembering that shops could often be situated in the front parts of even elaborate domestic buildings. Equally, the long lengths of portico around the temple precinct and public baths would have been ideal for the temporary stalls of itinerant merchants.

Apart from the building in Burgate Street discussed above, few certain temples or churches have yet been found in Canterbury, although parts of a large altar were recovered from Mercery Lane. There is the possibility that St Martin's Church, outside the walled town, lies on the site of an earlier church mentioned by Bede³⁸ as being of Roman origin. A recent examination of some new evidence, however, suggests that Bede's church is more likely to have lain elsewhere.³⁹ The practice of Christianity at Canterbury is, nevertheless, implied by the small hoard of silver objects found near the town wall in Westgate Gardens. It contained spoons decorated with monograms.⁴⁰ It has also been tentatively suggested⁴¹ that the apsed building under St George's Street (p. 196)

may have been a temple or even a church, although its early date would seem to rule out the latter. Another possible temple or shrine is indicated near Canterbury Castle.⁴²

No attempt seems to have been made to erect fortifications around Canterbury until the later third century. A number of sections have now been cut on widely separated parts of the circuit and in them all the bank was shown to be contemporary with the masonry wall in front. It is not yet clear why there should be a difference near the castle, but it seems unlikely to have been connected with an earlier, free-standing rampart on a different alignment, as no sign of one has been found elsewhere.⁴³ If the circuit of the wall and bank is entirely homogeneous, then the date of erection is provided by a coin of Tetricus I and supporting pottery from a section in Burgate Lane. A *terminus ante quem* for the construction is provided by a small hoard of coins, of early-fourth-century date, found in a pit cut through the tail of the rampart near St George's Street.⁴⁴ Elsewhere the line has been examined on both sides of the Riding Gate and in the Westgate Gardens.⁴⁵ It would seem that, when the wall was built, a fairly extensive suburb of the town on the west bank of the River Stour was excluded. Excavations in Whitehall Gardens have shown that, at one stage during the second century, the street grid extended over the river.⁴⁶ The erection of defences led to the virtual abandonment of the area for the safety provided by the new walls. The most impressive section of town wall is still to be seen in the north wall of the church of St Mary Northgate, which sits upon it, Roman facing of the wall, although much patched, can still be distinguished to the considerable height of 16ft (5m); so can the outlines of some crenellations above it, which may be Roman, although repairs in the Saxon-Norman period are perhaps a better explanation.⁴⁷

The walls enclosed an area of about 130 acres (53ha) in the form of a rather irregular octagon. The wall itself was about 7ft 6in (2.3m) thick, built of coursed flints and mortar, but with no tile

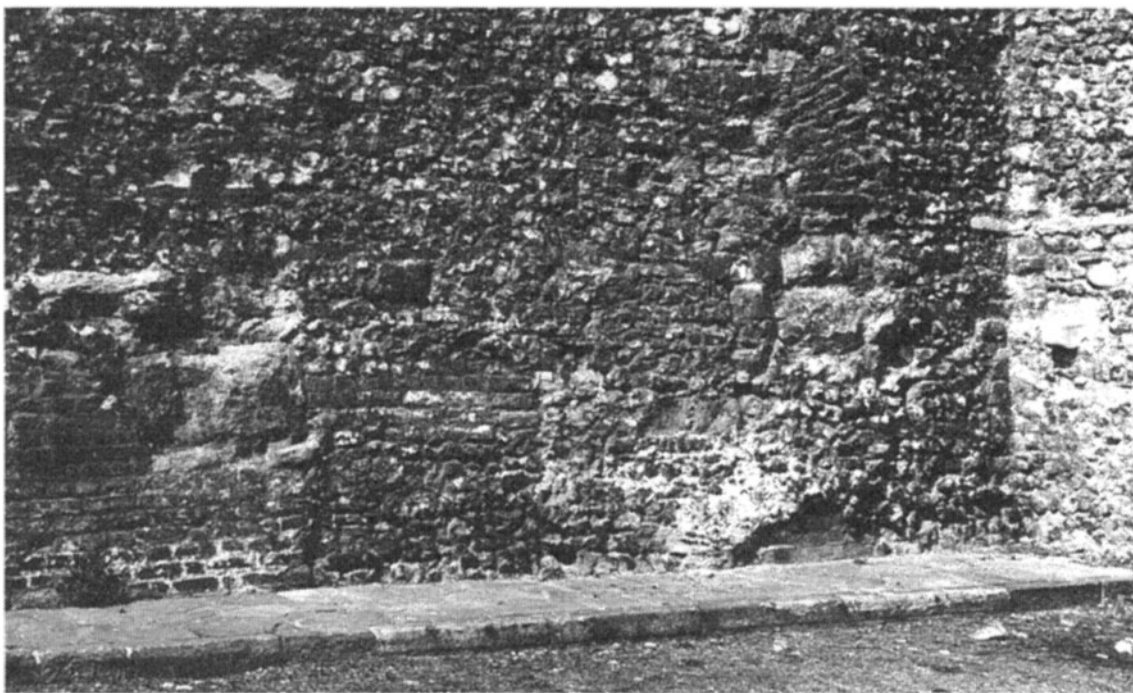


90 Doorway in the rear wall of the east tower of the Riding Gate (*Entwhistle*)

bonding courses. The bank close to the Riding Gate was about 25ft (7.6m) wide and 7ft (2.1m) high, with a capping of gravel, which might suggest a rampart walk, although here we might expect the rampart top to be sloping downwards towards street level at the gate. A single large ditch is indicated by excavations near the White Cross Tower and in Broadgate. So far five gates leading into the Roman town have been positively identified: the London Gate in the Westgate Gardens at one end of Watling Street (see fig. 33), the Riding Gate at the other end carrying the road to Dover (see fig. 32), Worth Gate at the southwest end of Castle Street leading to Stone Street, and so to Lympne, and the Burgate carrying the Richborough road.^{47a} To these may be added the

Queningate (see fig. 33), which may have served a major cemetery and possibly provided a short cut to the Richborough road. Both the London Gate and the Queningate, as well as one portal of the Riding Gate, were blocked in the post-Roman period. It has usually been assumed that the medieval Westgate overlaid a Roman predecessor mainly because the presence of numerous burials outside it in St Dunstan's would strongly suggest a road here running from the town, apart from which 'a chapel above a gate' is mentioned in the reign of Harold, so strengthening the argument. A Roman gate in the same position as the medieval Northgate would also have been needed to carry the road to Reculver.

All the known gates, with the exception of the



91 Quenin Gate. The jambs and the turn of a brick arch are visible embedded in later masonry (*Wacher*)

Riding Gate, appear to have been single, arched openings in the wall. The London Gate was only 8ft (2.4m) wide. The rear approach was flanked by walls to retain the bank and these walls may also have supported a single tower above the entrance, as in similar gates at Brough-on-Humber, Silchester, Colchester and Caerwent. A large drain ran through the wall just north-east of the gate. The Riding Gate had double carriageways set between flanking towers (fig. 90; see also fig. 32), each roughly 20ft (6.1m) square with internal guard-rooms entered from the rear. The Worth Gate is shown as a single brick arch in eighteenth-century prints, but excavations in the castle grounds suggest flanking towers or inturns. Some confirmation was obtained during trenching for a gas main in Castle Street when the trench ran along the east side of the entrance, revealing an inturn 15½ft (4.7m) long. A recess with a tiled floor was situated between the front and back piers of the gate. Part of the north and south jambs and the

turn of a brick arch can still be seen embedded in the medieval masonry on the site of the Quenin-gate (fig. 91), which, like the London Gate, appears to have had only a single portal.⁴⁸

Evidence obtained during the construction of the new East Kent Bus Station near St George's Street would imply the existence of a series of square, internal towers constructed with the curtain wall.⁴⁹ The tower found measured 16ft (4.8m) across at the rear and the back wall was about 17ft (5.2m) behind the front face of the curtain. External bastions have also been identified at Canterbury and such evidence as there is suggests that, either they were contemporary with the curtain wall, or else they had been carefully bonded with the face at a later date.⁵⁰

An important point to consider, in connexion with the possible existence of an earlier circuit of earthwork fortifications on a different alignment, is the distribution of burials and cemeteries round the town. These tend to come close to the walled

circuit in several places, and one or two even appear inside it. A cremation cemetery existed near the castle, and should imply an earlier town boundary within that represented by the wall. The problem of the Dane John Mound arises in this context. It was once reputed to be a burial-mound of a type constructed in Gaul and south-eastern Britain during the first and early second centuries, but excavation in the area has shown that it is almost certainly the motte of the first Norman castle to be built at Canterbury.⁵¹ Three other mounds formerly existed near it, two of which were also inside the wall. The implication is of an earlier boundary taking in a slightly smaller area on the south side of the town. This presumption is to some extent confirmed by the fact that, when the walls were built, an area of vacant ground on the east and south sides was enclosed and subsequently never built over, perhaps to make up for the excluded area on the west bank of the river. The new area was mainly used for the disposal of rubbish in innumerable pits.⁵²

Other cemeteries have been identified in Lady Wootton's Green, not far from which was found a fragment of one of the few known Canterbury tombstones;⁵³ at Oaten Hill, near the Riding Gate; on St Martin's Hill, on the line of the Richborough road; along the Sturry Road beyond the Northgate; near Canterbury East Station, where an inhumation cemetery is known. One of the largest cremation cemeteries existed in the St Dunstan's and Whitehall areas. Most of the burials have come to light as chance finds, but a series of rescue excavations in the early 1980s produced valuable additional evidence, mainly from Cranmer House in London Road.⁵⁴ Here some fifty or more cremations were found near the secondary route to London, which emerged in a north-westerly direction from the Westgate and then, after about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (400m), turned south-west; no satisfactory explanation has ever been put forward to account for this behaviour. This part of the cemetery contained burials mainly of the mid second to third century and had once been enclosed by a boundary ditch parallel to the London Road. A

burnt area within it was possibly the site of an *ustrina*. There were also slight indications that some of the burials had been covered with mounds.

Perhaps the most remarkable burial was found inside the town on the site of the old gas works near the castle. It contained a double inhumation in a single grave and the skeletons were accompanied by cavalry swords and associated belt and scabbard fittings dating to the mid second or early third century. Both had been thrown without ceremony into the comparatively shallow grave, followed by their swords. One man was over 30 years old, the other about 20; the latter was wearing a pair of boots. The nature and position of the burial would strongly suggest foul play;⁵⁵ it seems unlikely that these two men were executed, as has been suggested, since that would have implied military disgrace and would have led to the deprivation of arms. Both swords were sheathed, so that it must have been a remarkably well-planned and rapid attack, perhaps to rob the older man of his boots!

Evidence for industries at Canterbury is fairly extensive. Brick, tile and pottery were manufactured near St Stephen's Road, where three kilns have been found. One pottery kiln was dated to the middle of the first century, the other and the tile kiln to the mid second century.⁵⁶ Other kilns making both tile and pottery have been found in Whitehall Gardens and North Lane, and were in use from the middle second until the early third century.⁵⁷ Another pottery kiln was found during the construction of an air-raid shelter near Dane John Gardens.⁵⁸ A large gravel quarry existed in Stour Street, adjacent to Watling Street; chalk quarrying was carried out in an area near Stuppington Lane outside the town walls, and may have been connected with the provision of lime and flints for the construction of the latter, as an early-fourth-century coin hoard had been buried in the quarry debris.⁵⁹ Metal-working was also carried on. Iron-smelting furnaces are suggested in Whitehall Gardens, not far from the pottery kilns mentioned above; indeed, the whole

area north-west of the town seems to have been devoted to industrial processes. Traces of bronze-working of mid-first-century date were found beneath the early surfaces of the Roman Watling Street not far from Riding Gate. This activity was recorded again in the gate in the early fourth century when, strangely, the south-western portal was permanently closed, leaving only one active carriageway. In the recess under the arch formed by the closed gate, bronze-working was carried on, perhaps with other industrial processes.⁶¹ A closely allied industry was identified in St Margaret's Street, where a sequence of early-second-century timber-framed shops fronted the opposite side of the street from the public baths; this is one of few examples yet excavated in the town or typical commercial premises. In it were found bowl hearths and key-hole-shaped ovens, associated with crucibles and other residues implying that enamelled bronzes were being manufactured.⁶² A silversmith is perhaps indicated by the late-fourth-century board of objects found near the town wall in Westgate Gardens.⁶³

Commerce in the town is indicated by a possible granary or baker's shop near the junction of St Margaret's Street and the High Street, and by part of a large donkey-driven millstone, presumably also from a baker's shop, found near the White Friars Gate, south of St George's Street;⁶⁴ another baker could have been active, also in a timber-framed building fronting Watling Street, opposite the temple precinct.⁶⁵ The apparent scarcity of this type of building in Canterbury has already received comment (p. 198).

The later history of some of the buildings already described is not without interest. The house behind Martin's Bank in Rose Lane underwent considerable alterations, and during the early fourth century a small bath wing was made in the south end. Use of the hypocausts continued well into the fifth century as one, at least, had been fired without proper maintenance until its pilae collapsed. Late-fourth-century coins, including one of Arcadius, were found in the debris.⁶⁶ Another house nearby, under Rose Lane, was not

so fortunate: it was burnt down in the late third century and not rebuilt.⁶⁷ The bath-house possibly attached to a dwelling in St George's Street had continued in use, after renovation, until c. AD 360, and numerous coins dating from 330–60 onwards had fallen into cracks and repairs in the floor of one of the rooms.⁶⁸ Soon after this it appears to have burnt down and gradually became ruinous. The Butchery Lane house continued in use until about the middle of the fourth century but with some parts abandoned and perhaps demolished a little earlier.⁶⁹ The house in the Simon Langton School yard also seems to have survived until the late fourth or early fifth century when pits were dug through the floors. They contained some unusual late, hand-made, Romano-British pottery. Taken together, the history of these houses simply shows what might be expected: the fluctuating fortunes of individual householders, largely unaffected by external events until the final collapse of civic order. Elsewhere, though, more radical changes were taking place, especially to public buildings. The portico around the temple precinct had been demolished by the late third century, and the precinct itself may have become a market. This raises an interesting point, since it could always have been so used: the increase in the number of finds from the latest surface would then more likely suggest that routine cleaning had ceased, in contrast to what happened at Cirencester (p. 321); what became of the principal temple is not known. The public bath-house and its neighbouring house and bath-house were dilapidated or even demolished, and timber-framed buildings were constructed on the sites and elsewhere. Sometimes streets were used to provide solid and clean foundations, which made sense in a town where otherwise the only building sites were those already covered in dangerous ruins. One such instance was a street junction near the baths in St George's Street, on which a timber-framed house was erected, probably in the first half of the fifth century.⁷⁰

The comparative frequency with which private

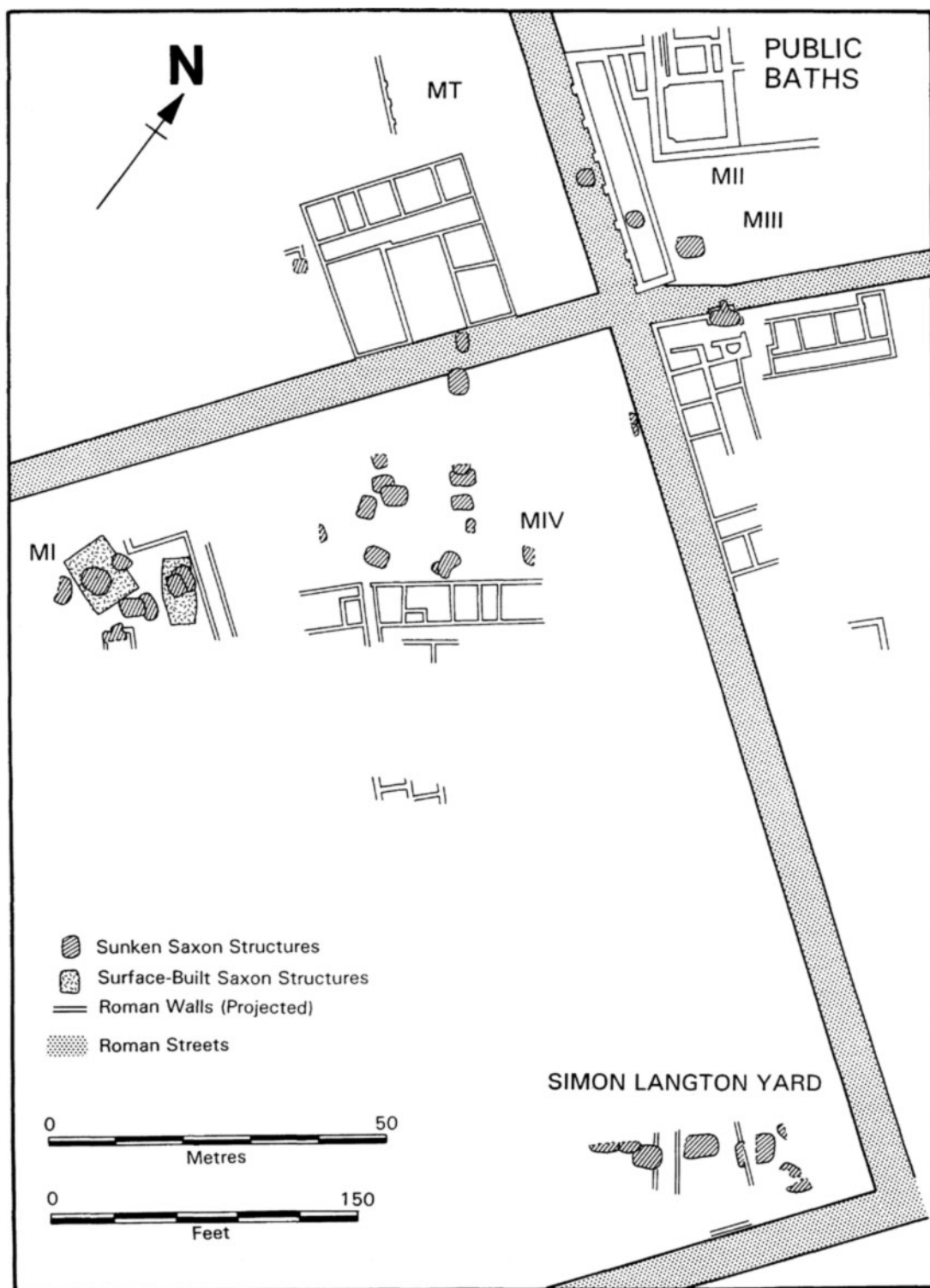
houses seem to have been provided with bath wings at Canterbury, in contrast to some other towns, points not only to the affluence and proclivities of its inhabitants, but also to their continuing desire for town life in the later period, when many of the higher social classes were retiring to life in country villas. This contrast is emphasized by the few villas known in east Kent, particularly those of any quality. Only at Wingham, Folkestone and Faversham are there any degrees of pretension, although simpler, Romanized farmhouses exist in other places, but by no means in great numbers.⁷¹

The marked difference between Canterbury and other towns is perhaps most distinct when it is compared with Cirencester. The variation in the numbers and distribution of villas in their respective vicinities must surely be significant, and reflect fundamentally different methods of land use and ownership in the two civitates. It is, of course, difficult with so little evidence to grasp the nature of these differences, but it could well reflect the earlier sale of public land into private ownership, as being one of the ways in which a civic authority could have raised funds for capital works.⁷²

Yet, despite the lack of villas, farms of Belgic and Roman date were by no means uncommon if the general scatter of pottery over the countryside is taken as a guide. There is no reason why the country should have been any less populous after Claudius than it was in Caesar's day. Moreover, the theatre at Canterbury could probably have seated about 7000 spectators, only about half of whom we might expect to have been living in the town. The lack of villas suggests, therefore, that much of the land, for a considerable distance around Canterbury, was either in the hands of little-Romanized smallholders, was mainly owned by dwellers in the town, or was public property. The first seems inconceivable in an area which, for many years before the conquest, had been sampling Romanization, and which was later to become the part of Britain nearest to continental influences. The question was raised in Chapter 1 whether Canterbury had been promoted to a

municipium, on the grounds that it lacked the tribal suffix to its name in the Antonine Itinerary. Clearly the suggestion that much of the surrounding countryside was owned by the town or by town-dwellers is not sufficient to press the case for a territorium any further. Nevertheless there can be no doubt about the high degree of Romanization in Canterbury. Other towns might have surpassed it in some respects, but in a more ostentatious manner. At Canterbury it would seem to have been accepted as quite normal and therefore nothing about which to make a great fuss and show. Perhaps the need for *aemulatio* was felt not to be quite so pressing, and so was applied more to public buildings than to private demonstrations of excessive Romanity. This attitude is reflected in the confidence obviously felt at the end of the second century when Canterbury was one of the very few towns of any consequence in Britain not to have been given temporary defences. Therefore, it can hardly be argued that later insecurity was the cause behind the absence of villas in east Kent. The four Saxon Shore forts at Reculver, Richborough, Dover and Lympne must have provided ample protection for the Kentish peninsula. We can only conclude that the large majority of local landowners, from the first, preferred to live in the town and continued to do so until the last vestiges of civilized living collapsed about them in the fifth century.

The final decline of Durovernum was rapid compared with some other towns. Being the nearest major town to Gaul it was probably able to benefit from continuing commercial links after more distant towns had been cut off. In this respect it is worth remembering the exceedingly high proportion of coins of the late fourth and early fifth centuries at Richborough.⁷³ In consequence, when the collapse came, it was all the more sudden, since reasonable standards were probably maintained until well into the fifth century, despite the changes. Certainly Canterbury seems to have been one of the first towns to have employed *foederati* for its protection, giving them land in exchange for their services, and

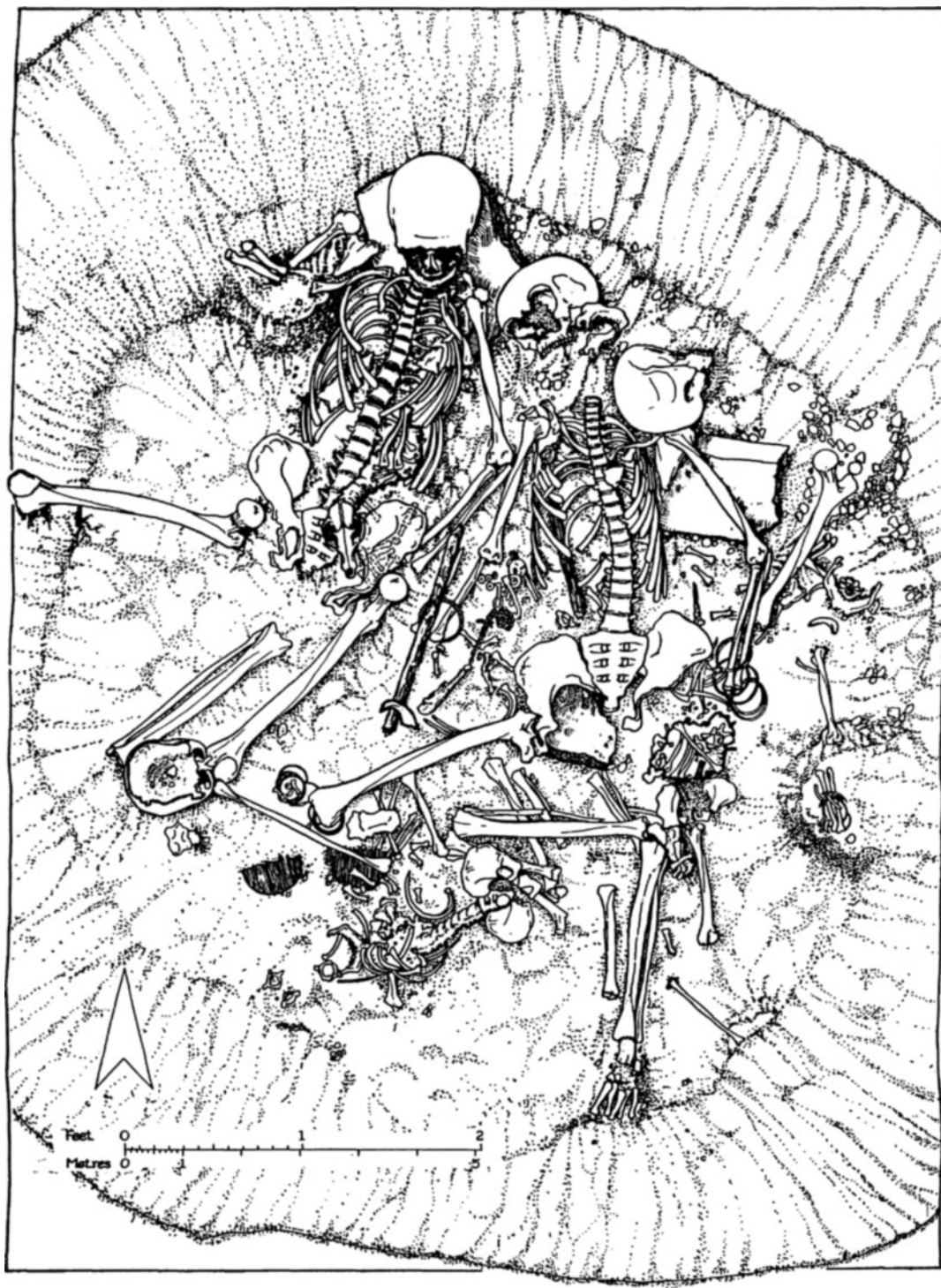
92 Anglo-Saxon huts in the area east of the theatre (*Tatton-Brown*)

forcing on them, at first, a degree of order and discipline. At Canterbury, these years are inextricably mixed up with the tradition of Vortigern, Hengist and Horsa. Vortigern apparently held sway from Wales, which shows that, even after the official Roman administration had broken down, some form of centralized control still existed. It was he who supposedly invited the first (?) Jutish or Saxon settlers into Kent, offering land in return for military service. In so doing he was but continuing a policy which, long before, had been adopted in the Roman Empire for the settling of immigrants from central and northern Europe in frontier lands. Evidence perhaps for the earliest of the mercenaries, probably even earlier than those summoned by Vortigern, was found in excavations behind Martin's Bank, in Rose Lane, where a sherd of Anglo-Frisian pottery, dated to the early fifth century, turned up in the debris above a Roman house. Several zoomorphic buckles or strap-ends associated with late-fourth-century Roman soldiers have now been found at Canterbury, as well as those known from Richborough.⁷⁴ From about the middle of the fifth century, however, Anglo-Frisian settlers were present in greater numbers. So far, though, the huts which they built seem to be concentrated around the site of the old Marlowe Theatre, more especially in one particular insula (fig. 92). Of typically sunken form, one was found near the demolished stage of the theatre, while a larger structure, somewhat later in date, was located nearby. Nearly thirty others, dating from the sixth to seventh centuries, were found in the same general area.

At the opposite end of the insula a row of six huts was found, slightly set back from, but nevertheless roughly aligned, on the street, which they bordered. The huts here were usually sunk about 6in (152mm) to a foot (305mm) into the ground and were cut through the ruins of an earlier Roman house. They were sub-rectangular in shape and the daub walls were erected on frames of posts and wattles. Some contained rudimentary hearths, and all were filled with debris of their occupation, which included Roman

coins, perhaps used as tokens. The distribution of the huts might suggest that at first these Saxons were given one *insula*, and that, although they were allowed to live as they pleased, some form of order was enforced, as demonstrated by their neat arrangement.⁷⁵ Other interesting finds of this period have also been made. In the same area as the huts, part of a late-fifth-century goldsmith's hoard, complete with jeweller's rouge and a clipped south Gaulish Visigothic gold *tremissis* of c. 480, was found.⁷⁶ A remarkable burial was also recorded in the western corner of the temple precinct (fig. 93). It contained seated male and female figures, with the latter holding a young girl in her arms and with another at her feet; the male nursed a dog on his lap. All were interred in a deep pit which had possibly been lined with straw or grass. One of the children may have been killed by a blow on the head. Items of jewellery included both Roman and Germanic objects which probably date to the early fifth century, by which time, presumably, civic discipline was breaking down, to have allowed burials to take place here.⁷⁷ There are also indications that the cemetery at Cranmer House in the London Road continued in fitful use into the late sixth or early seventh century.⁷⁸

But, as already indicated, whatever order still survived into the fifth century does not seem to have lasted long. Within a decade or so, mutiny and rebellion had broken out among the *foederati*, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and by the mid fifth century after the battle of Aylesford, they had taken over most of Kent east of the Medway. Perhaps in those last turbulent years was buried, just outside the town wall, in Westgate Gardens, the silver hoard, containing among other objects, eleven spoons and two silver ingots.⁷⁹ These, and the other objects detailed above, show not only the presence of a Christian community but also the continuing wealth of the inhabitants until the end, and at least a hope, which proved false, of better times to come, for the owner would hardly have buried them there unless he expected to recover them. At Canterbury, therefore, we can conclude that the



93 'Seated' burial of the early fifth century in the west corner of the Temple Precinct (Canterbury Archaeological Trust)

end was abrupt, and that little or no Romano-British civilization languished on into the later fifth or even the sixth century, as may have happened at Verulamium or Cirencester.

CHELMSFORD
(*Caesaromagus*)

The identity of the Roman site of *Caesaromagus* was for long in some doubt. Stukeley invented an imaginary town at Chelmsford, lying on the north-east side of the rivers Chelmer and Can under the area of the cathedral.⁸⁰ Since then, however, the site has been firmly established as existing on the opposite bank in and around Moulsham Street.⁸¹ This site also agrees with the distances given for routes v and ix of the Antonine Itinerary.⁸² What is still the subject of considerable argument, however, is the relationship between *Caesaromagus* and the tribe of the Trinovantes, in whose territory it lay; ostensibly, apart from Colchester, it was the only town of any possible consequence in their territory.

Some time ago Stevens drew attention⁸³ to the fact that the name *Caesaromagus* is the only example in Britain of a type which, with variations, is not uncommon in other provinces. Usually a Celtic suffix is combined with an imperial name or title, such as *Julio-*, *Caesaro-*, *Augusto-*. He went on to point out that such names were normally given to new imperial foundations and were applied, almost invariably, to tribal capitals. Furthermore, he tentatively suggested that at some time the Trinovantes, or part of them, might have ceased to be *attributi* of the colonia at Colchester, and that a new town was founded as their capital. But he considered that on the balance of probability, this was unlikely. However, it should be emphasized that he was only considering a *later* separation of the tribal administration from the colonia. He did not allow for the fact that the reverse may have been possible, with the tribe attributed only *after* a period of independence.

Richmond suggested that, from the first,

Trinovantians were included in the colonia as *incolae*.⁸⁴ Some *incolae* there certainly were, but perhaps not as many as Richmond envisaged, for we now know that the early colonia was probably only half the size of the later. Joyce Reynolds, while acknowledging Stevens in a slightly modified form, tentatively suggested that members of the tribe were *attributi* to the colonia, so retaining their identity but losing their independence. Such then are the views expressed so far.

What can be added? To begin with we must remember that, in Caesar's time, the Trinovantes had thrown in their lot with him against their powerful western neighbours, the tribe of Cassivellaunus.⁸⁵ But to no avail, for Cunobelin later not only conquered the tribe, but also planned his new capital in their territory. However, we may assume that Cunobelin's capital at Camulodunum did not coincide with the Trinovantian one, which probably lay in the Gosbeck–Stanway area (p. 112). We might also expect that, by the time of the conquest, the tribal institutions of the Trinovantes had been largely suppressed under Catuvellaunian domination. It is surprising therefore to find that they re-emerge after the conquest, unlike the four tribes mentioned by Caesar in Kent, who had been so completely submerged that they did not reappear. We might therefore suspect that the reason for the survival of the Trinovantian name and people was due to the remembrance in Rome of Caesar's treaty. In looking for a way in which to undermine the Catuvellaunian power in AD 43, it might have been politic for Claudius to invoke even a century-old and outdated treaty: divide and rule. It would simply have been copying in Essex what was happening in Sussex. The Catuvellauni were the main enemy of Claudius as their predecessors had been of Caesar, and the Roman army was out to crush their power for good.⁸⁶ In AD 43, Trinovantian people who remembered Cunobelin's conquest only thirty years or so before would still have been alive, and we might suspect a fifth-column acting against Togodumnus and Caratacus once the Roman army had landed. For the Trinovantes who remembered

their earlier conquest, the Catuvellauni were probably more hated than the Romans.

In the situation outlined above we might expect that the Trinovantes would have been accorded rather better treatment than the Catuvellauni after the conquest, and the suggestion is strengthened by different treatment accorded to the Catuvellaunian capital of Camulodunum and to the suggested Trinovantian centre at Gosbecks. The former was completely reduced, while the latter emerged under Roman rule as a considerable place of religious pilgrimage. Then, into the calmed waters of the Trinovantian pond was dropped the stone of the new colonia; we cannot doubt that Gosbecks was included in the territorium. A magnanimous gesture on the part of the Roman administration would be called for to compensate a friendly tribe, and so the Trinovantes may have been provided with a new tribal centre at Chelmsford, with the grandiloquent name of *Caesaromagus*. But as we know, the Trinovantes would have none of it, and ultimately rose in rebellion against the loss of part of their tribal lands. It is more than possible that Gosbecks, at least, was afterwards restored to them as their chief religious centre, and that the administration was later centred on the colonia. Ptolemy, using mainly Flavian sources, refers to Colchester as the only town of the Trinovantes.⁸⁷ Although it is by no means certainly significant, the Antonine Itinerary refers to *Caesaromagus* instead of the *Caesaromagus Trinovantum*,⁸⁸ and in no other source is the tribal suffix added.

Now, however, an alternative proposition has been put forward by Isserlin and Wickenden,⁸⁹ which has been brought about by a reassessment of the first-century material from Chelmsford. It can now be shown that there was little civilian occupation before the end of that century. The masonry mansio was constructed during the early Hadrianic period and they have suggested that the town was named, or re-named, *Caesaromagus* in honour of Hadrian, following its reorganization after the construction of the mansio. But this is altogether unlikely. As already mentioned (p.

207), and extending Steven's proposal, the names *Caesaro-*, *Julio-*, *Augusto-*, coupled with a Celtic suffix, *-dunum*, *-magus*, *-briga*, were derived from the Julio-Claudian dynasty; many are known in other provinces, such as the duplicated *Caesaromagus Bellovacorum* (Beauvais) in Gallia Belgica, which was the civitates capital of the Bellovaci, and which may well have been an artificial creation of the early Roman period. A name containing *Caesaro-* is, therefore, unlikely to date to any later period, since usage shows that it would have been supplanted by such prefixes as *Flavio-*, *Domitiano-*, *Trajano-*, *Hadriano-*, *Antonino-*, etc., of which numerous examples exist elsewhere, such as *Flaviobriga* in *Tarraconensis*. But there are only a few examples of these later imperial titles with Celtic suffixes in the western Empire, so that for the name *Caesaromagus* to be Hadrianic it would not only be unlikely but also unique.⁹⁰

It can certainly be argued that the name denotes the exercise of the imperial prerogative in favour of a site of some distinction, such as the embryonic centre for a civitas, but, as discussed above, the conferment is unlikely to be later than the principate of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudians. The paradox, though, is that there was little or no settlement then at Chelmsford to have warranted the name. There was certainly an early fort, which presumably was called something, but why should an ordinary auxiliary fort have been so distinguished? Also, that fails to take into account the *-magus* part of the name, which seems a clear reference to some native, Trinovantian, gathering ground. Was it, therefore, a place such as *Woodeaton*,⁹¹ or *Frilford*,⁹² or indeed Gosbecks (p. 127), where markets took place, possibly encompassed by the sanctity of a nearby temple (p. 212)? Apart from the religious buildings, nothing else was needed in the Iron Age or early Roman periods beyond an open space, which could quite easily have become a civitas-capital-in-waiting, when the colonia was founded at Colchester; it seems to have continued waiting for something that never happened. Consequently,

the question arises of whether Chelmsford still falls within the ambit, not only of this chapter, but also of this book. It has already been treated elsewhere⁹³ as a 'small town', and it must be admitted that its basic structure admits of little more. Yet its name singles it out as different from the general run of 'small towns' in Britain, so it stays included here.

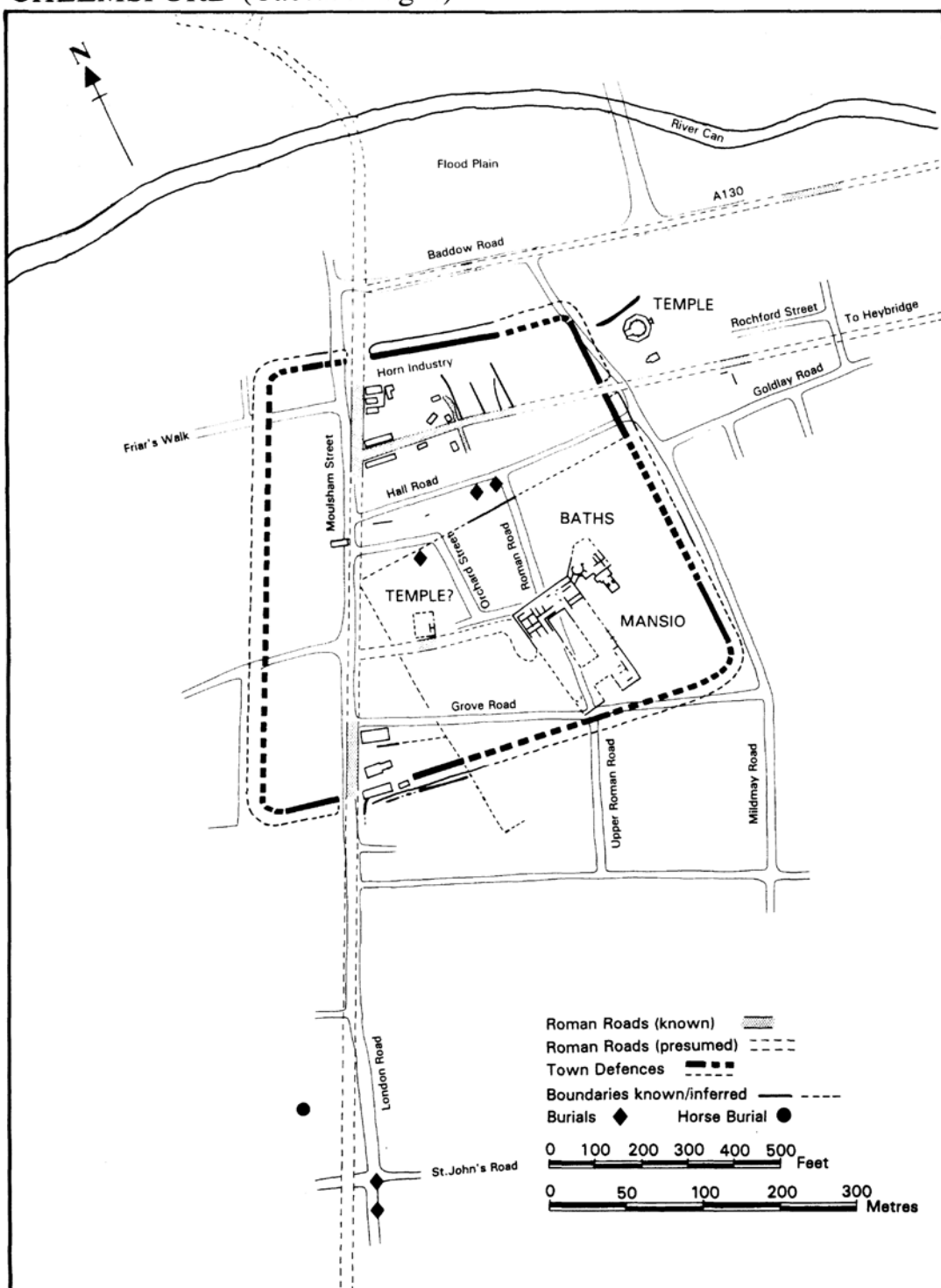
Very little evidence for a pre-conquest native settlement has yet been found, although there is one at Little Waltham, about 3 miles (4.8km) north; a large farmstead of the conquest period is known in the vicinity and signs of cultivation have been observed under the Roman town. There is always the possibility that a native sanctuary existed hereabouts (p. 212).⁹⁴

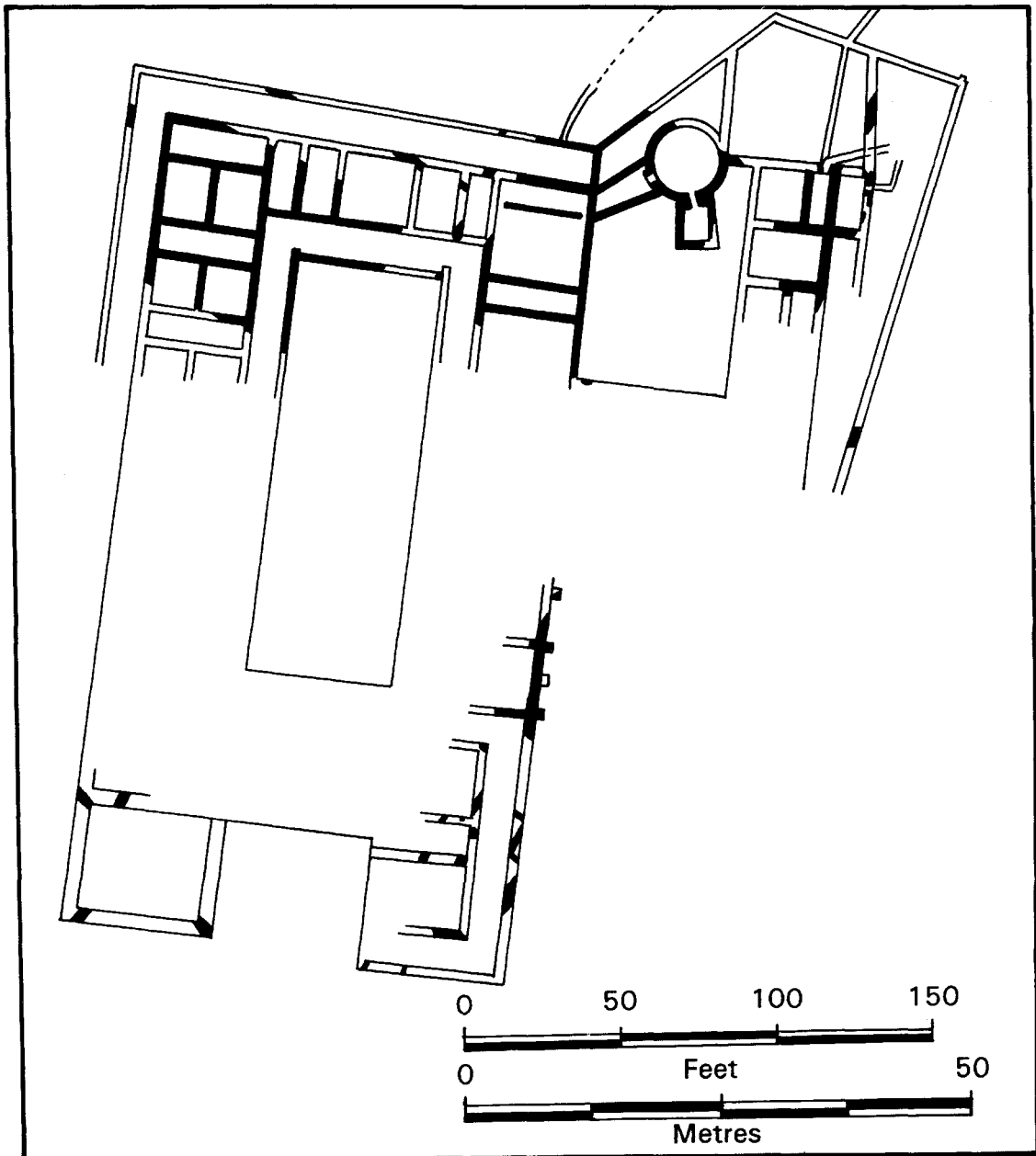
The Roman town lies between New London Road to the west and Mildmay Road to the east and mainly north-east of St John Street (fig. 94). Moulsham Street and Springfield Road approximately coincide with the line of the main Roman road from London to Colchester. Work by Drury and others has now shown convincingly that much of the burnt samian, 'found' by Chancellor at Chelmsford in the mid nineteenth century, which for a long time was taken as evidence for the burning by Boudicca of a Claudian settlement, came in fact from London.⁹⁵ Consequently, there is little to show much occupation or development until after the rebellion, when a fort was built south of the river crossing. Another has been identified, together with a detached annexe, south-east of Moulsham Street and also dates to the post-Boudiccan period, but is not necessarily contemporary;⁹⁶ the initially free-standing *laconicum*, identified in part of the bath-house associated with the mansio, probably belonged to these forts.⁹⁷ They seem to have been accompanied by the development of an embryonic vicus, with rudimentary timber-framed buildings being constructed along the main road frontages.

But even after both forts were demolished, c. 80, they were probably succeeded immediately by a fortified 'station' astride the main road, after the manner of Hardham and Alfodean on Stane Street

in Sussex.⁹⁸ This station survived until the time of Hadrian and little else seems to have been established until then, when the first mansio of masonry, together with its enlarged bath-house, was constructed; but it had been preceded by a large timber-framed structure on the same alignment, which could have been an earlier version. The mansio followed, in plan (fig. 95), the characteristic form of such buildings now well known elsewhere in Britain and other provinces.⁹⁹ It consisted of a central courtyard with a surrounding portico backed by ranges of rooms, some arranged as suites in a typical pattern with each pair being separated from the next by a narrow corridor. The front of the mansio probably faced south and was flanked by projecting wings,¹⁰⁰ and it lay within a ditched enclosure. The building lines are interesting since they cut across both those related to the main London to Colchester road and to the regular pattern of field boundaries in the area, which seem to perpetuate a late Iron Age arrangement.

A clay rampart, fronted by a ditch, 10ft (3m) deep, has been found some distance north-west of Moulsham Street, where it runs in a south-westerly direction before turning a corner towards the south-east. Other sections have been revealed close to Moulsham Street, just south-east of the main road; further sightings of the defences elsewhere have confirmed the outline of the enclosed area. A 40ft (12m) length of rampart, c. 20ft (6m) wide, with three contemporary ditches, all of which terminated near the road frontage at an opening for a gate, was revealed near Moulsham Street. As might be expected in a civil fortification, the rampart was a simple dump made out of material excavated from the ditches, but the triple ditches only occur on the south side; on the rest of the circuit a single ditch sufficed. A timber gate seems to have been built to the simplest plan, with two main posts placed against the butt-end of the rampart and a third, positioned immediately adjacent to the outer post but on the road side, on which presumably the gate was hung. This trio of posts would have been matched by a similar set on

CHELMSFORD (Caesaromagvs)



95 Plan of the mansio (after Drury)

the other side of the entrance. The four main posts may have supported a tower. Other, smaller posts in apparently random positions may represent later alterations, or perhaps even props for a decaying structure. These fortifications were

probably erected in the mid to late second century, and had been largely levelled by the early third.¹⁰¹

The morphology of the defences is unusual, even for a 'small town', in that preliminary

earthworks were not reinforced at a later date by a masonry wall. This lack of a wall cannot but reflect on the status of Caesarmagus by the third century. All hope of creating a worthy tribal centre, with the possible intention of it becoming a civitas capital, must have long since evaporated, while even what was left clearly did not warrant excessive expenditure on elaborate fortifications.

A further indication of this lack of enterprise, money or interest can be seen in the street system. Nowhere can be seen an overriding attempt to promote a regular pattern of insulae. Instead a number of side streets were set off from the main road, presumably as occasion demanded; their alignments were not at right angles to the main artery, but seem to have followed more closely the original land boundaries. One of Hadrianic date, leading approximately eastwards,¹⁰² ran past the extra-mural temple to become the main road leading to the port at Heybridge; another street beyond the north defences and nearer the River Can, ran parallel to it. Apart from these, a street led to the north-western corner of the mansio and then, after passing a T-junction, turned to run down its west side, probably towards an entrance in the south side, while another branched from the main road in a westerly direction, not far inside the north gate.

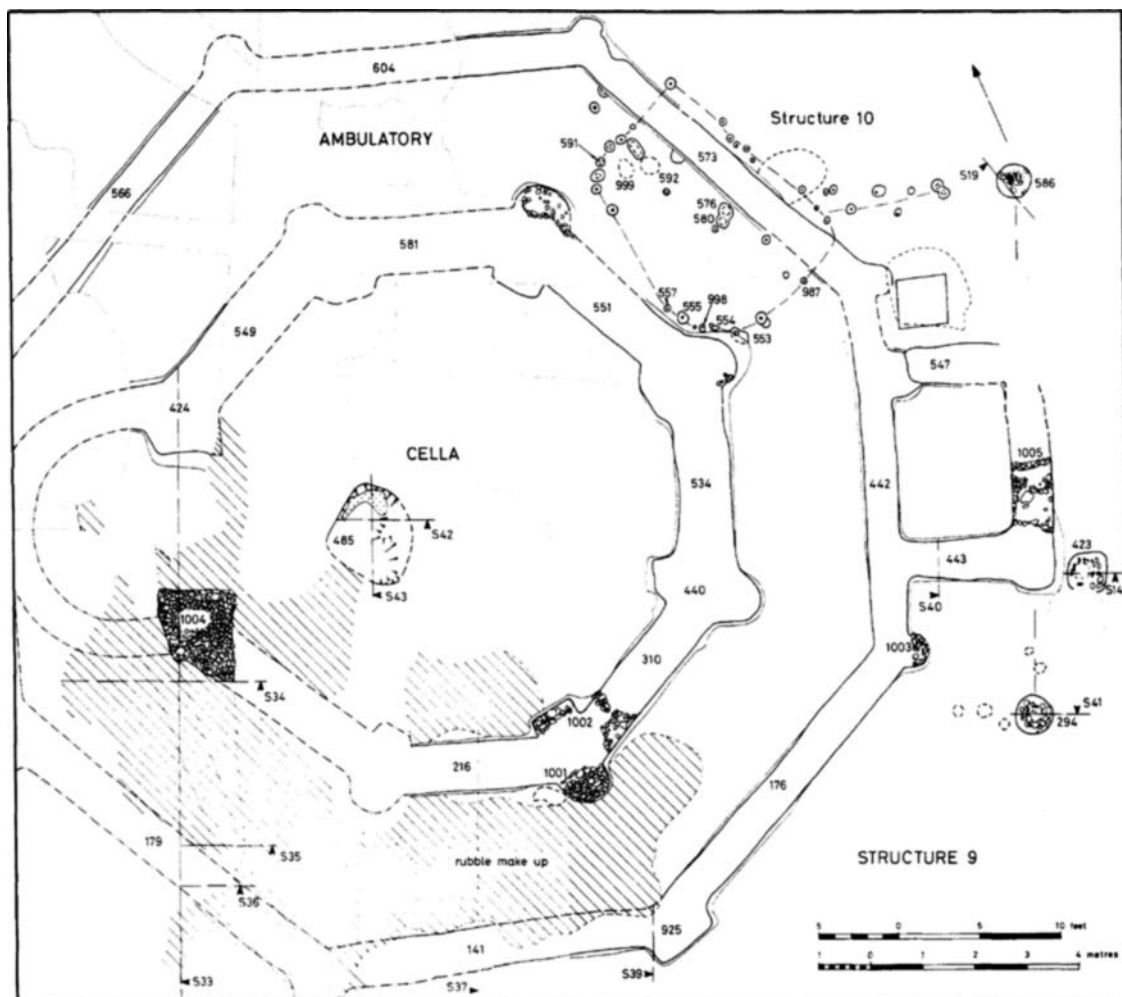
In 1970, excavations just north of Rochford Road uncovered a Romano-Celtic temple with an interesting plan (fig. 96). It was octagonal in shape, not unlike those at Pagan's Hill and Caerwent,¹⁰³ with the angles of both cella and portico buttressed by thickenings of the walls. An apse projected from the back wall of the cella outwards across the rear portico, opposite what was presumably the door, and would have provided accommodation for the main cult figures. A porch was situated on the south-east side of the portico. Unfortunately, most of the masonry had been robbed, and little else of the structure survived. A gravel path led towards the temple from the south-east, and there were traces of earlier, flimsier buildings in the temenos, together with a possible earlier apsidal version of the temple dating to the

late first century. The date of construction was *c.* AD 325 and the coin evidence suggests continuing use almost into the fifth century, followed by deliberate demolition perhaps by Christian iconoclasts.¹⁰⁴

There is very little indication of other public buildings or works. Another Romano-Celtic temple may have been situated north-west of the mansio; it was associated with a succession of ritual shafts dug in a disused well, which contained the skeletons of at least seven foetal lambs, a horse skull, and raven and cat bones.¹⁰⁵ A first-century gravelled area near the junction of the Colchester road and the main road leading to the east has been tentatively interpreted as a market place, over which later buildings gradually encroached. But this is now better seen as a series of ordinary timber-framed buildings and their associated yards.¹⁰⁶

The horse skull mentioned above as having been found in a ritual shaft is by no means the only example of equine remains from Chelmsford. Another was found in a nearby ditch,¹⁰⁷ while on the outskirts, well south of the fortifications, a pit containing the complete, articulated skeleton of a 3 to 4 year-old horse, minus its two forefeet, was discovered.¹⁰⁸ Although possibly a ritual interment, as suggested by the excavator, it is worthwhile remembering that, even today, the hooves of a favourite animal are often saved and mounted as mementoes after death; but it must be admitted that religious activities are the most likely explanation. The popular Celtic deity, Epona, was closely connected with horsey attributes (see Wroxeter, p. 373) and in the later Iron Age such cults were often allied with shafts and pits.¹⁰⁹

Despite the lack of major public buildings, a rudimentary water supply was nevertheless laid on, at least to serve the mansio and its bath-house, but whether from an aqueduct or from some other source is not known; it is not easy to suggest where one might be situated. A wooden water-pipe was conducted along the north edge of the street leading to the mansio and, at a slightly later



96 Extra-mural, octagonal temple (Chelmsford Borough Museums Service)

stage, a branch was extended across the street to carry water to what appeared to be a sunken cistern on the opposite side.¹¹⁰ Similar street-side tanks are well known elsewhere, and were intended to provide a public supply of fresh water.

Traces of other buildings are known from behind Moulsham Street, with occupation dating from the first to the fourth centuries. Yet others, also of timber construction, and of late-first- to fifth-century date, have been excavated on the frontages of Moulsham Street and the side streets. Since most of these commercial and domestic buildings were timber-framed it is not surprising

that there was a serious fire *c.* 300, when three plots were affected. A number of industries have been identified, including large-scale bone, horn and leather working at the north-eastern end of the town in the second century when it seems that many beasts were grazed, slaughtered and butchered in and around Chelmsford; there was also an early-second-century metal-working establishment off the main Colchester road, which produced clay moulds and furnace waste;¹¹¹ another operated nearby through to the later second century and produced smithing slag which also contained copper alloys.¹¹² A blacksmith's shop

was built over the levelled defences near the south gate, but was burnt down towards the end of the third century.¹¹³ Pottery was also being made during the late first century near the line of the inner relief road, where wasters had been dumped in a disused quarry.¹¹⁴ Other kilns, dating to the late third or early fourth century, have been found off Moulsham Street.¹¹⁵

A fair-sized cemetery is known to have existed along Moulsham Street from about St John's Church to Oaklands Park. Cremation burials have been found, but inhumations tend to disintegrate in the acid soil. Another group of burials found near Roman Road reflect again on the overall nature of the town; they were dated to the late third or early fourth century and lie almost in the middle of the fortified enclosure. The defences had by then been levelled and clearly no longer even acted as a town boundary. Although the burials were inhumations, little skeletal material survived with the exception of a dog which had been earlier interred on the site.¹¹⁶ A small pit within the cemetery contained a remarkable collection of carved jet objects (fig. 97) which had originally been buried in a wooden box with a glass vessel. They do not seem to have been associated with a burial and may have belonged to a votive deposit.¹¹⁷

The final days of *Caesaromagus* are little better documented than the earliest. The *mansio*, despite radical alterations, especially to the bath-house, seems to have functioned until the end of the Roman period. Religious interests were maintained in the fourth century by the reconstruction of the extra-mural Romano-Celtic temple to a new and more complicated plan. There is some evidence for late timber buildings, while elsewhere changes seem to have occurred in property boundaries, suggesting breaks in links with the past, coupled with a decline in population and building density. For much of its life the town must have depended not only on its surrounding agricultural area but also on the volume of traffic passing along the road between two of the major towns of the province; once the latter was

severed, the inhabitants would have been deprived of a considerable source of income. So far, though, nothing has been found in the area of the town to denote a fifth-century Saxon presence.¹¹⁸

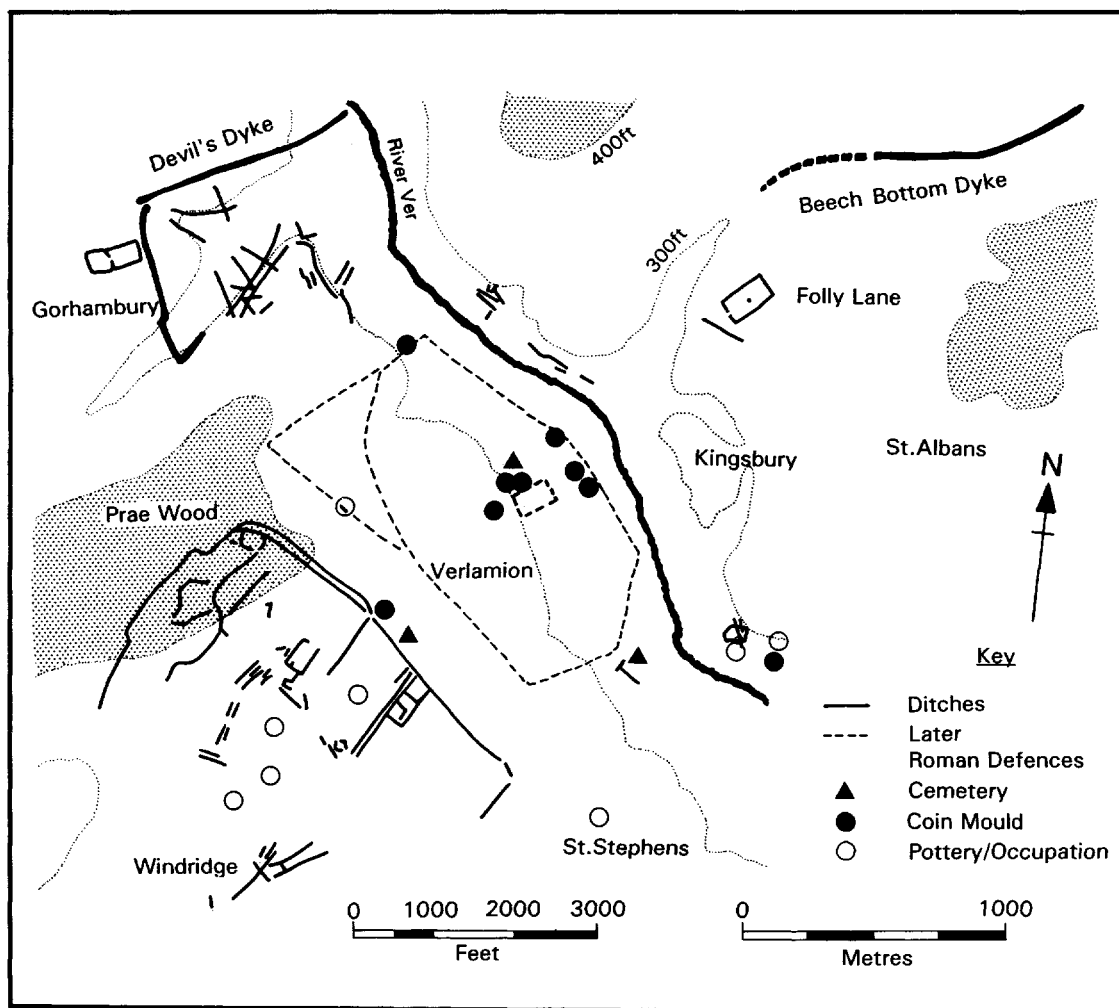
It will be seen from the foregoing account that, apart from the *mansio* and its bath building, there is little to warrant the conclusion that *Caesaromagus*, despite its name, became a town of any consequence. It may have once been intended to act as a *civitas* capital as the result of a piece of deliberate planning, but the plan obviously failed. It might be argued that the *Trinovantes*, like their northern neighbours, were so impoverished by the Boudiccan rebellion that the development of a capital, even on the modest lines of *Caistor-by-Norwich*, was beyond their means. Even if it is argued that the administrative centre remained here, there is no justification in seeing either in its name or in the subsequent development anything other than an urban failure.

ST ALBANS (*Verulamium*)

The late Iron Age site of *Verlamion* covered a large area. It was probably the sometime capital of *Tasciovanus* and, even after about AD 10 when *Camulodunum* was founded, it remained a principal settlement of the *Catuvellauni*. Wheeler concluded that its centre was in *Prae Wood*,¹¹⁹ after his series of excavations at *Wheathampstead* and *Verulamium* between 1930–4. Frere's most recent excavations between 1955–61 have, however, enabled this view to be expanded, and it is now apparent that the Belgic settlement had spilled over the *Prae Wood* hillside into the valley of the River *Ver* beneath. Quantities of broken moulds, used in the manufacture of metal flans for coinage, have been found extending almost as far as the river in an area which was later to lie north and west of the forum of the Roman town.¹²⁰ Moreover in 1956, a ditch, at least 12ft (3.7m) wide and over 5ft (1.5m) deep, was encountered below Roman buildings during excavations in



97 Jet ornaments from a possible votive deposit, including a Medusa head and a lion devouring a human head (*Chelmsford Borough Museums Service*)



98 Iron Age Verlamion (after Niblett)

Insula xxvii.¹²¹ It was running not quite parallel with the north-west side of the later forum and changed direction towards the south-east not far from its west corner. The bottom levels contained only Claudian pottery. Other excavations in the museum car park and under the museum itself might suggest continuations of this ditch so as to enclose an area slightly larger than, but approximately in the same position as, the Flavian forum. It is difficult to avoid a conclusion that this ditch had been dug in the pre-conquest period and that it was kept clean until shortly after the conquest, when rubbish began to accumulate in it. Frere has

suggested that it may have enclosed a palace area, in view of its close proximity to the mint debris.¹²² Another, perhaps more likely, possibility is that the ditch surrounded a sacred enclosure similar to, but larger than, the one at Gosbecks Farm, Colchester (p. 127). If so, it would certainly partly explain the later use of this area as the premier insula of the new town. In this respect the Catuvellauni, in spite of being ejected by the Romans from their political capital at Camulodunum, would have been more fortunate than the Trinovantes, if they were able to retain one of their chief religious sanctuaries, whereas the latter

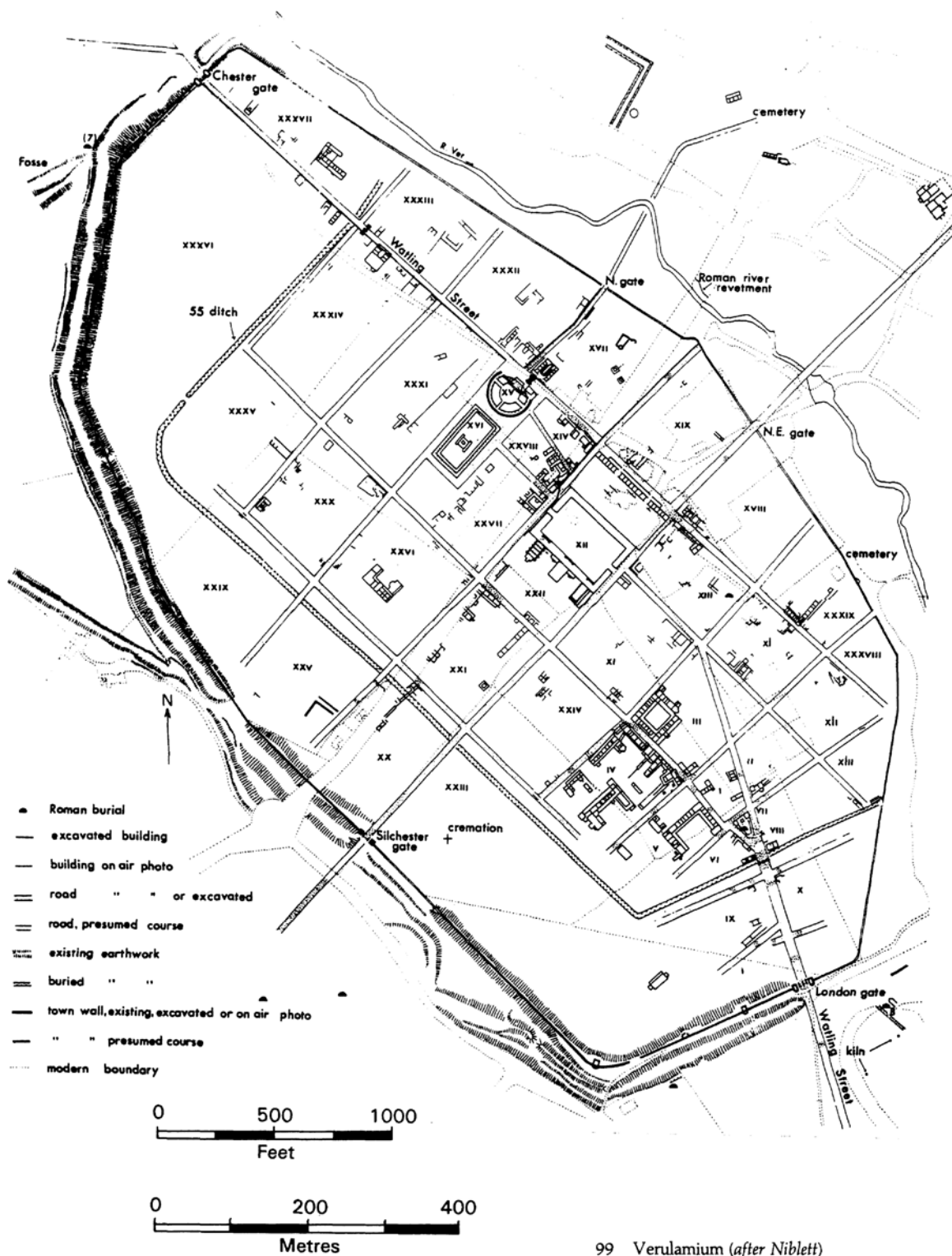
lost theirs, for a time, to the colonia at Colchester.

Even more recently, in the 1970s and 1980s, work by Ian Stead, Chris Saunders and Rosalind Niblett has allowed Frere's version to be expanded still further. Moulds for coin flans have now been found more abundantly on both sides of the River Ver, showing the scale of operation of the local mint; a large cemetery containing more than 140 cremations has been excavated in King Harry Lane, close to the Roman road to Silchester; aerial photography has revealed an extensive system of trackways, enclosures and fields (fig. 98) on a scale which falls not far short of the Sheepen–Gosbecks–Stanway area of Colchester (p. 112). It has also been possible to identify individual farmsteads, even in the middle of the Prae Wood complex, while one of some substance has been found beneath the later villa at Gorhambury.¹²³ They are not unlike that excavated in the middle of Canterbury (p. 190). Moreover, Wheeler's conclusion that this Belgic capital lay within dense woodland was mistaken; analyses from the river valley have shown that contemporary low levels of tree pollens are accompanied by correspondingly high values from grass and cereals. It can only be concluded that much of the surrounding area had been cleared and cultivated long before the middle of the first century AD.¹²⁴ But again, contrary to earlier conclusions, the heyday of this settlement seems to have been in the two or three decades before the Roman conquest, after the death of Tasciovanus and at the time when it has always been supposed that Cunobelin, his probable successor, had departed for Camulodunum.

Who, then, was the king, prince or chieftain responsible for this social and economic growth? A clue is perhaps to be found in a recent discovery at Folly Lane, on the crest of a spur overlooking the left bank of the River Ver and close to the main settlement. There was uncovered one of the richest Iron Age burials yet seen in Britain. But it was dated to c. AD 45–50: consequently, whoever was cremated and buried in this place was presumably a ruler who had been accepted by Rome and who was also philo-Roman in his

outlook. He may even have been made a client king or more likely *princeps civitatis* over the western rump of the Catuvellauni after the invasion.¹²⁵

In view of this remarkable discovery and of what happened at Verulamium after the conquest, it is probably convenient to consider here the most likely identity of this person: Adminius, one of Cunobelin's sons, whose oppidum may have been at Verlamion before his expulsion from Britain by his father c. AD 40. We might conclude that Adminius had been expelled either for openly expressed philo-Roman opinions, or for not supporting the hardening anti-Roman outlook of his brothers. Whatever the reason for his expulsion, his travels in Gaul or Italy would have given him experience of Romanized provincial towns and buildings. It seems more than likely that he and his followers would have returned to their native lands after the invasion, where they would have been instrumental in initiating the process of Romanization at Verulamium. So we might explain the rapid progress in urban development which then took place, and possibly also the readiness with which military architects were made available to help in the work. Only an ally of some standing would probably have received such benefits, which would have been in the nature of a reward for services rendered to the imperial government. We know more of another returning refugee than we do of Adminius, but there is no reason to believe that the followers of Verica and Cogidubnus were the only ones to be restored to their homelands after the invasion, and such men would have greatly aided the conquest and subsequent pacification. What happened at Catuvellaunian Verulamium is therefore in direct contrast with what happened at Catuvellaunian, but not Trinovantian, Camulodunum. The latter was deprived of all political responsibility with typical Roman thoroughness and thereafter was of no consequence, while control of the remainder of the tribe was placed firmly in allied hands. These are, of course, hypothetical arguments, but they provide the best explanation for such facts as



we have. They also help to account for the very short military occupation of what was, according to the literary accounts, the most hostile and powerful of the south-eastern tribes.

Two other alternatives for the burial can be proposed. The least likely might have been an otherwise unknown son of Cunobelin who had concealed his pre-Roman attitudes better than his brother, Adminius, and so escaped expulsion. Or it might have been some surviving scion of the Trinovantian royal house placed as a *princeps civitatis* over the hostile Catuvellauni; indeed Adminius himself, as noted above, might have received such a title.

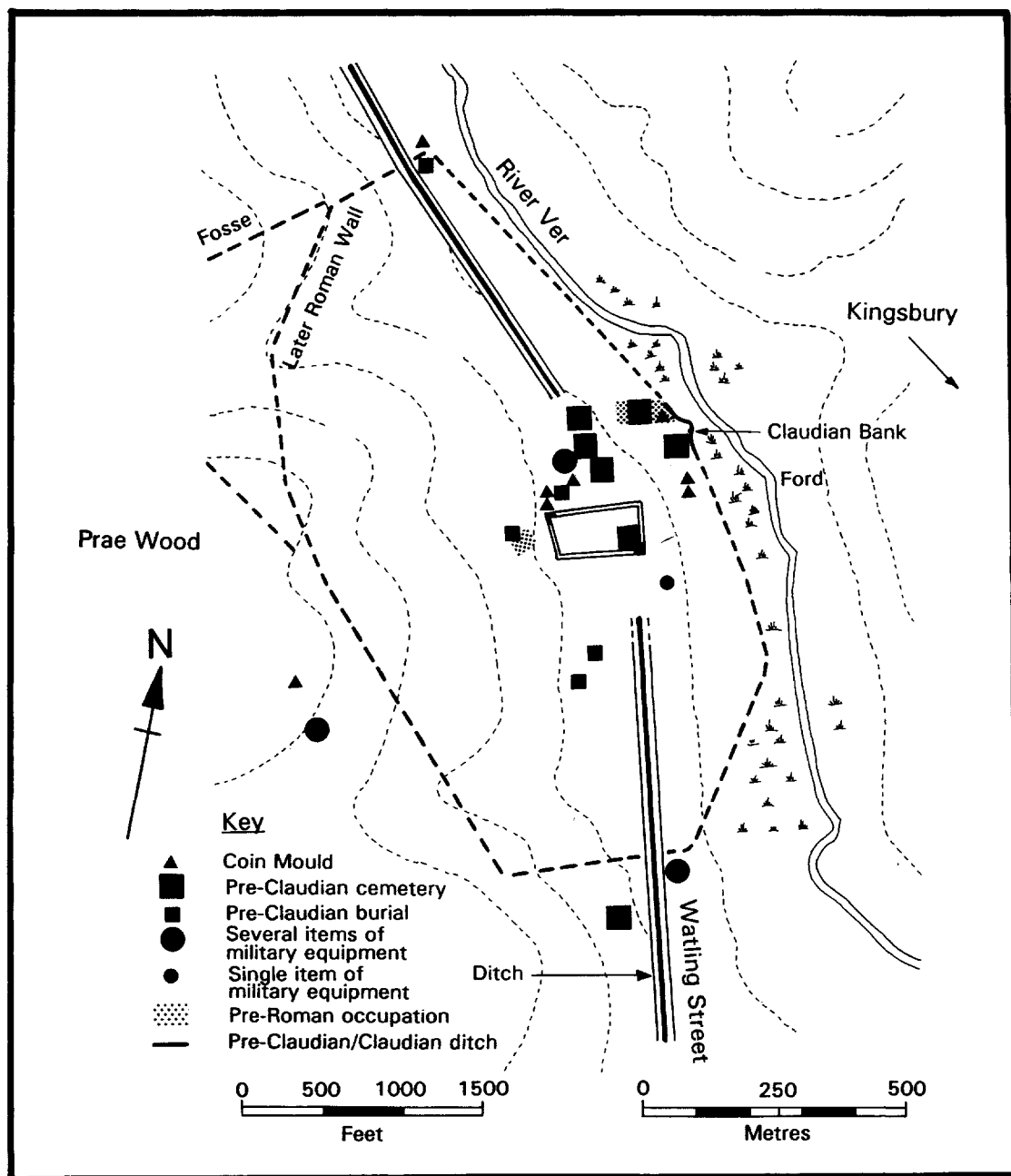
At Verulamium, the military occupation does not seem to have continued for more than a year or two (fig. 100), judging from the evidence of the first buildings of the town, which were being constructed not later than c. AD 49.¹²⁶ It has been claimed that a small fort was occupied for a short time close to the River Ver, in an area later to become Insulae xvii and xix. On the north-east side, its bank had later become buried beneath the town rampart, which was here contemporary with the stone fortifications.¹²⁷ A twin-portal gateway of timber has supposedly been identified on its north-east side, close to the River Ver, where it was partly cut into by the later town wall.¹²⁸ As contrary evidence for the existence of a fort in this area, it used to be thought that the earliest road, Watling Street, which cut across the later street system, was aiming for one of its gates.¹²⁹ Now, however, excavations have shown that the road never crossed Insulae xiii. Moreover, there is a mid-first-century building in the south corner of Insulae xiii on the direct line the road would have taken, had it crossed the insula.¹³⁰ If, however, a fort did not exist here (alternative explanations can be made for the length of rampart and so-called gate), there is another possible candidate for its site at Kingsbury, which lies on higher ground across the Ver, but no conclusive evidence for its existence has been produced. A second alternative lies not far from Prae Wood at Windridge farm.

While the military detachment could have been

connected with the road works, its placing at Verulamium might also have been deliberate to ensure adequate protection and support for (?) Adminius. Once it was seen that all was quiet the unit would have been withdrawn.

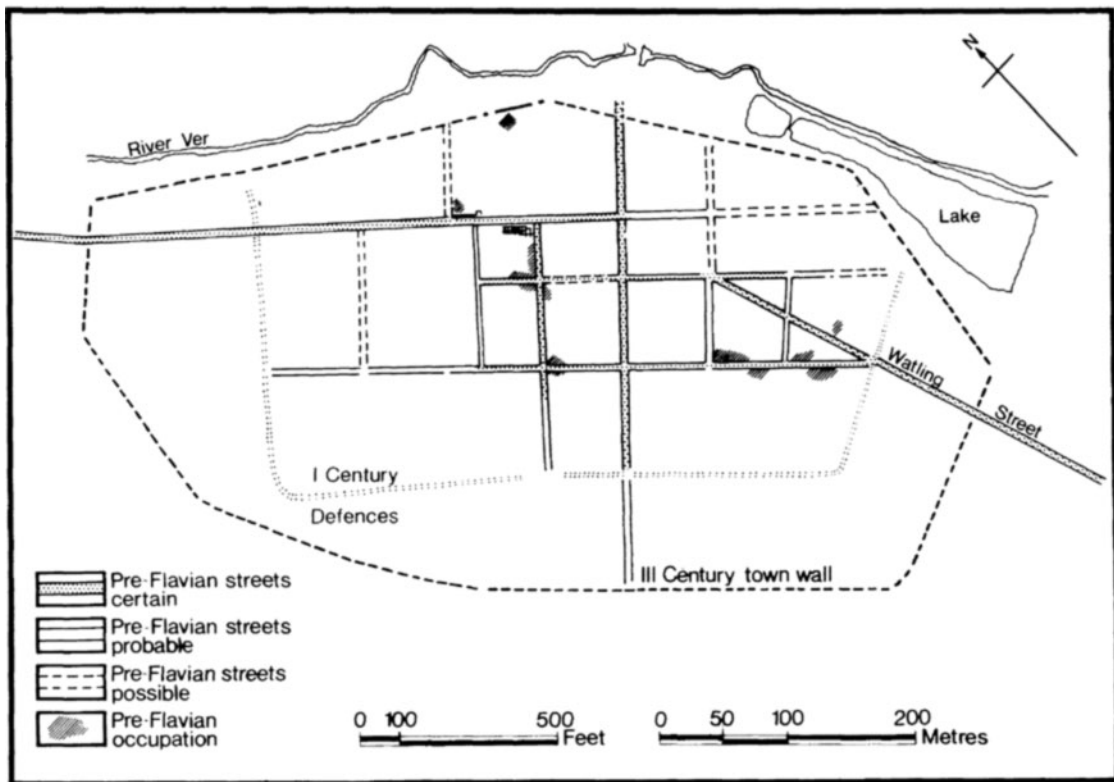
The first steps in the construction of the Claudian town began shortly after military occupation had ceased. If we are right in assuming the return of Adminius, then the emergence of the civitas Catuvellaunorum will have been one of those cases in Britain where little distinction can be drawn between the pre- and post-military situations, for the military were primarily there to bolster the civil power and not to supersede it. Certainly Verulamium would seem to have started as the civitas capital. Whether it was now or later, that promotion came to municipium has already been partly discussed (p. 18): it is not necessary to repeat the arguments. Suffice it to say that the civitas Catuvellaunorum continued a corporate existence as implied by an inscription found on Hadrian's Wall,¹³¹ and it is likely that Verulamium, whether a municipium or not, will have remained as the tribal capital. If the town was a municipium it might be suggested that its territorium consisted of that part of the tribal area in the south-east which was early released from military occupation, and that the tribal identity was maintained by the northern and north-western parts which were probably not so released until Flavian times.

Contrary to what Wheeler thought¹³² and Collingwood embellished,¹³³ Frere has now shown¹³⁴ that many of the streets in the pre-Boudiccan town date back to Claudius' principate and that regular town-planning was then taking place (fig. 101). Moreover, the buildings being erected at the same time, although simple in plan and structure, were of better quality than Collingwood's 'mud huts'. Wheeler found little more than traces of Claudian occupation in the southern quarter of the town, while further traces have been found by other excavators north of the forum insula. Of considerable importance therefore, for the town's early history, was the uncovering by



100 Early-Claudian Verulamium with distribution of military equipment (after Niblett)

VERULAMIUM

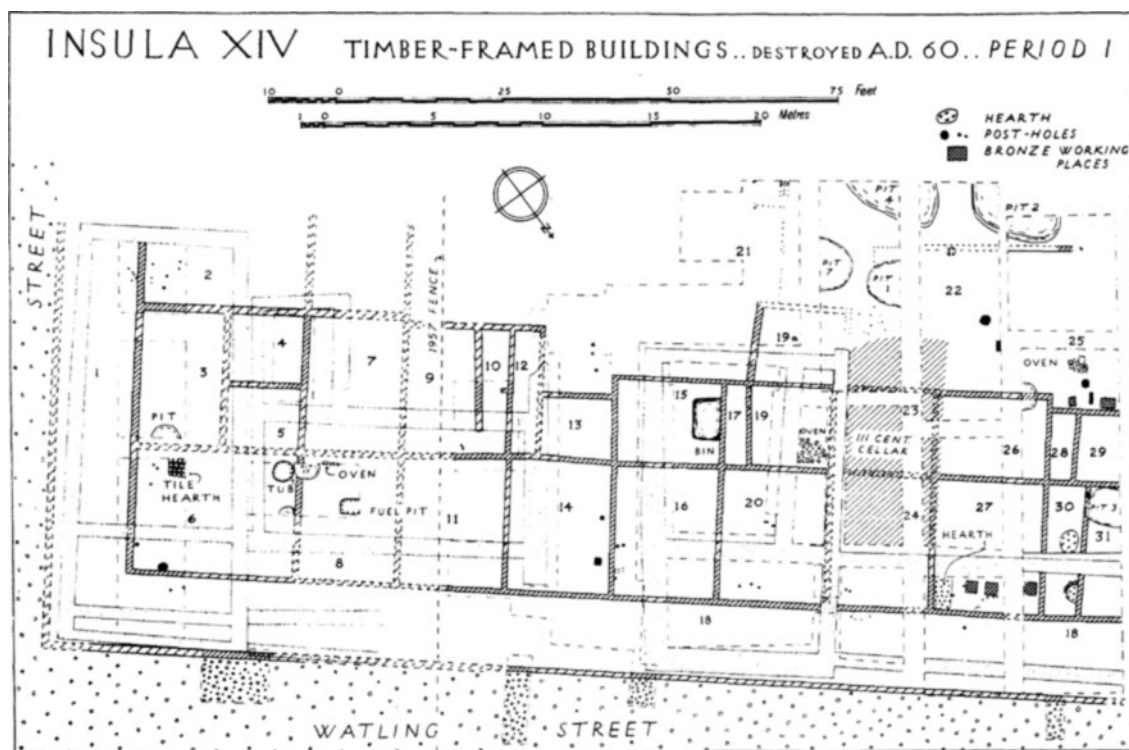


101 Plan of the early town (after Frere and Niblett)

Frere of the block of timber-framed shops, dating to c. AD 49 in the east corner of Insula xiv.¹³⁵ He concluded that these shops had been erected, perhaps as a corporate enterprise, by some wealthy Catuvellaunians. Certainly their arrangement means a continuous roof span with the ridge running from south-east to north-west, so implying single or group ownership at the time of building. The starkness of the plan (fig. 102), in spite of the external portico, led Frere to suggest that they were erected with help from military architects and with access to military supply-bases for materials.¹³⁶ This would seem to fit the circumstances. Nevertheless a slight degree of individuality in some sections would suggest that local taste and requirements were being consulted and that the whole was not the exclusive work of the army. Most of the shops, possibly leased to

tenants, or perhaps sold to wealthy retainers, seem to have been engaged in the manufacture of metalwork. Bronzsmiths were active in the shop represented by rooms 26 and 27.

The question of whether this early town was defended has still to be fully resolved. In 1955¹³⁷ Frere discovered and traced for some distance a large ditch which enclosed, apart apparently from the river frontage,¹³⁸ about 119 acres (48ha) of the central area of the town. Unfortunately little of the contemporary rampart survived, so making the date of construction difficult to determine; Frere favoured a pre-Boudiccan date, possibly to accompany the grant of municipal status. Ostensibly this could well fit the suggestion outlined above (p. 217) that the grant was made on the death of the princeps civitatis. But there are a number of facts which confuse the issue. Firstly the area occupied



102 Claudian shops (Period I) in Insula xiv (Frere)

by the early street system is only about 50 acres (80ha), which is rather less than half that enclosed by the 1955 ditch. The second point concerns the behaviour of Watling Street in its run towards the town centre. Up to the junction between insulae xi and xiii it was provided with massive ditches set widely apart, after the manner of many roads in country districts, but most unusual in towns. As mentioned above (p. 219), the road cannot be traced north of this junction until it reappears again on a new alignment under the north-west quarter of the later town. The implication, therefore, is that this break in the continuous line of Watling Street occurred roughly at the boundaries of the Claudio-Neronian fort or town. But the corollary is also interesting, since the first consolidated version of Watling Street could not then have been constructed until after the fort or town had been laid out. Rosalind Niblett, having suggested that the first fort lay over the river, is of

the opinion that the so-called 'fort' rampart and gate, observed by Frere and Anthony along the river frontage, represent the first town defences.¹³⁹ But this leaves the very real problem of the line of the remainder of the circuit, since it must have crossed areas which have been extensively excavated, so far without it being located.

Whichever proposal is accepted, it would seem that the embryo town was fortified from the first, which provides perhaps the most cogent reason for belief in a Claudian municipium. It is not easy to explain why defences were needed. The bank excavated by Frere seems too large and too well constructed for a simple town boundary;¹⁴⁰ if not belonging to a fort, it might otherwise be deemed to have been constructed for defensive purposes. It is probably best seen, therefore, as a defensive circuit, and it should not be forgotten that Silchester was probably already fortified (p. 272), although it may have lain within the kingdom of

Cogidubnus. Perhaps it was felt that some sort of protection was needed for those burgeoning centres of Romanization which were situated not far from frontier regions. It would have been a comparatively easy matter for small raiding parties to have slipped through the type of frontier then in being, and created havoc in the principal towns.¹⁴¹

One of the main problems relating to the pre-Boudiccan town is the forum or possible lack of one. Frere has suggested that the insula occupied by the Flavian forum was subdivided by a through-street in the Claudian town,¹⁴² and that a more modest forum and basilica was situated in the north-eastern of the two insulae so formed. But in 1972 builders' excavations were observed near the eastern corner of this postulated insula where the Flavian basilica was ultimately built. No masonry structures were seen earlier than the latter; nor has any sign been found of the subdivision of the forum insula, even in the pre-Boudiccan period. In the published report,¹⁴³ though, reference is made to a post-hole and slot which may '... derive from a verandah along Watling Street rather in the manner of the colonnade in front of the pre-Boudiccan shops in Insula xiv ...'. Was this the first sighting of a Claudian timber forum or basilica at Verulamium, similar to Silchester (p. 276) and other sites where these structures have now been recognized? Much depends here on a single sherd of an unburnt samian bowl, dated 65–80, found in the slot. If it represents the construction of the building, then clearly it cannot have been buried in the Claudian period; but it could equally represent the destruction of a Claudian forum, just before work commenced in masonry. It is worth noting that Frere recorded a chalk floor, which was associated both above and below with burning, but which pre-dated the north-western range of the Flavian forum, and clearly indicated an earlier building.¹⁴⁴ Another possibility arises out of excavations conducted by William Page early this century, when he found masonry foundations below the Flavian forum near its south-west side.¹⁴⁵ In this

context it is very important to remember the pre-conquest ditched enclosure which coincided very closely with the area of the Flavian forum, suggesting that from the first the insula was devoted to public use for religious, commercial or administrative purposes. It is possible also that, by creating an expectation of a Claudian forum and basilica, we are needlessly complicating the issue. If the site was primarily of religious significance, priority was presumably given to building a new temple. Moreover, the age of the monumental, unified complex of forum, basilica and sometimes capitolium had not yet reached Britain, and had by no means spread universally elsewhere.¹⁴⁶ Many of those in existence in the west by the time of Claudius had been the result of piecemeal and irregular development. Was there at Verulamium, therefore, a temple, a basilica, or even perhaps only a curia and an open space which served as a forum? A similar first-century combination may have existed at *Alesia* before the unified complex was constructed during the second century.¹⁴⁷ Although often referred to as Gallic in form, this is in many ways not entirely correct, as there is an even stronger central Italian feeling about the Flavian forum at Verulamium, where the curia and offices of the magistrates were separated from the basilica. But further speculation is not profitable in the absence of more information.

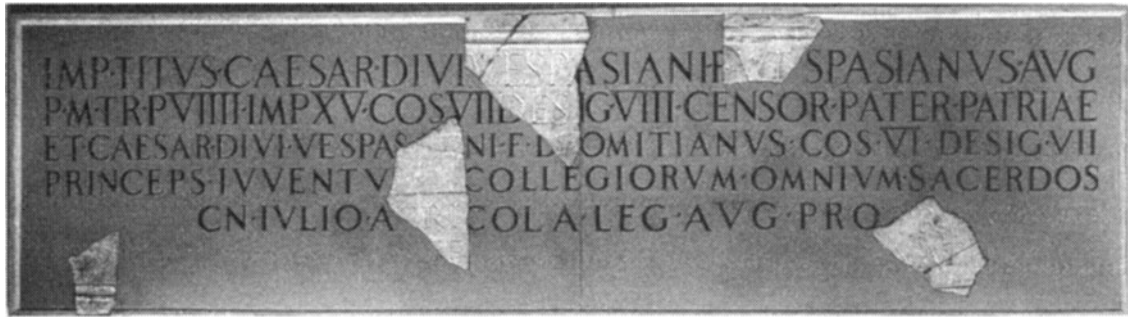
The first town perished at the hands of Boudicca's hordes, which even the defences were powerless to stop. Evidence for the fire has come from numerous places within the town. It seems likely that the rebellion had far-reaching effects. One may have been a general disheartening and loss of morale among the survivors, for rebuilding took place only slowly. They had relied on Roman arms for protection and Rome had failed them. Some may well have lost all their wealth and possessions, making it difficult to raise funds for new buildings, especially in view of the pre-Boudiccan hardening financial attitude of Roman moneylenders. Shortage of capital would be aggravated by loss of profits from destroyed workshops and business premises. Whole families

may have been wiped out, leaving no heirs, so causing delay and legal disputes over land ownership.¹⁴⁸ While the governors immediately after the rebellion were concerned with pacification, they seem to have done little to help mitigate the hardship which had been caused. But the firmer hand employed by the Flavian governors may have brought renewed confidence in the province, and, as so often is the case, capital investment follows confidence, just as it flees from crisis. Certainly at Verulamium the shops in Insula xiv were not rebuilt until c. AD 75 on similar but less rigid lines than before and using the same methods of construction. It is interesting, though, to observe that many of the shops were again inhabited by metalworkers.¹⁴⁹

Immediately west of these shops, in Insula xvi, a new Romano-Celtic temple had been constructed by the end of the first century. It was of a conventional plan and placed centrally in a rectangular temenos, enclosed during the early second century by a buttressed wall. Entry to the temenos was gained through a gate centrally placed in the north-east wall.¹⁵⁰ It is not known if there was an earlier temple on the site, although it seems probable. Certainly the area north-east of the temenos was an open space at the time of the Boudiccan fire,¹⁵¹ and its evident association with the temple is marked by the construction there of the theatre in the second century (p. 228). Of about the same date as the temple was the large macellum (see fig. 27) constructed on the opposite side of Watling Street. The association of temple and theatre is well known, but the association of temple and market place is less often emphasized, at any rate in towns, even though they are well known in country districts.¹⁵² It may be that the construction of the macellum in this particular place at Verulamium was quite deliberate. If so, we might hazard a guess that the temple, situated on the fringe of the main commercial quarter of the town, was dedicated, either singly or jointly, to Mercury, god of trade and commerce. The sanctity of the site was sufficient to draw large crowds, which later justified the construction of a

theatre. The temple seems to have been used after the theatre was derelict.¹⁵³

The principal buildings constructed in the Flavian period were undoubtedly the forum and basilica (see fig. 7). It is so far exceptional for Britain in having the curia and magistrates' offices separate from the basilica. As already indicated above, the forum piazza may have contained a temple, but no precise evidence had yet been produced.¹⁵⁴ Various excavations have been carried out from time to time, the earliest being those of Page in 1898–1902, the latest by Saunders in 1979. In 1955, fragments of an inscription (fig. 103) were found near one of the entrances to the basilica, below St Michael's School yard, which dated its completion to the last six months of AD 79.¹⁵⁵ Construction work on the whole complex, which measures approximately 530ft (161m) by 385ft (117m) overall, was therefore probably started in the early 70s, if not before. The site, to begin the description at the north-east end, contained first a range of rooms, about 27ft (8.2m) wide, running the full length of the basilica. Access through them was gained by two entrances placed symmetrically in the frontage on Watling Street. It was outside the northern of the two entrances that the inscription fragments were found. It is not, however, clear from which side these rooms were entered; but it seems most likely that they opened to the street and served as shops, so compensating for their complete absence around the forum piazza, unlike most forums in Britain.¹⁵⁶ A parallel range of rooms matched them to the rear and presumably opened inwards. The *aedes* probably lay in the centre of this double range, which is reminiscent of the basilica at London (p. 92). Beyond them again lay the basilica proper, which Frere has argued should be restored as a quinquepartite building containing a central nave, 34ft (10.4m) wide, flanked by double aisles on each side, 23ft (7m) and 28ft (8.5m) wide respectively. But to account for an unusually long and narrow nave which this arrangement would give, he suggested that the interior would be asymmetrical in its



103 The forum inscription (St Albans Museums)

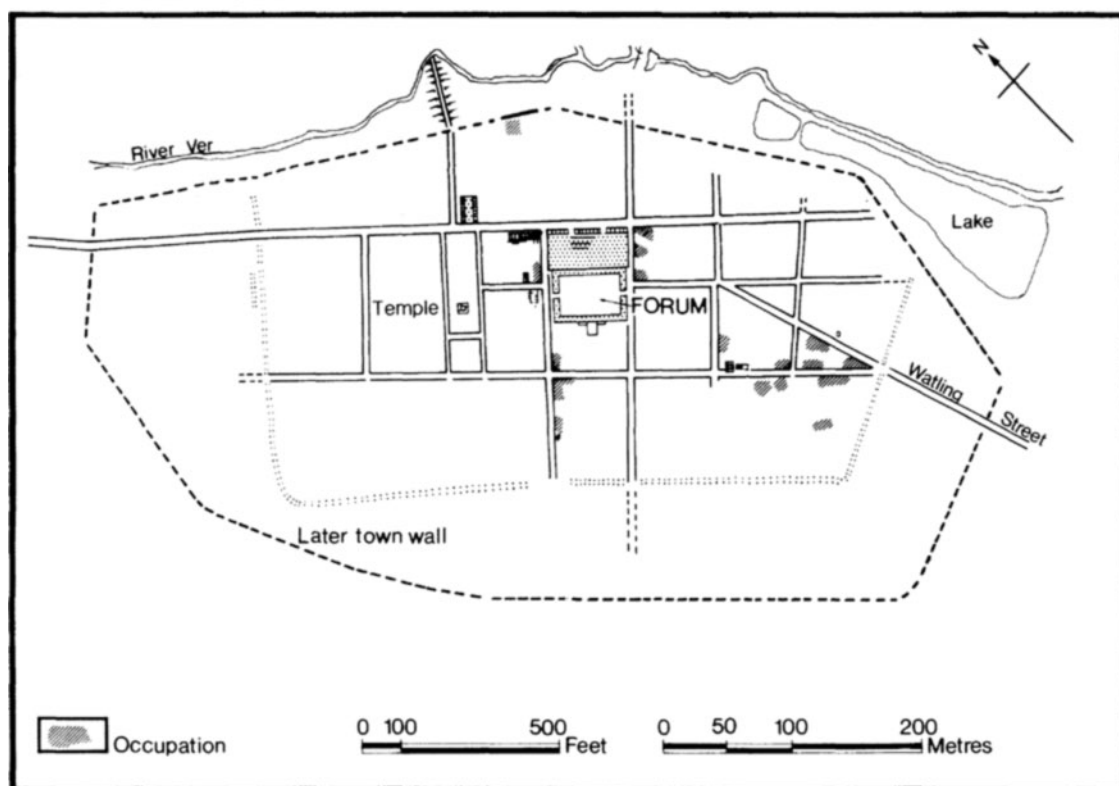
length, with both aisles crossing the head of the nave at the north-west end; this would then give a nave length of 300ft (93m).¹⁵⁷ The forum was a rectangular piazza about 310ft (94m) by 205ft (62m) enclosed by a single colonnaded ambulatory, 26ft (7.9m) wide, on all four sides including that bounded by the basilica. The two entrances to the court were placed centrally in the short sides, an arrangement rare in Britain, where a single entrance more often occurs in the side opposite the basilica. The south-west side, as first planned, contained only one group of buildings. In the middle was a large hall, 62ft (18.9m) by 40ft (12.2m), flanked on either side by shallower rooms, 15ft (4.6m) by 39ft (11.8m), both of which had been provided with an apse, 15ft (4.6m) in diameter, on the long side; Page considered that the apses were later additions.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that the hall also terminated in an apse, although Page was not able to decide the point. Each of the three rooms had doorways leading on to the forum colonnade, and there were intercommunicating doors between them. Tessellated floors were also found in all three rooms, and the floor of the central hall was about 2ft (610mm) higher than those of the rooms on either side. The walls seem to have been plastered and painted. It is probably correct to conclude that the central hall was the curia or council chamber of Verulamium, and that the flanking rooms were respectively the offices of the duoviri and the aediles, with tribunals later being situated in the apses. A somewhat similar arrangement, although on a larger scale, can be

seen in the forum of the Dalmatian town of *Asseria*,¹⁵⁹ and seem ultimately to be derived from the central Italian style of forum.¹⁶⁰

One main public building in Verulamium has proved difficult to identify: the main bath-house. Various suggestions have been made for the location.¹⁶¹ In 1974–5, a Claudio-Neronian masonry building was excavated in Insula xix (the car park of the Six Bells), which lay, therefore, adjacent to the insula in which the basilica was ultimately built, and which must have been one of the earliest masonry structures in Verulamium. The external wall was buttressed internally and had been decorated with painted plaster. The corner of an inner wall of flint had been faced internally with tile, as though either a hypocaust or the lining for a plunge-bath was intended. These features are sufficiently distinctive to make the building a strong candidate for a bath-house.¹⁶² It was burnt in the Boudiccan rebellion, but partly repaired and was finally demolished by the end of the first century.

Another large bath-house was also located in the same years at the junction of Branch Road and the A5; consequently it lay outside the town. Most of the main rooms were excavated and the building covered an area over 164ft (50m) by at least 98ft (30m); the walls were substantial, with a width of 4ft (1.2m). The situation would seem to preclude it from being the town baths, but equally the size would suggest something more than a private bath-suite attached to a suburban house. It could, therefore, have been either a privately run

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104 Plan of late-Flavian Verulamium (after Frere)

commercial enterprise, or possibly the bath-house of a *mansio*, since the main Colchester road outside the north-east gate lay close by; but a *mansio* would most likely have been situated inside the town. It was not built until the mid second century, and it had been abandoned by the end of the first quarter of the third.¹⁶³

Not a great deal is known about the houses during the Flavian period of the town's development (fig. 104). Wheeler found three small houses in the west corner of Insula III, and part of another in Insula II.¹⁶⁴ Frere found one in Insula xxviii.¹⁶⁵ The absence of the large houses of the curial class, which are so easily distinguished by the middle of the second century, is interesting. It tends to show, perhaps, that money was not unlimited, and that what was available was being channelled in public works. If so, it would seem to illustrate a

public-spirited attitude on the part of the leading citizens, who put aside personal ostentation for the benefit of their town. Certainly until the Antonine period, the town houses were modest, mainly timber-framed structures, with earth or timber floors, only rarely relieved by concrete or mortar. Nevertheless the walls were usually plastered and painted in simple patterns on the inside, while the roofs were often tiled. Neither is it always possible to distinguish between buildings of purely domestic character and those which combine living arrangements with commerce, as both have features in common, a point which has already been emphasized in earlier chapters.

If, as discussed above (p. 221), the 1955 ditch did not defend the Claudian town, then the question remains as to its function and date. The ditch was too large to be anything other than a

defensive provision; but construction in the immediate post-Boudiccan or Flavian periods, although activity in the former episode is not impossible as a panic measure, is difficult to justify. Nevertheless it seems to have been arranged symmetrically about the forum, which was the principal Flavian building, and enclosed a much larger area (119 acres, 48ha) than the presumed Claudian town. But a date in the Flavian period poses other problems, apart from a very short life. Frere argued that the two triumphal arches, erected at either end of Watling Street, where the 1955 ditch was crossed, were put up to commemorate the original boundary of the municipium after the line of this ditch had all but disappeared and when the masonry curtain wall was built.¹⁶⁶ If this argument is accepted, together with a proposed (by Niblett) Flavian date for the 1955 ditch, then it follows that the grant of municipal status would have been made probably by Vespasian. This is contrary to Frere's preferred Claudian date¹⁶⁷ and to the suggestion made above (p. 217) that the award was made on the death of the last native ruler, possibly Adminius, c. 50. But there the matter must rest for the moment.

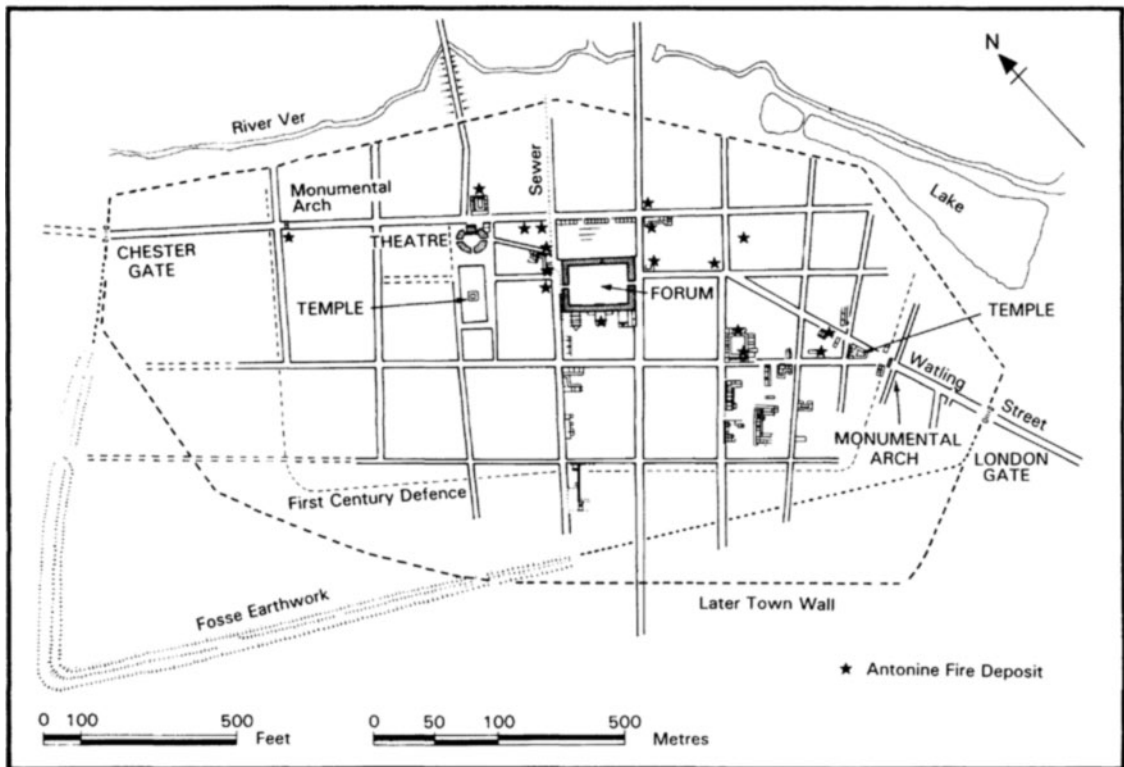
There is, however, a further point of interest and significance with regard to the 1955 ditch. Despite its disappearance from the topography of Verulamium during the second century, the town never greatly outgrew its original constriction. Only two internal streets extend beyond its bounds in the south-west quarter of the town, while in the south-eastern part new side streets off Watling Street observed different alignments from the internal grid; indeed, one is parallel to the ditch. Neither does there seem to have been much attempt to build quality housing outside it; where new buildings occur, they are mainly associated with Watling Street. The implications, however, can only be properly assessed when taken in conjunction with the later masonry wall (p. 232).

The early second century saw an increase in the number of religious establishments in the town, with an unusually shaped temple built close to the London Gate.¹⁶⁸ The site, in an angle formed by

Watling Street and the street separating Insula 1 from vi, was shaped like a truncated triangle, with the apex facing the gate. A short length of street passed to the rear of the building, so that it was completely isolated. The outer walls were protected from traffic by a row of wooden bollards. The temple itself had a central court which reflected the external shape. The long sides of the court had covered porticoes, while across the base was a range of three compartments, the central one of which may have contained a statue of a deity. The other two contained tanks. Bases for altars or possibly statues were found in the court, and the main entrance, probably with a projecting portico, faced the town gate. A chalk foundation some little distance in front of the entrance may have been for additional altars.¹⁶⁹ Wheeler suggested that the temple was dedicated to Cybele.

This temple lay in an area which saw a good deal of development during the late first and early second centuries. But about AD 100 the town defences were becoming obsolete, the ditch was partly filled with rubbish and the bank slighted into it. Indeed, the second century was a period of almost uncontrolled development: to the second half of the century belonged the theatre and the forum temples, while more opulent and better-built houses became commoner. Nevertheless this picture of uniform prosperity was seriously marred by a disastrous fire in the town c. AD 155 which, however, may have assisted development by clearing away old buildings. Since almost all private houses and shops were still timber-framed structures, the fire must have spread rapidly and Frere has estimated that at least 52 acres (21ha) were consumed.¹⁷⁰ There is a further point of interest to be observed. The fire seems to have been mainly confined to a broadish strip of buildings (although the progress was uneven within it) from the area of the theatre, past the forum, which was also affected, and as far as the original London gate in the 1955 earthwork (fig. 105). It might be suggested, therefore, that it began at one or other end, and with the help of either a strong south-easterly or north-westerly

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105 Plan of late-Antonine Verulamium (after Frere and Niblett)

wind swept along this corridor to the opposite point. There is one exception: a building close to the original Chester gate was also burnt.¹⁷¹ It is probable that this apparent gap is due to lack of evidence from the intervening area, but if on the other hand it is genuine, then the fire was probably caused, not by accident, but perhaps by a civil disturbance. Even with a full gale blowing from either direction, the fire is unlikely to have jumped a gap of 330yds (300m).

But following the fire, circumstances seemed to have changed slightly since the revolt of Boudicca and the sluggish recovery which followed it. There must have been sufficient accumulated capital for most rebuilding to have started almost at once, and this was apparent not only in the private sector but also in public works. Some slight changes in the town plan can also be

discerned such as the new street which was driven obliquely through Insula xiv from the forum to the theatre, and another between Insulae xvii and xix. Then it was that the theatre and the forum temples were probably constructed. Changes were also made in the methods of construction of private houses, giving rise to a combination of masonry and solid clay walls, which were altogether more fireproof.

The theatre was constructed in an open space immediately north-east of the temple in Insula xvi, referred to above (p. 224). As first constructed it was of Romano-Celtic plan (see fig. 22), with a near-circular orchestra, almost 80ft (24.3m) in diameter. The outer wall, which was buttressed to help retain the gravel banks for the seating, inscribed a diameter of about 150ft (46m). Three vaulted entrances, arranged symmetrically about

the axes, led through the *cavea* into the orchestra, which could when necessary be used as an arena. The stage building which projected to the rear of the orchestra barely interrupted the curve of its wall, although at one point there were indications of wooden steps leading up to the stage, which was itself floored with planks. It has been suggested that a series of mortar foundations, which lay between the back of the stage-building and Watling Street, were for an arcaded screen along the street.¹⁷² A wooden water-pipe was traced for a short distance, running round the outside wall on the south side, while a vaulted drain led out from the orchestra on the north side of the stage. It is hardly likely that these imply the flooding of the orchestra, or arena, and the staging of ambitious nautical displays, but it is not impossible that some sort of grotto or shrine, with a fountain or running water, was included in the building.¹⁷³ In any case the life of these features was short, as they were demolished during the first alterations to the theatre later in the century. Nevertheless, the orchestra contained near its centre an upright pole anchored to a heavy cross-shaped base plate. Its function is not entirely certain, but animals, or even convicts awaiting execution, might have been chained to it.

Within about twenty years the theatre was radically altered. The stage was enlarged by pushing the front wall forwards so that it became a chord of the orchestra. New access to the seating was obtained by timber staircases rising, in the thickness of the banks, from the outer ends of the lateral entrances. The new stage was also provided with a *proscenium* of the Corinthian order, although it still had a plank floor. In the orchestra, the whole of the area behind the lateral entrances was covered with a wooden platform for extra seats. Other changes saw the demolition of the arcaded screen along Watling Street and the addition of what may have been a dressing room near the east corner of the stage. In many ways the changes incorporated foreshadowed future alterations, which all tended to make the theatre nearer to the true classical plan (see fig. 22), and

more suitable for dramatic spectacles.

As noted above, the forum and basilica were badly damaged in the Antonine fire, leading to the almost total reconstruction of the latter to a slightly different plan, in which alterations were carried out to the double range of rooms in the north-east side. At the south-west end of the forum the screen wall was extended to cross the ambulatories on both sides, an alteration presumably brought about by the construction of the two temples to the rear of this range. They seemed to have been part of the process of refurbishment, and were added on either side of the *curia*, giving the whole building an even more archaic, Italianate appearance than it had before.¹⁷⁴ The temples were not identical buildings. That near the south corner was excavated by Page and contained a single large room, 64ft (19.4m) by 34ft (10.3m) internally. The walls were massive: 8ft 6in (2.6m) thick. The rear of the temple was marked by a pair of parallel walls 6ft (1.8m) apart and a central, raised *apse* appears to have been constructed partly within their combined thicknesses. Two *plinths* projected into the forum ambulatory on either side of the front of the building. Page concluded, from the width of the walls and from curved fragments of painted plaster, that the building had been vaulted. The interior was decorated, over both walls and vault, by frescoes with floral designs, and the floor was tessellated, with a mosaic at its centre. Fragments of statues were also found.¹⁷⁵ Along the south-eastern side of the temple and separated from it by a narrow alley was another building, but neither its date nor its function are known. It was not matched by an equivalent building at the west corner.

The temple at the west corner was excavated by Wheeler in 1949.¹⁷⁶ Although its internal dimensions were approximately the same it differed in plan at its rear end and in the methods used in its construction. Owing to the ditch of the pre-Roman enclosure running beneath, it was constructed over a series of raised vaults, each cross wall between the vaults being further strengthened by external buttresses. To the rear of

the temple, however, in place of an apse, were two rectangular rooms, each of reducing width, and together they probably served as the shrine for the cult statue. It is likely that, when these two temples were built, the colonnade of the forum ambulatory in front of them was extensively modified to provide an elaborate architectural screen in which the front porticoes of the temples and also of the curia were merged. Access from the ambulatories at each end was restricted by doorways placed across them.¹⁷⁷

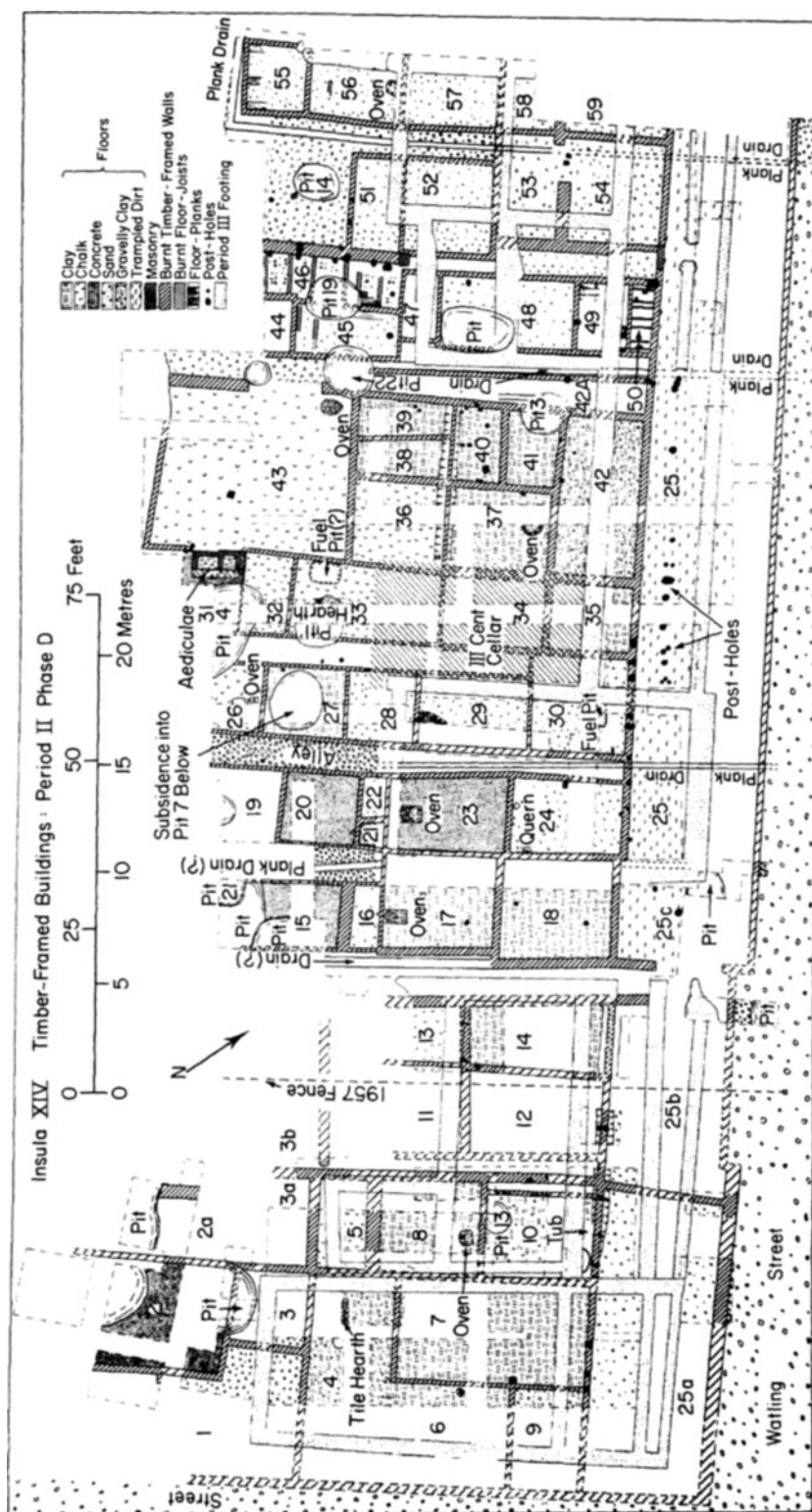
Another public building to undergo modifications in the later second century was the market hall opposite the theatre.¹⁷⁸ It was reduced to almost half its original size and rebuilt in a more massive manner. The front was also given a more impressive façade, perhaps to match the short-lived arcade of the theatre opposite.

It is difficult within the compass of this short account to do individual justice to each private house in late-second-century Verulamium. Most followed the spreading pattern of typical Romano-British town houses, with two, three or even four wings arranged around a courtyard (or garden?). One large quadrangular house in the west corner of insula III occupied an area approximately 150ft (46m) by 165 ft (49m). Some of the main rooms had hypocausts, which the new methods of construction now allowed, and a high proportion had tessellated or mosaic floors. Another, in the centre of Insula IV, was likewise a house of some refinement and size, with a number of heated rooms in one wing which may have been part of a small bath-suite. The rooms contained some fine-quality mosaics, including one with sixteen different geometrical panels and another with a head of Neptune, situated next door to a well-house. This well, however, although sunk to a depth of 38ft (15m), remained unfinished and had shortly afterwards been deliberately filled. The former mosaic can still be viewed *in situ*; the latter is in the museum.¹⁷⁹ In Insula XXI, Frere found another good-class house with three wings. It was remarkable as being the first house in Britain to provide evidence for a

painted and plastered ceiling, as well as having frescoes on its walls. Indeed, its excavation marked one of the first attempts in this country to recover and restore large areas of painted plaster.¹⁸⁰ One room also contained a fine mosaic, now on view in the museum, which had a central panel realistically depicting a lion carrying a stag's head in its mouth.

Nevertheless there were some exceptions to this picture of late-second-century prosperity. The timber-framed shops, in the east corner of Insula XIV, had been rebuilt no less than three times after their reconstruction following the Boudiccan fire (p. 221). In each case the sill-beams had probably rotted and had required replacement. The shops themselves had also gradually been extended rearwards. In the final phase (fig. 106), only a few years before the Antonine fire, they were still primarily occupied by metalworkers and both bronzesmiths' and a goldsmith's workshops have been identified.¹⁸¹ After the fire, *c.* AD 155, however, they were not rebuilt and the site was apparently left empty until the late third century. Frere has suggested that it was retained for a public building which never materialized. On the other hand, if these shops had gradually turned from the original tenancies to owner-occupied premises, then it is possible that such men, in a small way of business, would have had most of their capital tied up in them, so that rebuilding would have been difficult.

As already recorded above, the 1955 ditch had become largely obscured by the middle of the second century. It may have been deemed that a replacement was necessary, since, as Frere argues,¹⁸² a municipium which had already been defended was entitled to refortify without fresh permission and without the justification of a special occasion for doing so. If this was the case, however, it seems strange that the previous defences had been allowed to reach such a state of decrepitude. Surely it would have been cheaper and easier to have maintained the existing line rather than start all over again on a new alignment of monstrous size. This might be a clue to the



106 Antonine shops (Period II D) in Insula xiv (*Frere*)

second-century urban expansion, although aerial photographs of the relevant areas within the Fosse show few signs of the streets being extended and even less of buildings. The uncompleted Fosse earthwork that was the result of this apparently perverse decision consisted of a ditch 50ft (15.2m) wide and about 18ft (5.5m) deep, backed by a bank over 50ft (15.2m) wide standing more than 7ft (2.1m) high. It was intended to enclose an area almost twice the size of its predecessor: 231 acres (93.6ha).¹⁸³ The alternative explanation for this earthwork would lie in arguments already set out in Chapter 2 (p. 74), although Frere specifically excludes it from this category.¹⁸⁴ He accepts that two main masonry gates, the London and Chester Gates, are part of the same defensive circuit, which preceded the actual construction of the bank and ditch. He also attributes the non-completion of the latter to the aftermath of the Antonine fire, when all available labour was diverted to clear up and make good the damage.

The Fosse earthwork has been traced from just west of the Chester Gate round an acute-angled western corner to just south of Bluehouse Hill, where there may have been an inturn for a contemporary Silchester Gate. From there it remained uncompleted nearly as far as the southern end of the town where, taken with Wheeler's 'hollow' observed beneath the nearby interval tower,¹⁸⁵ the line can be followed to the London Gate. As with the 1955 ditch, there is no sign that an extension was ever intended along the river frontage. There appears to be little topographical reason to account for the eccentric line which the Fosse takes to the west compared with both the earlier and later town boundaries. Neither does the extra area of ground it takes in ever seem to have been put to any great use; buildings of any quality are conspicuously absent. Yet in precisely this aspect it imitates, or anticipates, behaviour which is more characteristic of later urban defensive circuits, such as its successor here, and at Canterbury, Cirencester and Wroxeter, where large areas were enclosed, well beyond even the most extreme requirements that

might have been needed for building (see p. 78 above).

A little over a century later, work on fortifications was resumed, but now a masonry wall, 7ft (2.1m) thick on a 9ft 9in (3m) wide foundation, was constructed with a bank, measuring from 45ft (13.7m) to 50ft (15.2m) wide, behind it. But the line was not the same as that followed by the Fosse. A large sector in the west quarter was now left outside the wall, which is probably as good a reason as any for considering that little or no building had taken place in the area. But in contrast, the line of the new wall extended well outside the intended line of the Fosse in the south-western part of the circuit. Probably for the first time also, the defences were extended along the river frontage. The wall was fronted by a ditch system, but it is not yet entirely clear whether or not the single, wide ditch which can still be seen on parts of the circuit belonged to the first phase. The new defences took in the existing London and Chester Gates, but a gate of different pattern was constructed in the south-west sector, where the Silchester road left the town; the gate here, though, started as a single-entrance postern and was only later rebuilt. Two other gates probably existed: on the north side, where a causeway can still be seen emerging from the town above the river's flood plain, and on the north-east side where the road to Colchester emerged. The latter matched the position of the Silchester Gate at the opposite end of the town.

The two principal gates on Watling Street were almost identical in plan (fig. 28). Overall, they were 98ft (29.9m) across. Each possessed two roadways, between 8ft (2.4m) and 9ft (2.7m) wide, which were flanked in turn by footways between 3ft (0.9m) and 4ft (1.2m) wide. The depths of the gates were about 20ft (6.1m) from front to back. Both were flanked by drum-shaped towers which projected outwards about 13ft (4m). The ditches were interrupted by causeways beyond the gates. In contrast, Wheeler thought the Silchester Gate (fig. 29) possessed only one carriageway, probably about 15ft (4.6m) wide, flanked by footways,

while these were flanked in turn by approximately square, projecting towers. The overall dimensions of the gate were about 44ft (13.4m) across by 25ft (7.6m) deep from front to back of the towers.¹⁸⁶ It should be noted, though, that there is no physical evidence for a three-portal gate, since the critical section of masonry had been entirely robbed. Wheeler's restoration depended almost entirely on the available width between the two towers, 30ft (9.1m), and on an analogy with the Maas-Tor at Xanten,¹⁸⁷ where the gap between the towers was about 36ft (11m). But Xanten has since produced a gate, the Burginatum-Tor, of similar plan but with only two carriageways, each 13ft (4m) wide with no foot passages, and where the overall width between the towers is only 39ft (12m).¹⁸⁸ It would, therefore, be possible to have a similar arrangement at Verulamium, with portals 12ft (3.6m) wide and with a central *spina* of 4ft (1.2m) to match the thickness of the other walls.¹⁸⁹

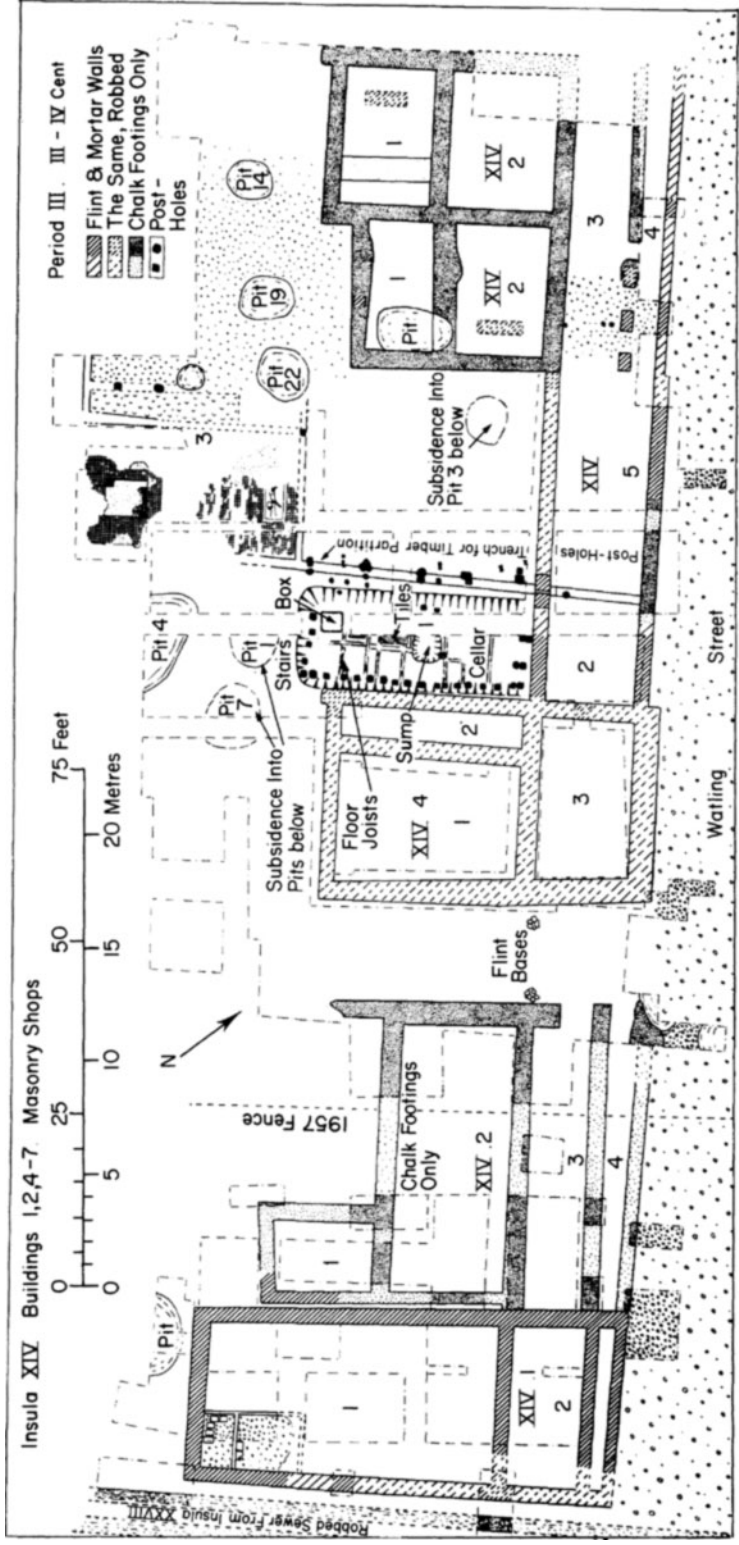
Frere suggested that the construction of masonry defences on a new alignment was the most appropriate occasion to commemorate the boundary of the earlier town by the construction of triumphal arches at the points where it had crossed Watling Street. Some of the difficulties which this proposal raises have been partly discussed above (p. 227), but another arises here. Long before the masonry wall was built, another radical attempt had been made to alter the town boundary by means of the Fosse earthwork. Why was no attempt then made to mark the old boundary, unless it was because it was never finished? Seemingly because the date given to the northern arch by Frere falls in the second half of the third century; when taken with a late-second-century date given by Wheeler to the southern arch, both are much too late to fit Frere's mid-second-century date for the Fosse. But close examination might suggest a very different state of affairs. The *terminus post quem* of the northern arch lies, in fact, in the early third century, and even that is based on only a single sherd of pottery. Frere's ascribed later date of construction depends not on this, but on a 2ft (1.2m) deposit of gravel

road metalling, which sealed the relevant pottery and was cut by the foundations of the arch; the metalling was described as '... (it) probably represents more than one resurfacing'. But this will not do. Roads made of gravel rapidly generate hard, compacted surfaces, which are very easily seen on excavation. If they were not observed here, then they probably never existed, and the whole 2ft (0.6m) layer was most likely laid in one operation, and could, therefore, immediately pre-date the arch. Unfortunately, there is no published section whereby any of these points can be checked.

Taking all into account, we have one arch with a *t.p.q.* of the late second century and another in the early third. It is only necessary to return the date of the unfinished Fosse to the late second century, where on several grounds it would fit very well, and all would fall neatly into place, with the arches being built following the return to peace at the beginning of the third century, when the earlier boundary, by then fast disappearing, could have been adequately commemorated.¹⁹⁰

The southern arch was represented by a foundation measuring some 15ft (4.6m) by 47ft (14.3m), and Wheeler suggested a double archway.¹⁹¹ It was completely free-standing in the centre of an important road junction. The northern arch was of slighter construction, 42ft 5in (12.9m) by 9ft 9in (2.7m), and its ends were masked, and later overlapped, by existing buildings. Two tile-lined conduits passed through the south end. One was undoubtedly a sewer, from the direction of flow, but the other might have been part of a water main, carrying water into the town from the higher ground to the north-west. It is not clear whether there were one or two passageways, as the masonry had been robbed to below street level; but since it interrupted traffic on a busy street a double arch might have been more logical.¹⁹²

The mention in the preceding paragraph of a water conduit and a sewer can now be elaborated. It seems clear, from the evidence of pipelines within the town, that a source, or sources, of running water was available. The most probable



107 Late-third-century shops (Period III) in Insula XIV (Frere)

approach line for an aqueduct would have been from the north-west, with a source higher up the valley of the River Ver. Pipelines have been found by Wheeler running through the Chester Gate and by Frere through the northern triumphal arch,¹⁹³ as noted above. A number of buildings seem to have received supplies of piped water. One noteworthy example is a large early-third-century house and shop in *Insula* xxviii, where, as a sideline, the owner had built a public lavatory, provided with an attendant, and flushed by two converging water-pipes approaching from the north-west. This lavatory discharged into one of the main sewers, which ran downhill from the south-west part of the town, passing the north-west forum entrance before crossing under the street to resume its course along the edges of *Insulae* xxviii and xiv.¹⁹⁴

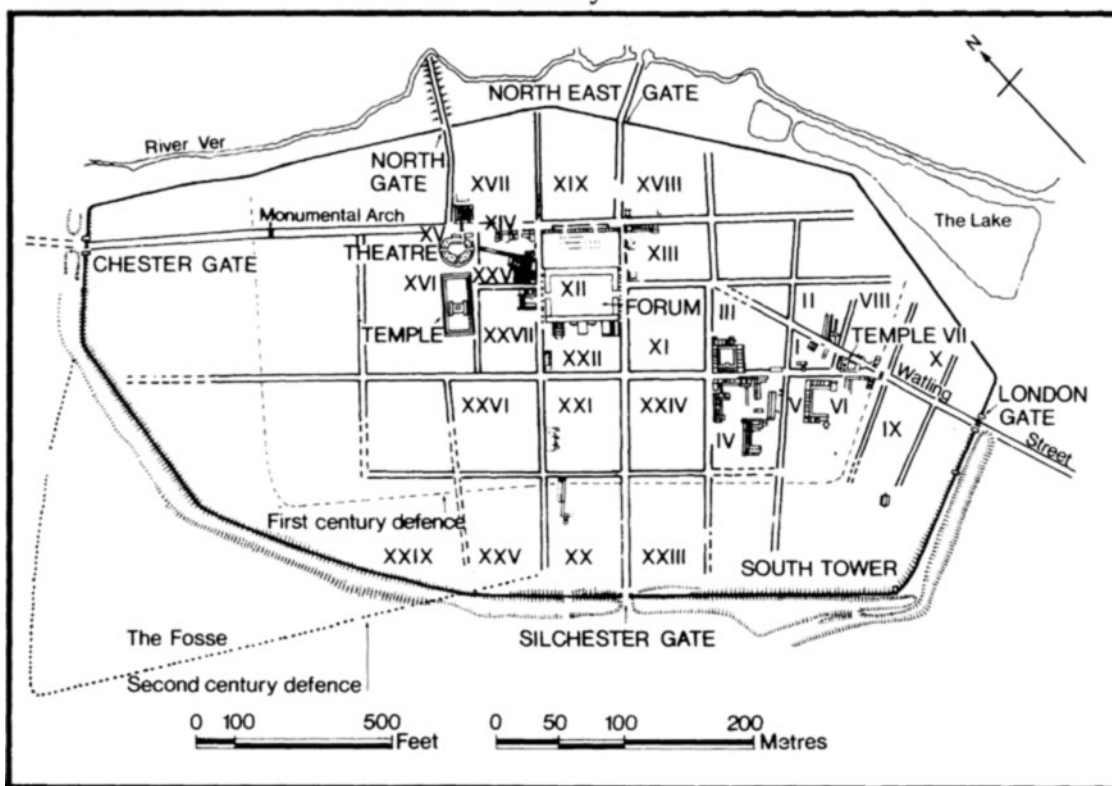
By the middle decades of the third century, therefore, Verulamium was largely composed of substantial houses and shops built with clay, flints, bricks and mortar with tiled roofs; and with more than adequate public buildings and defences. But new building took place when necessary during the third century, and both Wheeler's and Collingwood's views on the town's decay require revision.¹⁹⁵ Even the theatre, despite Miss Kenyon's conclusions, may have continued in desultory use. Nevertheless there was perhaps a lack of confidence engendered even in Britain during the third century, while the progressive inflation may have meant that less money was available for anything other than essential repairs. Yet Verulamium shows a high degree of coin loss in the late third century, possibly indicating enhanced commercial activity. From then on there was a return to a normal spending economy¹⁹⁶ which occurred in the early fourth century, when people once more became interested in erecting new and comparatively useless public monuments, such as the triumphal arch built across Watling Street between the theatre and the macellum.¹⁹⁷ The enlargement of the theatre to take more spectators, and its alteration to bring it yet nearer the classical plan (see fig. 22), might also

be seen as a revival of interest in pastimes and entertainment as opposed to a more severely practical way of life. Its overall diameter was increased to about 185ft (57m) by means of a new exterior wall, 6ft (1.8m) thick, which enclosed a corridor, 9ft (2.7m) wide, between it and the existing wall, now deprived of its buttresses. The orchestra was reduced in size and made less circular.¹⁹⁸ The alterations to the theatre were extended to other buildings in the complex, and both the temple in *Insula* xvi¹⁹⁹ and the macellum in *Insula* xvii were modified in plan.²⁰⁰

This process of renewal rather than repair was extended to many of the town houses and shops. The last quarter of the third century saw the long-vacant site on the corner of *Insula* xiv occupied by masonry shops of entirely different plan from that of their timber forbears. The number was drastically reduced and two separate blocks are clearly distinguishable (fig. 107). One was of particular interest, as it not only contained a deep, timber-lined cellar, but also fragments of a mosaic depicting a lion attacking a stag, not unlike that in Building xxi, 2.²⁰¹

The later fourth century saw continued prosperity at Verulamium, even though some of the larger houses in the peripheral areas show evidence of declining standards (fig. 108). Nevertheless this was not universal to the town, as Wheeler originally conjectured. Frere has shown that the building of palatial courtyard houses with mosaics, painted frescoes and hypocausts was still continuing into the last quarter of the fourth century.²⁰² Public buildings seem to have remained in use, although the theatre was closed late in the century and seems to have become a rubbish tip for the market hall opposite. But the temple connected with the theatre was still apparently being used at the end of the century, with a reorganization in the *temenos* taking place then. Whether or not it was still dedicated to pagan cults, or whether it had been consecrated as a Christian church is not known. A possible church may be represented by an isolated, basilican-type building in *Insula* ix,²⁰³ while another is perhaps

VERULAMIUM Fourth-Century

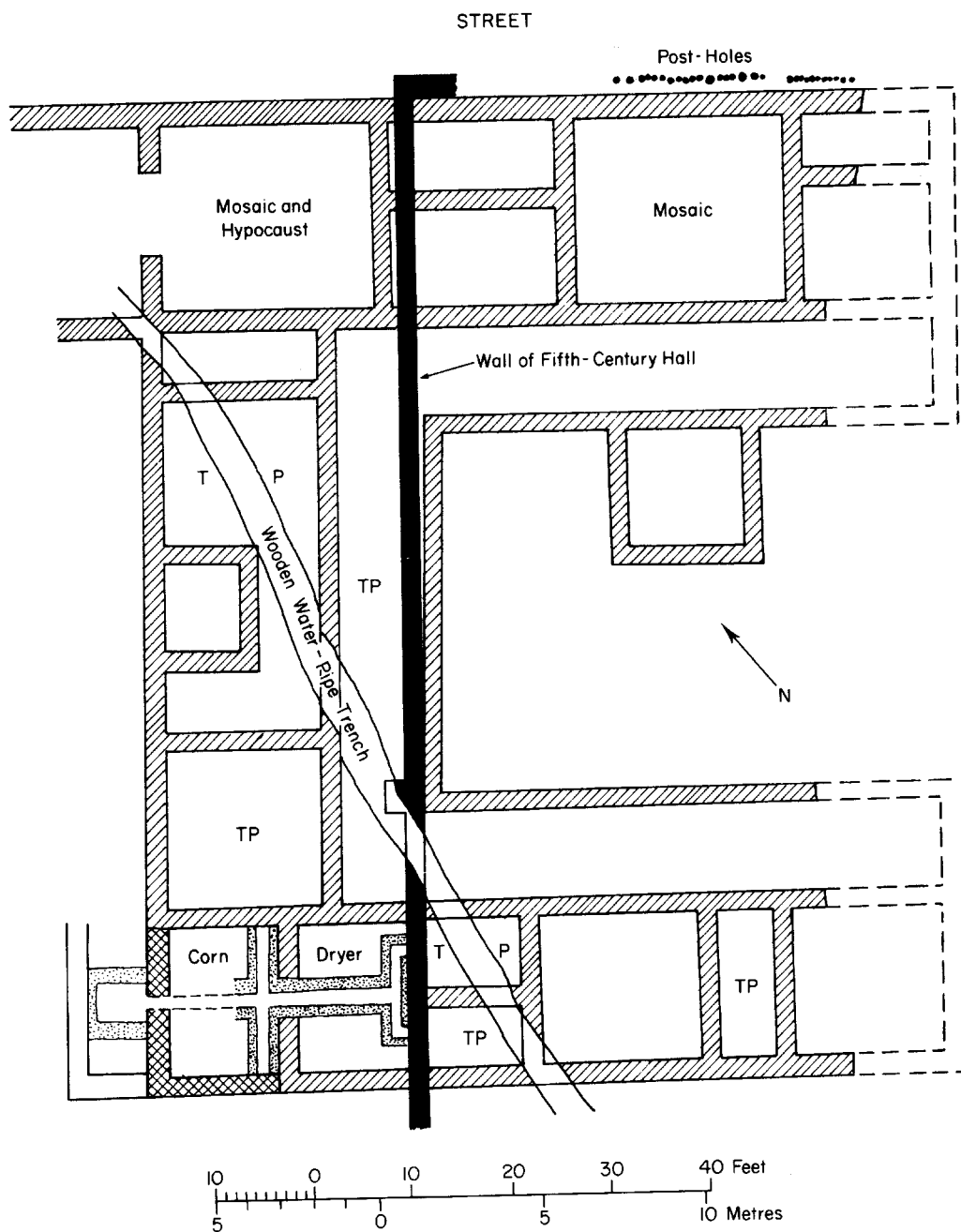


108 Plan of fourth-century Verulamium (after Frere)

indicated by the apsidal building found outside the London Gate in a cemetery area.²⁰⁴ It is not known if the defences were reorganized during the late fourth century to include external towers. Two such towers are known on the southern part of the circuit, but they appear in part to be bonded with the wall,²⁰⁵ The ditch system has some oddities, suggesting more than one attempt at construction, especially in the vicinity of the south corner. Whether this was related to an attempt to provide a full number of bastions cannot yet be decided, but it should be remembered that by no means all towns, even on the continent, were provided with a regular or complete system.

The later history of the town is important for the light it sheds on the fifth century for Britain as a whole. Historically, the item of note is the presumed visit of St Germanus, Bishop of Aux-

erre, to the town in AD 429. Frere's excavations in the area north-west of the forum have now provided evidence of the town to which he came. The building already referred to above, in Insula xxvii, was not constructed before AD 370 (fig. 109). Subsequently it went through various alterations, which included the addition of first-quality mosaics. One of the latter was in use so long that patching was required, before it was cut through for the insertion of a corn-drying oven. This oven saw sufficient use for the stokehole to have been rebuilt. Only then was the whole building demolished and a new masonry barn with substantial, buttressed walls was erected on the site. The original house might be thought not dissimilar in plan to countryside villas of the same period. Its connexion with agriculture is proclaimed by the subsequent insertion of the corn-drier, perhaps

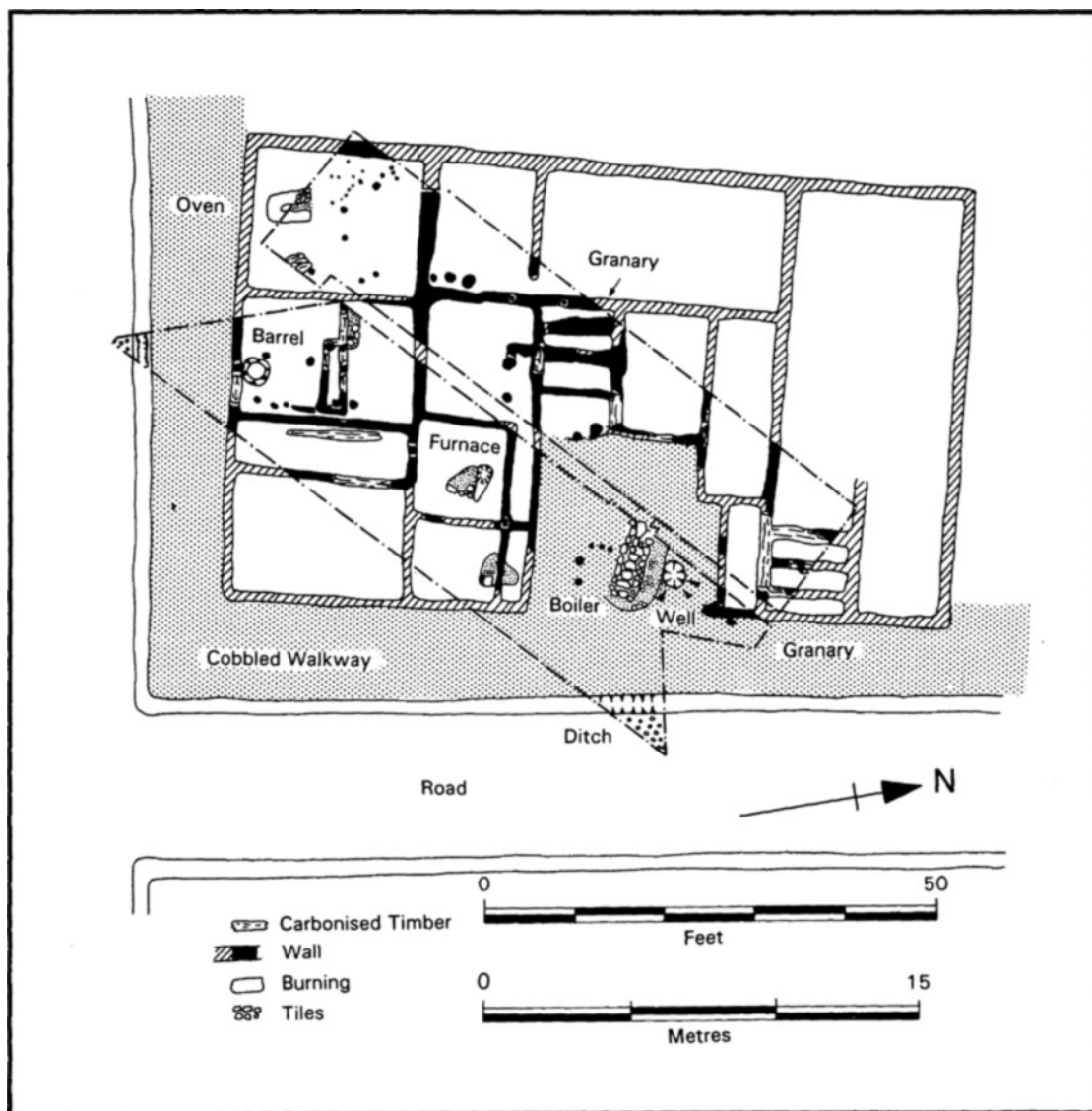


109 Late-fourth-century house in Insula xxvii (after Frere)

caused by the need to bring the crop quickly within the protection of the town walls, That the house was ultimately replaced by a large barn was perhaps no accident. Are we, therefore, dealing with the urban residence of a prosperous farmer, not unlike his almost contemporary counterpart at Cirencester (p. 318)? Frere considered it unlikely, since there was little or no sign of adjacent farm buildings. But the sheaves which were processed in the corn-drier needed to be stored somewhere not too far away, as did the finished grain, and there was plenty of room in the remainder of the insula, much of which remains unexcavated, for timber buildings for this purpose.²⁰⁶ The life of these buildings is not precisely known, but Frere hazards a guess that the sequence of structural phases which have been described would take it perhaps as late as AD 450. Then, with the barn demolished in turn, a wooden water-pipe was laid across the site.²⁰⁷ The latter implies the continued functioning of the town's aqueduct, the survival of the skills necessary for its maintenance and the continued demand for fresh running water. While there is evidence to show that Verulamium remained well populated as a functioning urban unit well into the fifth century, there is a changing pattern of habitation. Houses tend to be more widely spaced and there is a retreat towards the centre, while a return seems to have been made to timber-framed buildings. Both main temples, in Insula XVI and at the junction of Watling Street near the London Gate, may have remained in use, but in what capacity is not known; they may have been no more than rubbish dumps. Little trace, though, has yet been found of the presence of either the late Roman army or the employment of *foederati*. In the southern corner of Insula XIX the floor of a timber-framed building had been let into the surface of a sloping courtyard, after 380. A quantity of late-Roman pottery, as well as a sherd of an amphora imported from the eastern Mediterranean, lay on the floor; these vessels are normally dated to the late fourth or fifth century.²⁰⁸ Another very late succession of large timber-framed buildings was partly

uncovered on the edge of Watling Street in Insula II; they may have extended across the street.²⁰⁹ But perhaps more of these structures have still to be discovered in the southern part of the town, which appears to have decayed earliest. In this context it is worth mentioning the rectangular hut, measuring about 15ft (4.6m) by 12ft (3.7m), which Wheeler found had been constructed over the derelict site of a large house in Insula III.²¹⁰ Unfortunately it contained no contemporary datable objects. The survival of Verulamium until the end of the fifth century or beyond has led Frere to suggest that it was the centre of a Saxon-free enclave,²¹¹ of the type possibly also established round Silchester. In support, he points to the absence of fifth- or early-sixth-century Saxon cremation cemeteries in the area. Only with renewed Saxon pressure in AD 571 did the area finally fall under their domination, by which time the town itself must have been in an advanced state of decay.

So much for the history of the town. However, there are some aspects which do not fit neatly into an historical narrative, since they cut across several phases of development. Some allusions have already been made to trade and industry, especially in connexion with the shops in Insula XIV, where bronzesmiths, blacksmiths and goldsmiths worked. Other bronzesmiths' and blacksmiths' shops have been found in Insula XVIII. Before the second-century fire, the larger shop on the corner (XIV, 1) appears to have been a food shop, judging by the large number of oyster shells associated with it.²¹² A wine shop, or perhaps only a wine cellar, was indicated by scratches on the walls of the cellar of an extra-mural building over the river. The scratches were no doubt formed by the pointed ends of amphorae when they were being rolled along the floor. Wheeler also found evidence of iron working, in the form of slag, below the Triangular Temple. The same temple produced evidence for the import of Italian pine-cones as sacred, aromatic fuel for the deity. A butcher's shop was indicated in an early-fourth-century building in Insula III, where dismembered



110 Industrial premises in Insula XIII (Niblett)

joints from aged horses had been stripped of their flesh before burial.²¹³ It was considered that the meat was turned into sausages on the spot, and it is worth remembering that various types of salami are still made from horse, donkey or mule flesh. A possible fulling shop may explain the existence of certain cement-lined tanks in a building in Insula v.²¹⁴ One interesting building in the corner of Insula XIII exhibited a continuity of industrial use

between the mid first and fourth centuries, although it had been rebuilt a number of times, each time on much the same alignments; the earlier phases were of timber, but later the timber frame was raised on masonry foundations (fig. 110). It contained, in all phases, numerous hearths, of which one at least had been used for metal-working; another may have supported a dyeing vat. When burnt in the Antonine fire, quantities of

stored grain had been consumed, and two small rooms, both with parallel underfloor cross walls, were probably granaries. It also possessed a well in the entrance courtyard.²¹⁵ Elsewhere, leather-working and tanning may be suggested by a number of pits found outside the north-eastern part of the town, presumably placed there to isolate the unpleasant smell. There is also ample evidence for the carriage of British and foreign stones to Verulamium both for decorative and utilitarian purposes: Carrara marble, Rutland and Oxfordshire oolite, Purbeck marble, Collyweston slates.

Somewhere near at hand there must have been a considerable factory for the manufacture of tile and brick, but except for isolated kilns at St Stephens, Park Street and Elstree, it remains so far unlocated. The use of yellow bricks during the early second century is noteworthy. Large flint and chalk quarries must likewise have existed on the fringes of the Chilterns. Some pottery kilns have been found close to Verulamium, and pottery manufacture was also carried on at Radlett and Brockley Hill; others will no doubt be found. Pottery was, however, brought in from more distant places and in the fourth century particularly from the Nene Valley and the Thames regions.

Three more Romano-Celtic temples, one in Insula xxi and two in Insula xvii, have now been added by aerial photography to the four temples previously known but little more can usefully be said about the religious practices or beliefs of the inhabitants. A Mithraic token was found in a mid-second-century context below Building iv, 1. It had been made from a denarius of Augustus.²¹⁶ Although unique it helps little in deciding if there was a Mithraeum in the town, as it was undoubtedly a personal possession, but a jar depicting Mithras, Hercules and Mercury found on the site of the market hall²¹⁷ might strengthen the possibility. Of interest also on the religious scene was the finding of two domestic shrines or *aediculae* in one of the Hadrianic-Antonine shops in Insula xiv.²¹⁸ Another interesting aspect of the

superstitious beliefs was afforded by the finding of large numbers of coins, metal objects and pottery in the late-fourth-century flood plain north-east of the River Ver, which had formed after the artificial embankment, constructed in the early third century, had been overwhelmed. Although these objects were mixed with domestic rubbish, they had perhaps been deposited as offerings to the river gods.²¹⁹

Despite the probable continuance of pagan customs and superstitions, Verulamium appears to have contained a largely Christian community by the late fourth century; as nowadays, there appears to be nothing incompatible in this conjunction. St Alban had been martyred here as early as the beginning of the third century,²²⁰ and, by the late Roman period, a *martyrium* had been established on the site of his martyrdom. This has always been thought to lie on the extra-mural hill overlooking the town, where the present Abbey Church stands. But recent excavations on the site of its medieval shrine have shown no sign of a Roman predecessor, which must clearly be sought elsewhere.²²¹ But the brand of Christianity then being practised at Verulamium was a heresy: Pelagianism. It was to combat this heretical doctrine that St Germanus first visited Britain in 429, and it was his biographer, Constantius, who recorded the saint's visit to the shrine.²²² Despite the failure to find St Alban's *martyrium*, a number of late-Roman cremation burials have been found in the area of the abbey, indicating the presence of a cemetery in which the new burial rite of the incoming Germanic peoples was beginning to assert itself.

Not a great deal is yet known in detail of other cemeteries. A major one existed outside the London Gate, where some tombs were constructed of brick and flint masonry,²²³ and it extended as far south along Watling Street as St Stephens.²²⁴ Others are known to have existed in the area of the lake in the modern park, and outside the Chester Gate. Dr Stead has excavated a major cemetery beyond the Silchester Gate, but most of the burials belonged to the pre-Roman

period. Nevertheless one Roman burial produced a silver mirror.²²⁵ Another largely unpublished cemetery of the late fourth century existed over the river to the north.

Stead also found evidence for ribbon development along the Silchester road until the time when the town was walled.²²⁶ Another large building over the river to the north-east had been burnt in the third century, but had previously possessed a cellar or vault (p. 238 above). Suburbs existed in this area and also beyond the London Gate.

Another extra-mural work of interest is the artificial bank, already mentioned above, which originally flanked the River Ver to the north-east. It suggests that the river was to some extent guided in its flow by a revetment of clay, and it is possible that this was done in order to harness it for driving millwheels.²²⁷ Road widening at the foot of Holywell Hill revealed a masonry foundation close to the present river course, which has not probably changed a great deal just here; the foundation may have belonged to a mill.²²⁸ It is probable that the river was also used for transporting goods, and the existence of a wharf at the Park Street villa, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles (3.6km) downstream, might suggest that agricultural products were brought up to the town in this way.

Although the Catuvellaunian civitas was well populated with villas, they tended to be distributed mainly in the sector south and west of

Watling Street, with a marked concentration on the Chilterns. Only one, at Gorhambury, a little under a mile (1100m) almost due west of the Chester Gate, lay close to the town, while there appears to be a marked absence of them east of Watling Street. This may indicate that a fair number of landowners lived in and operated their estates from the town, and it might point to the territorium of the municipium – if it possessed one. The villa at Gorhambury was founded upon the site of an Iron Age farm (p. 217), but that is not to argue that there was necessarily continuity of ownership. The first masonry buildings appear on the site *c.* 100 and, while it never achieved the palatial sumptuousness of some of the villas in the Cotswolds, it developed ultimately into a commodious and comfortable house. Its demise, though, appears to have been rapid and it was razed in the mid-fourth century.²²⁹ Another, almost the same distance from the town as Gorhambury, lies at Childwickbury on the opposite side of the River Ver. The third nearest villa at Park Street lies $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles (3.6km) south of the town. This was an extensive site with a long history of occupation again going back before the conquest. It may have been, as Mrs O'Neill suggested, a grain-producing centre, with its markets primarily in the nearby town. It certainly achieved a high level of prosperity in the fourth century, when it reached its maximum extent with numerous ancillary buildings in the area.²³⁰



FROM CLIENT KINGDOM TO CIVITAS

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH, CHICHESTER, SILCHESTER,
WINCHESTER

The system whereby Rome encouraged friendly contact, and made treaties, with neighbouring kings had its roots in the Republic.¹ There grew from this system a series of 'special relationships' with local rulers outside and sometimes even within the provinces, so that Roman influence was often extended beyond occupied areas. There grew also a tendency to view these rulers as clients of the Roman state, from which protection could be obtained, but to which obedience was due, although much depended on the strength of individual rulers. Under the principate, the policies followed by different emperors varied considerably. For instance, a client kingdom could be maintained for administrative convenience and the acceptance, by Claudius, of two British tribal states, the Iceni and the southern Atrebates, as client kingdoms is probably best seen in this light. The possible acceptance of a third, the Brigantes, would have been partly for the same reason, but more to help strengthen and stabilize the northern frontier. Manpower economy was therefore a desirable secondary benefit. The establishment of more formal frontiers under the principate usually led to the suppression of kingdoms inside the provinces, while those outside were sometimes

maintained for security reasons. In the latter class, outside the province, we may put the Brigantes and much later, perhaps the Votadini. It is difficult, however, to classify the Iceni, but from a passage in Tacitus, it would appear that they were first treated as a kingdom outside the province.² The Atrebates must surely have been within it.

A strong contrast therefore exists in the different ways that the imperial government first coped with the problems of civil administration in Britain. The contrast admirably demonstrates the versatility of the Roman approach, which often accepted and maintained what was workable in local affairs, and adapted what was not. So we find only a few years after the invasion, a client kingdom within the province and two more outside it, existing alongside the three newly constituted civitates. Although subject to military intervention by the governor, usually as a last resort in cases of open defiance or external invasion, the kingdoms probably suffered much less interference in their internal affairs than the civitates. An example of direct intervention by the governor seems to have been the disarming of suspects by Ostorius Scapula and the 'reduction' of territory as far as the rivers Trent and Severn, which started a minor revolt among the Iceni.³ The 'reduction of territory' might be seen as the bringing of the Iceni inside the province, a step

which they resented, as they clearly considered that it infringed the independence which they thought still belonged to them. Another example was the military intervention in Brigantia in support of Cartimandua (p. 401). Ultimately all internal kingdoms in Britain were suppressed: the Iceni after the death of Prasutagus in AD 59 or 60, the Atrebates after the death of Cogidubnus in the Flavian period, when his kingdom was split into two or possibly three civitates, and the Brigantes after their occupation during the governorship of Agricola.

Considered in historical order, however, the civitas Icenorum, with its capital at Caistor-by-Norwich, must first claim our attention.

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH

(Otherwise Caistor St Edmund) (*Venta Icenorum*)

The site selected for the civitas capital of the Iceni seems to bear little relationship to any pre-Roman settlements. Allen's and others' work on the native coinage has shown that the main concentrations lie in the Breckland area, around Bury St Edmunds and Thetford, and in west Norfolk along the Icknield Way. A further concentration exists in the Caistor region and Icenian coins have been found under the centre of the later Roman town, to the west over the River Tas and also to the east outside the town.⁴ Moreover, Allen has concluded that, at the time of the Roman invasion, the main part of the tribe was ruled by a man whose name, derived from his coins, was probably Antedios, although at least three separate regional organizations can be distinguished within his kingdom. The Iceni seem to have led a somewhat isolated existence. Few of their coins from the pre-conquest period travelled outside the Norfolk region. This perhaps reflects their resistance to Catuvellaunian aggression. On the arrival of Claudius they surrendered, and according to Tacitus regarded themselves as the allies of Rome.⁵ In return they were acknowledged as a client state. It might be argued from subsequent

events that no clear understanding of their obligations to Rome was impressed upon them, from which we might draw the conclusion that no formal treaty was drawn up. The Iceni clearly thought that, in return for tribute and the supply of army recruits, they had retained their full independence. Such was not the case, as they were soon to learn. The arbitrary action of Ostorius Scapula, as it must have seemed to them, provided a rude awakening as to the true state of affairs. The abortive revolt was crushed and it is probable that Antedios was removed in favour of Prasutagus. It is also possible that Antedios ruled from a centre near Thetford, where the recent discovery of a remarkable religious enclosure may be linked with his 'capital'. Nearby was found a large hoard of late-Roman gold and silver jewellery and other objects, suggesting the continuing importance of the site through the Roman period.⁶ If there was a temple here, it was probably dedicated to the Italian god Faunus. In contrast, Prasutagus could have had his centre near Norwich, thus helping to explain the ultimate choice of site for the civitas capital.

Prasutagus was a man of renowned wealth and obvious philo-Roman outlook. To what extent he owed his command over the whole tribe to his wife Boudicca we cannot say, but her later behaviour would point to a considerable power behind the throne. Apart from the ever-present possibility of intervention of the governor, the administration of the tribe seems to have been left entirely in the hands of Prasutagus and his advisers. They were allowed to continue minting their own coins, although none appear with Prasutagus' name on them. There is little sign of a Roman military presence and very little indication of Romanization. As yet, no new tribal centre seems to have been considered.

Prasutagus seems to have been successful in controlling the tribe. He also seems partly to have appreciated the external political situation, since he included Nero in his will, although he showed less realization of the changing views in Rome with regard to client kings. In consequence his

death, in AD 59 or 60, started a chain of events in which Rome nearly lost the British province.

The general course of the Boudiccan rebellion is well known.⁷ What is not quite so well understood is the reason why the Romans behaved as they did, even allowing for their natural arrogance in such a situation. It is equally obvious that not all the arrogance was on their side. It is important to remember also the attitude of Nero who, if Suetonius is to be believed,⁸ often seized the entire estates of those who had been 'so ungrateful' as not to leave enough to him in their wills. In another comment Suetonius makes it appear that even half an estate was considered insufficient. Can we therefore blame, even if we cannot excuse, the wretched Catus Decianus, always branded as the villain of the piece, or his officers who were simply following his example, if they were only carrying out somewhat harshly the instructions of their imperial master?

In the aftermath of the rebellion, Decianus was replaced as procurator by Julius Classicianus. We need not dwell too long on his supposed liberality towards the rebels, as it was undoubtedly coloured by self-interest. Apart from his personal animosity to Suetonius Paullinus, of which Tacitus speaks, his motives in attempting to have the governor recalled were otherwise entirely practical. He saw future imperial revenues dwindling to vanishing point in the punitive campaign which followed the rebellion, at a time when Nero was becoming most demanding. Paullinus was doing no more than many other generals did in similar circumstances. In victory the rebels had given no quarter; they should have expected none in defeat. If this had been no part of Paullinus' duty, it would have been unnecessary to create a trumped-up charge for his recall.

It is worthwhile pondering the unenviable position in which Classicianus must have found himself when he arrived in Britain. He probably faced two main tasks: to secure the revenues normally paid as taxes, and to recover what was left of Nero's share of Prasutagus' will. Land

would no doubt have been included in the terms, but Nero needed cash, if slightly later references are to be believed.⁹ We shall never know how much of the original share was rescued from the wreck, but it must be doubtful if Nero immediately profited to any great extent. Allen has suggested that the large number of coins, which ended the Icenian series and which were often struck from broken dies, were made either in part to pay reparations to Rome, or in part to pay Boudicca's troops.¹⁰ The latter would seem most likely, as the former operation would surely have been most strictly controlled and few coins would have escaped into general circulation.

The after-effects of the rebellion will have been twofold. Almost a complete generation of men of marriageable and procreative age would have been wiped out in battle while poverty, starvation and slavery will have reduced the number of survivors. It seems doubtful whether the population could have been restored to its original level within a generation, if indeed it ever was. It is interesting to compare the similarity between Caistor-by-Norwich and Caerwent, the capital of the Silures (p. 378). Unlike the rebellious Iceni in their previous history under Roman rule, the Silures had from the first dissipated their strength by continuous hostility, until finally conquered by Frontinus. The two capitals were very similar in their later size and plan. It might be said that both towns, as the result of earlier vicissitudes and due to the impoverishment of their aristocracies, missed the great period of Flavian development and never fully made up the lost ground.

This is the background to the foundation of the civitas capital at Caistor-by-Norwich. No permanent military occupation seems to have been imposed on the tribe after the rebellion, although garrisons were no doubt kept in their territory for a time, and a number of forts, possibly of the post-Boudiccan period, have now been discovered, often close to Iron Age sites, such as those at Swanton Morley and Soham Tony. Yet it is difficult to see how a properly constituted civitas

can have emerged immediately. There would have been few suitable surviving candidates for magistracies or council. In the circumstances, the appointment of a praefectus civitatis to rule the tribe during the next critical years would have been a wise choice by Petronius Turpilianus. It has been mentioned above (p. 243) that a main Icenian centre almost certainly lay in the Norwich area, where there is a concentration of Iron Age material, including coin hoards and metalwork; this site could have been chosen as an administrative centre by a prefect. Certainly we can conclude that something which was probably not a fort, must have attracted to the site the agglomeration of native dwellings which appear in the early Flavian period. We might hazard a guess that it was the residence of the praefectus.

Aerial photographs (figs 111a, b) have shown that a widespread network of streets extended far beyond the later defences on the north, east and south sides. Some are obvious extensions of the rectangular street grid. There is, however, a remarkable concentration of streets which appear to radiate from a point outside the north-east corner and not all of which conform to the grid. It is also in this area that early pottery and coins have been found. Here, we might suspect, lay the nucleus of the earliest town, and here possibly also lay the earliest administrative buildings. The site is now occupied by the grounds of Caistor Hall. Excavations there during the last century revealed part of a late-third- or early-fourth-century house, but unfortunately little else.¹¹ The main street grid has been dated to *c.* AD 70, but no evidence has yet been produced for the streets in the north-east quarter, which might possibly be slightly earlier.

To judge by the extent of the street grid, the early town was intended to be of considerable size, covering an area more than twice as great as that which was later included within the walls (fig. 112). However, it is not yet known if all the peripheral streets belong to the same early period. The provision of streets seems to have been the only major development during the Flavian

period, presumably because the Iceni were still too impoverished to pay for large public buildings. The only buildings so far known to have existed at this stage were simple timber structures, but only slight traces of buildings were found on the site of the forum, and none on that of the baths, suggesting that the sites were from the first largely reserved. An open space would have served quite adequately as a market place and gathering ground during the preliminary years, and it was not seemingly until the principate of Hadrian, when, perhaps spurred on by a visit of the emperor in person, a more substantial building appeared on the forum site, although there is nothing to show that it was itself a forum.¹² Excavations carried out by the late Professor Donald Atkinson between 1930–3 uncovered both the forum and the baths, although no full account was ever published by him. Recently, however, Frere, working from Atkinson's notes, has produced as sensible an account as is ever likely to appear in print.¹³

The forum lay in, but did not occupy the whole of, Insula x, which itself was near the centre of the later walled town (fig. 113). It seems to have been built in the Antonine period, and possibly replaced an earlier, Hadrianic building. It was not entirely symmetrical in shape. The basilica was on the west side of the forum and had only one aisle along its eastern length. It was situated at a higher level than the piazza and was approached by three flights of steps. Behind the aisle, just over 12ft (3.7m) wide, was the main hall, 30ft (9.1m) wide and 177ft (54m) long. At the south end of the hall was a room, perhaps the curia, of the same width, which added another 32½ft (9.8m) to the overall length, and which appears to have projected beyond the south forum wing. A wall, 16ft (4.9m) from the north end, demarcated a space which was probably a tribunal. Two small, heated rooms had been built against the west wall of the basilica at this point, and were probably offices. Yet another room, probably a shrine, approximately 20ft (6.1m) by 24ft (7.3m) projected from the west wall



and had been placed almost symmetrically opposite the central flight of steps from the forum piazza. The west wall of the basilica was provided with external buttresses, which probably correspond with the intercolumniation inside.

The forum piazza was approximately 100ft (30m) square and was surrounded on the three sides away from the basilica by an internal colonnade, which was rather wider on the north

and south sides than on the east. Behind the two wider colonnades were single, long halls, although on the east side a range of eight rooms was divided in half by the main entrance. Evidence for an external portico was found on the north and east sides, but a single wall projecting southwards near the south-east corner might suggest that the plan in this area was incomplete. The cost of the building seems to have been reduced by using



111 Aerial photos of Caistor-by-Norwich (a) (left) from the south, showing the town, early ditches and amphitheatre in the bottom left-hand corner of the centre field; (b) (above) east of the town wall showing early ditches and streets (*Derek Edwards and Norfolk Museums Services*)

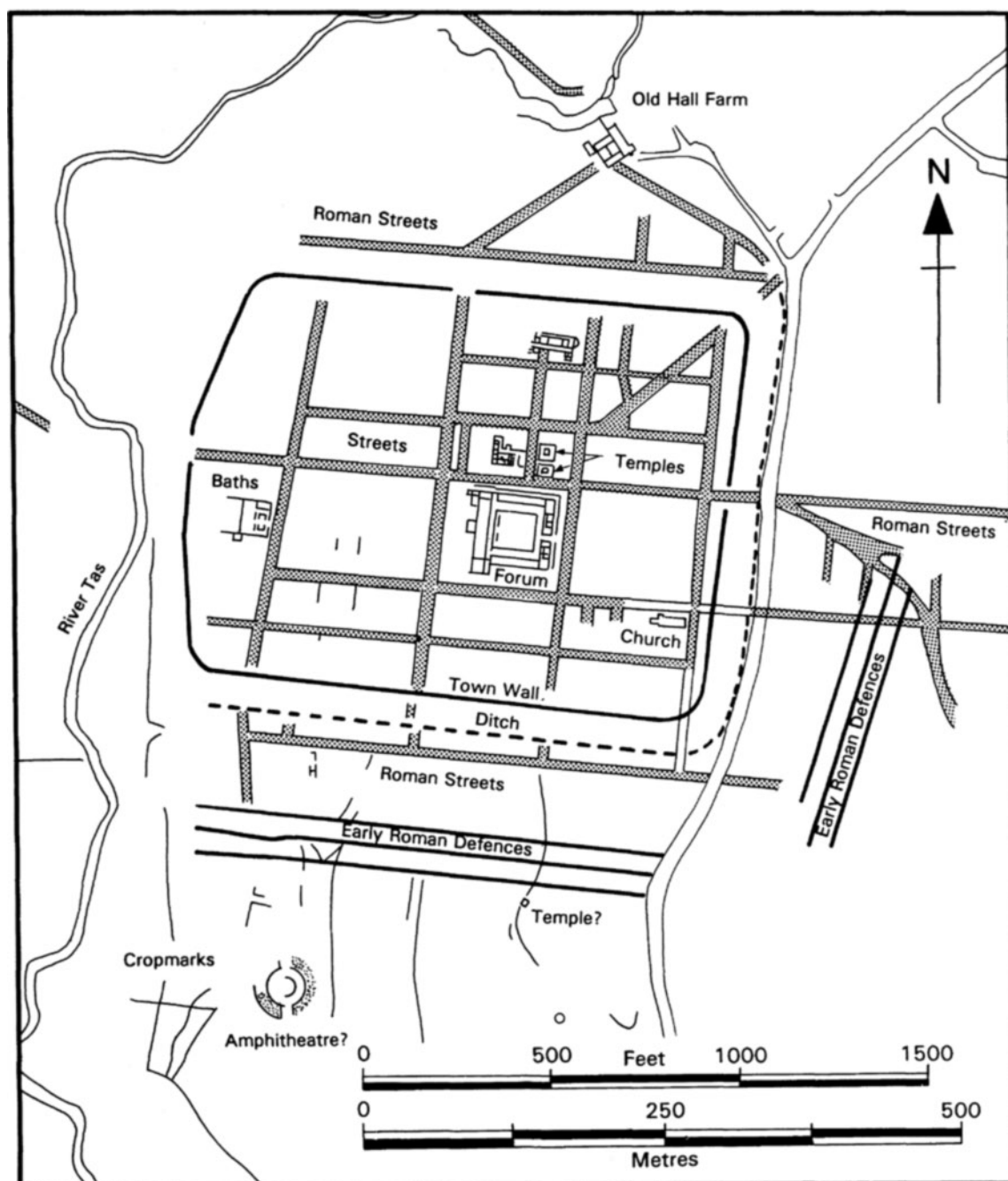
brick and flint only for the main walls of the basilica and the north wall of the forum. Elsewhere a combination of chalk blocks and unfired clay bricks was used, with the latter being laid on flint sleeper walls.

The baths, in *Insula xvii*, not far from the west gate, appear to be of the same date as the forum, being built in the Antonine period.¹⁴ So far only the eastern end of the building has been excavated (see fig. 11), which contained a partly covered palaestra with a single entrance from the street to the east. From it, three doors gave access to the frigidarium, which ran the full width of the building, while beyond lay the tepidarium. A

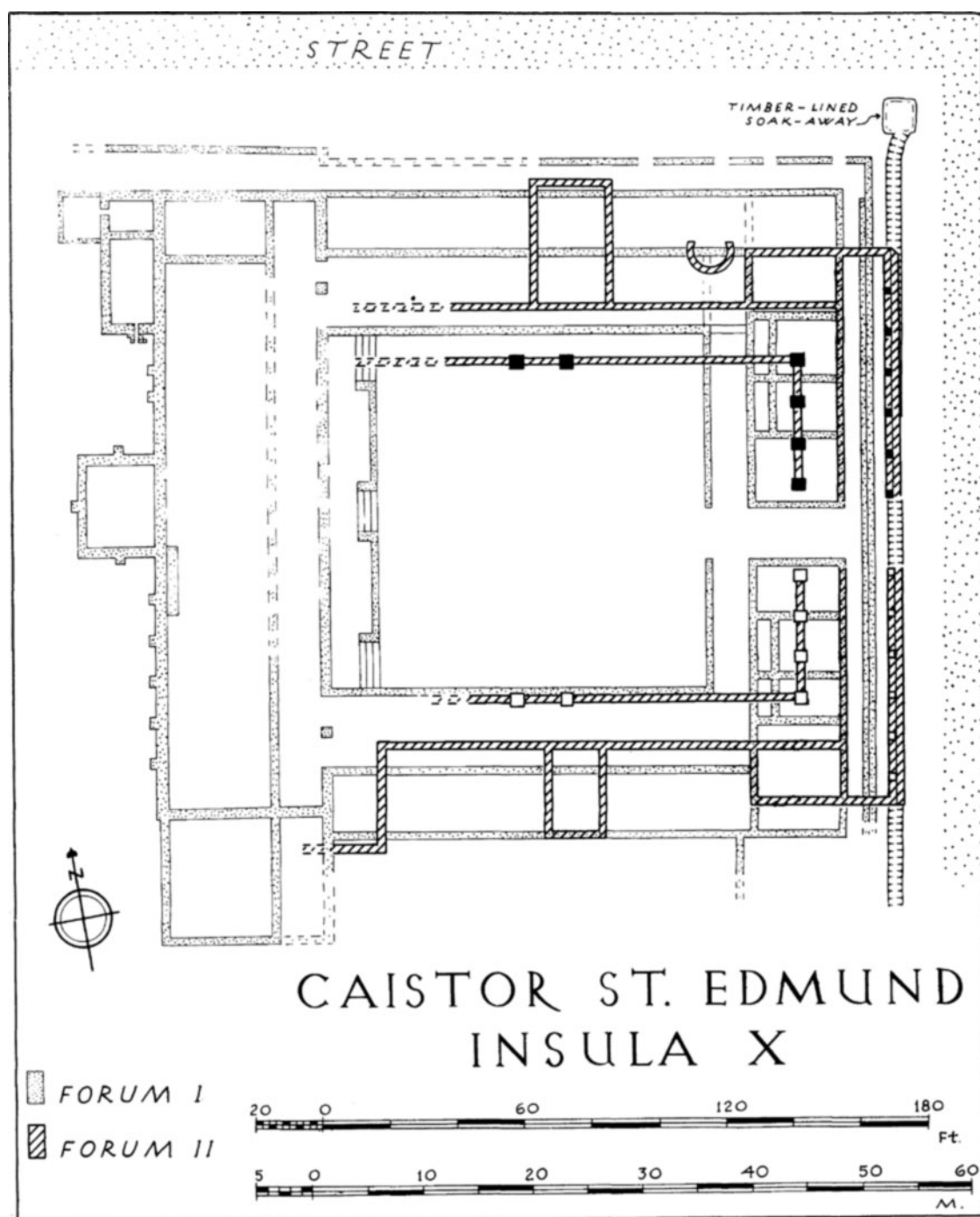
circular laconicum, enclosed within a square outer wall, was situated on the south side of the building at the junction of the tepidarium and frigidarium. The frigidarium had a tessellated floor. North of the palaestra was yet another rectangular room which may have served as a dressing room or a latrine.

The only other public building known at Caistor has been discovered recently by aerial photography¹⁵ (fig. 111a). It appears, on superficial examination, to be an amphitheatre, and it lies about 100yd (90m) south of the early town defences towards their west end. The long axis is orientated north-south. Closer examination of

CAISTOR ST EDMUND



112 Plan of Caistor-by-Norwich (after Norwich Castle Museum)



the photographs, though, shows a perimeter wall on the east side but apparently not on the west, and the crop mark indicates that the whole area would appear to have been deeply excavated, presumably to form the seating banks; the long axis measures c. 150ft (46m), which is small. It is possible, therefore, that this photograph shows, not a typical amphitheatre, but the outlines of a Romano-Celtic theatre, or else only the area of the arena.

Several Romano-Celtic temples are known. Two lie in Insula ix immediately north of the forum.¹⁶ Although nearly identical in size they were by no means identical in superstructure, as that nearer the forum had much thicker walls than the other. Both seem to have been built during the last half of the second century, although they need not have been strictly contemporary. There was no indication of a temenos, but the northernmost temple was approached over a gravel yard from the street to the east. Another temple, possibly with Iron Age antecedents and situated in its own precinct, is known outside the walled area, east of Caistor Hall.¹⁷ Near it was found a small bronze bust, reputedly of Geta.¹⁸ The latter seems to belong to a similarly inspired series of small bronze busts from the Fens.¹⁹ They are normally identified as emperors but may represent gods. A miniature votive axe, like those from Woodeaton, Oxon.,²⁰ has also come from the town. A more recent discovery made near the east gate was a bronze saucepan handle carrying a boldly executed figure of Mercury. Another possible extramural temple or shrine, south of the town walls, has also been identified in the same aerial photograph (fig. 111a) as the amphitheatre. Also of interest in a religious context is the lead *defixio*, or curse, found²¹ outside the town to the west on the bank of the River Tas, wherein it had probably been deposited. It describes a formidable list of stolen goods and seeks the help of Neptune in recovering them. Foremost among them is a wreath, but of what kind or function is, unfortunately, not stated.

There is some evidence of a water supply and

sewerage system. Part of the channel of a wooden water-pipe was found in 1938 outside the walled area in the paddock of Caistor Hall,²² but it is not yet known if it was fed from an aqueduct, although the existence of the baths might imply one; if so, it probably came from the west. Careful examination of the aerial photographs²³ of Professor St Joseph shows a number of clear-cut dark lines, sometimes running down the centres of streets, like that heading for the west gate, or sometimes nearer the verges. It seems likely that these represent a system of sewers, perhaps originally constructed of timber and similar to one known at Cirencester (p. 319). An indication of their size and depth is given by the discovery of one such drain east of the forum, which was 6ft (1.8m) wide at the top, had a depth of nearly 4ft (1.2m), and which drained into a timber-lined sump at the north-east corner of the building.²⁴ A well-organized system of sewers of this type, especially on a quick draining site such as Caistor, might add to the suspicion, already voiced above, that there was a supply of running water from an aqueduct.

In the same aerial photographs, referred to above, three parallel ditches can be seen enclosing the street grid south of the walled town. A new sequence of photographs (see figs 111a and b) has now shown that these ditches clearly continue round the east side, although the south-east corner itself is hardly visible. Superficially, they appear to interrupt some of the earlier streets, and therefore should postdate the foundation of the town. It has been suggested alternatively that they may represent the outline of a legionary fortress of the pre-, or immediately post-, Boudican period; the area enclosed is an appropriate size, and legionary equipment has been found at Caistor. But a campaign camp would have been the more likely foundation in the aftermath of Boudicca, and this would normally have had only a single ditch. Certainly it is difficult to envisage the establishment of a full-sized legionary fortress here, with no less than three ditches, especially as a lengthy occupation cannot have been

contemplated. The army, or what was left of it after the rebellion, was already fully extended with a major Welsh campaign, even if it was some time before it was resumed. It is better to suppose, therefore, that these ditches belonged to a phase of the town defences earlier than the masonry wall and enclosing a larger area. As yet they have not been examined by excavation, a study which is overdue, but if they indeed represent earthwork defences of the town, then it is probable that they belong to the period towards the end of the second century when such fortifications were being constructed for other towns over a wide area (p. 71). Yet there is some slight reason for disquiet over this explanation. There are only very few instances where civil earthwork fortifications had more than one ditch, and where there were two or more they were normally placed close together whereas at Caistor they are at least 25ft (7.6m) apart. Moreover, there are no signs of breaks in the ditches for entrances, although this difficulty could have been overcome by the use of bridges, which were in fact used on the later defences at the south gate.

The construction of more permanent fortifications does not seem to have been undertaken at least until the third century, when a much smaller area of 35 acres (14ha) was enclosed. Atkinson excavated sections on both north and south walls and identified the site of the south gate, as well as a number of external towers on the south and west sides.²⁵ He found the wall on the south side to be 12ft (3.7m) wide at foundation level. Excavations in 1987–9²⁶ on the eastern half of the north wall, before consolidation work took place, showed the wall there to be still standing to parapet level at a height of 13ft (4m). The stump of the parapet survived to a height of 2½ft (0.7m) above the wall-walk which was 7ft (2.1m) wide. This is one of the very rare instances in Britain where a town wall survives to such a height (but see Canterbury, p. 198), partly, we might suspect, because there was no medieval rebuilding. The overall thickness here was 13ft (4m). At one point in this length of wall there appeared to be a break in its continuity

which coincided with the line of an internal street; it might be the site of a minor gate, since the main north gate probably lies further west. If there is a gate at this point it suggests the maintenance of a right-of-way to the concentration of extra-mural streets near the north-east corner, and could, therefore, have implications for the importance of this area in the early town (p. 245). The bank was found to be contemporary with the wall in all cases. Beyond the wall was a berm about 15ft (4.6m) wide and a single ditch about 80ft (24m) wide and 17ft (5.2m) deep.

The south gate consisted of a single opening 13ft (4m) wide set between curved returns of the curtain wall (fig. 114). The entrance passage was 13ft (4m) deep with arches 2½ft (762mm) wide at each end. Socket-holes for double doors were observed in the masonry. It seems likely that there would have been a single tower over the entrance, similar to that over the north-east gate at Colchester (p. 121). The passage was flanked by square guardrooms which were entered from the rampart sides, while a small arched culvert ran out through the curtain wall beside the east guardroom (see fig. 32). Entrance to the guardrooms ultimately became blocked by accumulating earth and rubbish. Nothing is yet known of the structures of the other gates, of which there seems to have been at least one set in each wall. Unlike the south gate the east gate was approached by a causeway across the ditch.

Some problems still remain to be resolved about the external bastions. Where bastions exist at other towns, they are normally additions made to the fortifications during the fourth century. There is, however, a photograph in Atkinson's unpublished records which shows one of the bastions apparently bonded with the curtain wall, which might imply that they were contemporary. But Dr Stephen Johnson, in a reappraisal of the photograph, considered a bond unlikely. Moreover, recent excavations on the north wall have revealed a possible square bastion not bonded with the wall. Nevertheless it should be remembered that it is easier to create a bond



114 The south defensive wall looking east. The modern ramp in the right foreground marks the position of the south gate (*Wacher*)

between new and old masonry when the materials used are flint and brick, as they are here, than it is with good quality ashlar. An alternative solution might, however, be considered. Two shapes of bastion have been identified: rectangular alternating with semicircular. Venta Icenorum is therefore the only town so far known in Britain to have been fitted out with two types of bastions. It might therefore be suggested that the one series of bastions belongs to the first phase of masonry fortifications, while the second series were additions. Unfortunately, even now this does not solve finally the problems relating to the date of construction, and the answer is only to be sought in fresh, careful excavation.

Late in the second or early in the third century, a serious fire seems to have destroyed the baths and the forum, which had earlier been damaged by

fire. The latter was not immediately rebuilt and the site was left in a derelict state; most building remains had been obliterated by the end of the third century. Only then did rebuilding take place. As yet, it is difficult to see why the Caistor site should have been left derelict for so long, even if its rebuilding implies an ultimate return of civic pride, backed up, presumably, by adequate financial resources. When rebuilt the plan (see fig. 113) was noticeably different from the earlier, and rarely did the two coincide. The size of the piazza was a little reduced on the north side, but internal ambulatories were retained. The east wing, now robbed of its external colonnade, seems to have consisted of a long hall-like structure, bisected by the main entrance into the piazza. Additional rooms extended westwards from this wing for short distances at each end. Approximately in the

middle of the north and south wings were single rooms projecting back from the ambulatories; that on the north side was slightly larger, and that on the south contained an oven. The steps leading up to the basilica from the piazza were now covered by a gravel ramp. Unfortunately, the higher level on which the basilica was placed had resulted in the foundations being entirely removed by ploughing, so that Atkinson was unable to trace its plan. It would seem also that other parts of the later forum were not entirely recorded, as isolated remnants of walls feature on the plan.

Only three domestic buildings, other than the wattle and daub structures referred to above, have so far been excavated within the walls. Two of these lay north of the forum in Insula ix and were separated by only a narrow space.²⁷ Both were probably built in the early years of the third century. At some later date, possibly about AD 300, both houses seem to have been united, and in the area occupied originally by the north end of Building 1, a number of furnaces, hearths, rough floors and walls were constructed. This part of the premises was used for the manufacture of glass, apparently on a fairly large scale,²⁸ at least until the middle of the fourth century.

Other industrial remains are scarce. Evidence for a bronze-working furnace was found in the paddock of Caistor Hall,²⁹ but there was no indication of the type of goods manufactured. At least four pottery kilns were found beneath the third-century house in Insula vii.³⁰ They were active from the Trajanic to the early Antonine period.

It is possible that Caistor lay on the fringe of a notable sheep-grazing area and that a principal industry was the preparation and sale of woollen goods. A large iron wool-comb comes from the site itself, while others are known at Worlington and Ixworth to the south. Manning has suggested that these combs were of a type to be associated with manufacture on a scale larger than the purely domestic and that they should be considered in the same context as the great cloth-knapping shears from Great Chesterford. He further makes

the suggestion³¹ that Caistor may be the Venta of the *Notitia Dignitatum*,³² with its *procurator gynaeceii*, or manager of a state weaving-works. While an attractive suggestion, it is still far from being proved, despite other slight evidence adduced by Manning to support it. More recently, however, Wild has pointed out that, of the three towns in Britain with the name Venta, Caistor has the weakest claim to be that mentioned in the *Notitia*,³³ chiefly on the grounds of name survival. Both Winchester and Caerwent carry elements of Venta in their modern names, whereas Caistor does not, and there is reason to believe that by the fourth century the town was simply called Icinus, a development which can be observed in other towns of the western Empire.³⁴ Wild has also claimed that, apart from the Breckland, much of the land around Caistor would probably have been unsuitable for sheep in the Roman period, despite its exploitation in the Middle Ages.

The house which overlay the kilns in Insula vii was comparatively substantial³⁵ although much of the construction was still of wattle and daub. The part excavated consisted of a range of rooms set between external corridors and terminating in a pentagonal apse at the east end. Two small wings projected southwards, one of which also ended in an apse. A small bath-suite was incorporated. The house seems to have remained largely unaltered until the early fifth century, when it may have been burnt to the ground. The implications which this fire has for the final fate of Venta Icenorum have been much discussed and are again referred to below (p. 254).

Traces of other buildings, constructed of timber, have been found as far distant as 300yds (274m) east of the walled town. They were encountered during the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery (see p. 255), but unfortunately the records were scanty, no proper plans survive, and little is known about their date. It would be reasonable to suppose that the majority belonged to the phase of the town's development before the stone walls were built, and probably therefore date to the second or third centuries, if not earlier.

Many hearths and ovens were also encountered in the same area, but no indication of their use was recorded. There is some evidence, however, that some of the structures had been destroyed by fire. Elsewhere, there are indications in aerial photographs of masonry strip-buildings flanking the south side of the street which lies just outside the south wall (fig. 111a). On the west side of the town, timber quays have been located, which may have turned the north-west corner and stretched as far as the north gate along the side of a creek.³⁶

In the absence of inscriptions, little can be said of the inhabitants of Venta Icenorum, or of their occupations. A stone oculist's stamp, mentioning P. ANICUS SEDATUS, is recorded as having been found on the site.³⁷ At least one gold ring set with an engraved onyx implies some degree of individual wealth, while another in Norwich Museum is of less certain provenance. A fragment of a blue glass chariot-race beaker inscribed [Eutyc]he va(le) Musclo[s(a)e . . .] might imply a passing interest in that sport on the part of an inhabitant.

One of the problems of Caistor concerns the approach roads. Apart from the road from the south, there is little indication on the ground of roads coming in from other quarters, although, according to the Antonine Itinerary, some did exist, including a road running almost due west to Camboritum.³⁸ The road running north-east from the town has been traced for a short distance, but its general objective is not known: it seems to be making in the same general direction towards the coast as another road which passes some miles north of Caistor. It was probably aimed, at first, at a crossing of the River Yare at Trowse Millgate.

The road from the south approaches on the left bank of the River Tas opposite to the town, and is then usually assumed to have crossed the river to enter by the west gate. This arrangement may not always have been so, as the town street nearest to the right bank of the river appears to run further south than the remainder, and appears to be cut by the earlier defensive ditches; alternatively it may have been heading for the amphitheatre. It is

possible that the construction of the first fortifications led to the realignment of the roads.

The ultimate fate of the town has for some time excited interest, in view of the apparent evidence for a massacre of the inhabitants which Atkinson supposedly found, and also because of an early Germanic cremation cemetery some 400yds (366m) east of the town. Caistor is also one of the towns which have produced metalwork usually associated with the equipment of the late Roman army. In 1930 Atkinson excavated Building 4 in *Insula VII*. He found the skeletal remains of at least thirty-five bodies, mostly men, but also some women and children, apparently covered by the debris of the house which he thought had been burnt over their heads. He dated this occurrence to the first decade of the fifth century. In consequence, ideas of a revolt among a federate garrison became generally accepted. Yet there are factors about this evidence which render it not quite so easily explicable. In the first place, examination³⁹ of the bones revealed no trace of burning, while the limb bones of only six individuals could be distinguished. There was evidence of violent blows made to some of the male skulls, but usually of a kind associated with blunt rather than sharp weapons. Moreover, the layer of burning which Atkinson viewed as the destruction debris of the house, may have been no more than the ash in a suspected hypocaust, the top floor of which had probably been removed before the bones were deposited. A photograph shows that the lower floor was only 12–18in (300–450mm) below the surface of the field. The building and its associated finds have now been reassessed,⁴⁰ with the result that it is no longer possible to entertain the idea of a massacre of inhabitants by revolting foederati or marauding Saxons. Although some brutal act had been carried out, to account for the injuries by a blunt instrument to many of the skulls, it cannot be related directly to the building, as the skeletal material was almost certainly dumped in its ruins from somewhere else. The material may have been disturbed from a nearby cemetery, and

reburied there, although this is a not entirely convincing explanation. Meanwhile, the enigma remains. The same house produced over 30 coins dating to AD 390 or later, implying that it must have been occupied well into the fifth century.

The cemetery to the east of the town contained many burials inserted through earlier Roman layers (see p. 253 above) and Myres has suggested that the earliest were deposited during the fourth century and that use of the cemetery continued throughout the fifth.⁴¹ Such then is the evidence for the decline of Venta Icenorum, which seems to repeat much of the pattern already described in connexion with Canterbury (p. 205). As a town near the east coast it must have been one of the first to fall completely under Anglo-Saxon domination.

CHICHESTER

(Noviomagus Reg(i)norum)

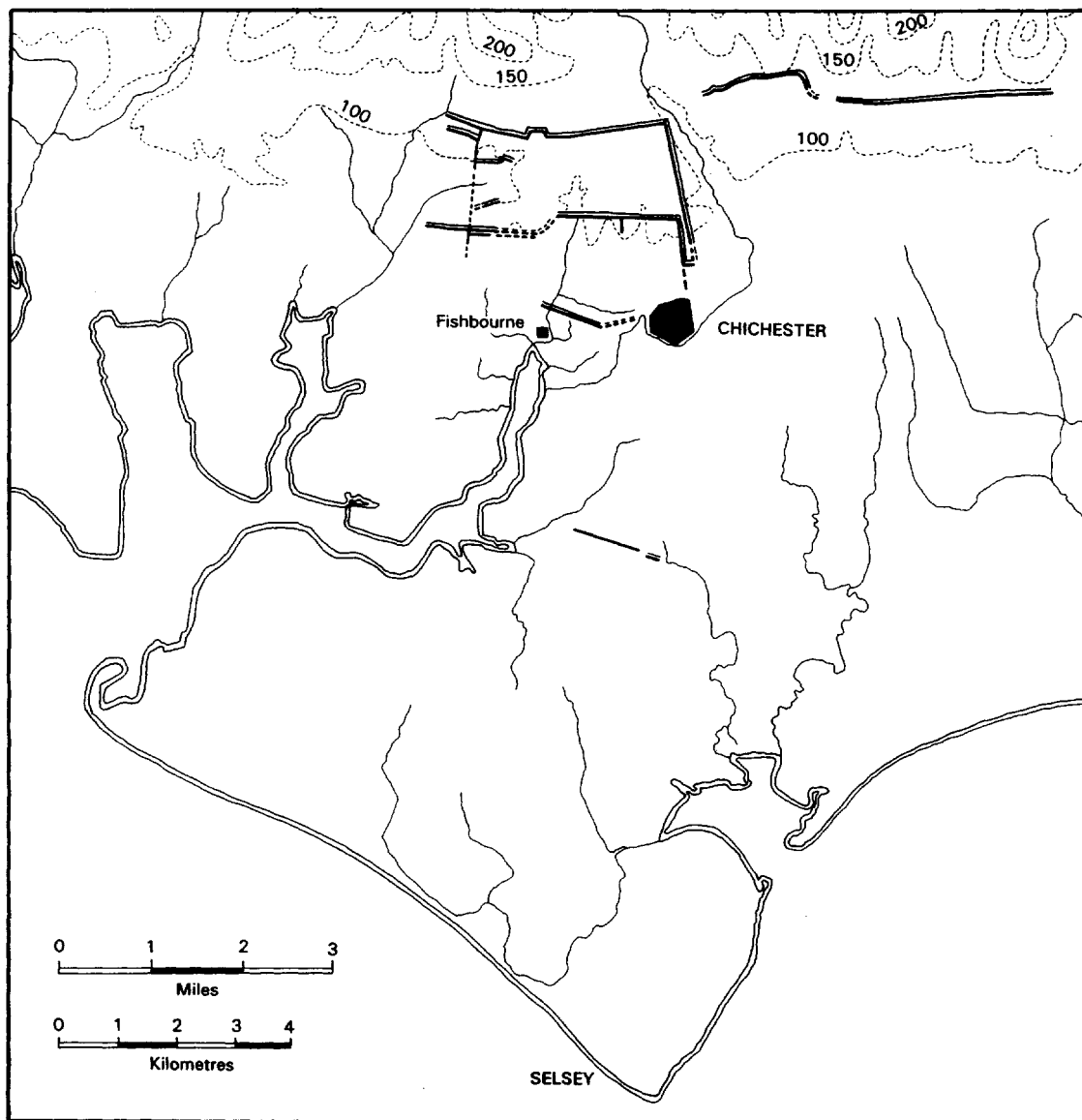
The extent of the kingdom of Verica just before the conquest naturally has an immediate bearing on that of Cogidubnus afterwards, even though the latter was enlarged. The distribution of Verica's coins (see fig. 116) has shown that his kingdom was centred on Sussex and east Hampshire with a probable capital in the area of Chichester.⁴² But the Catuvellauni had been whittling away this kingdom and probably by AD 42, when Verica was expelled, it had been reduced to little more than the coastal plain north of Selsey, perhaps contained within the dykes of the Chichester entrenchments (fig. 115).

The southern Atrebatian kingdom had for many years practised good relations with Rome. Verica, like some of his predecessors, had styled himself Rex on his coins, and it is likely that the title had been granted by the Romans who looked upon him as an ally and an essential counter-balance to the powerful Catuvellauni. His expulsion marked not only the peak of Catuvellaunian expansion, but also the removal of the balancing factor from Britain. It is hardly surprising that Roman military intervention followed, ostensibly perhaps, to

redress wrongs of an ally, but mainly to deal with the threat of the Catuvellauni, now poised beyond the north-west frontier of the Empire.

It is not known if Verica, by then an old man, was restored to his kingdom after the invasion. It is possible, as both Hawkes and Cunliffe have suggested,⁴³ that a small force landed directly in the Selsey region either to restore Verica, or perhaps more likely to install Cogidubnus as his successor. Frere has argued⁴⁴ that Verica's return was necessary, for without him the reason for perpetuating his kingdom disappears. After a short time he could then have been replaced by the younger Cogidubnus. But this is not the only explanation. Augustus had shown earlier, when exercising a preference for Verica after the expulsion of Tincommius, that it was dynasties and not individuals that were important to Roman diplomacy. Once Claudius and his advisers had decided to perpetuate the Atrebatian kingdom, the most eligible dynast available would have been chosen as king. One view of Cogidubnus would see him as an Atrebatian refugee of an earlier period, who was brought up in Rome from his childhood, gained his citizenship under Claudius, and who was most likely in his twenties or early thirties when he succeeded Verica. Such an upbringing would help to explain the few highly Romanized buildings which early appeared in his realm. However, Ogilvie and Richmond argue that the phrasing of Tacitus⁴⁵ implies that he was already king when the Romans arrived. But this argument fails if the other states given to Cogidubnus were transferred some time after the conquest. A third alternative⁴⁶ might envisage him as already king of the northern Atrebates, but if he then inherited the southern kingdom, he would have been more likely to have kept his capital in the north.⁴⁷

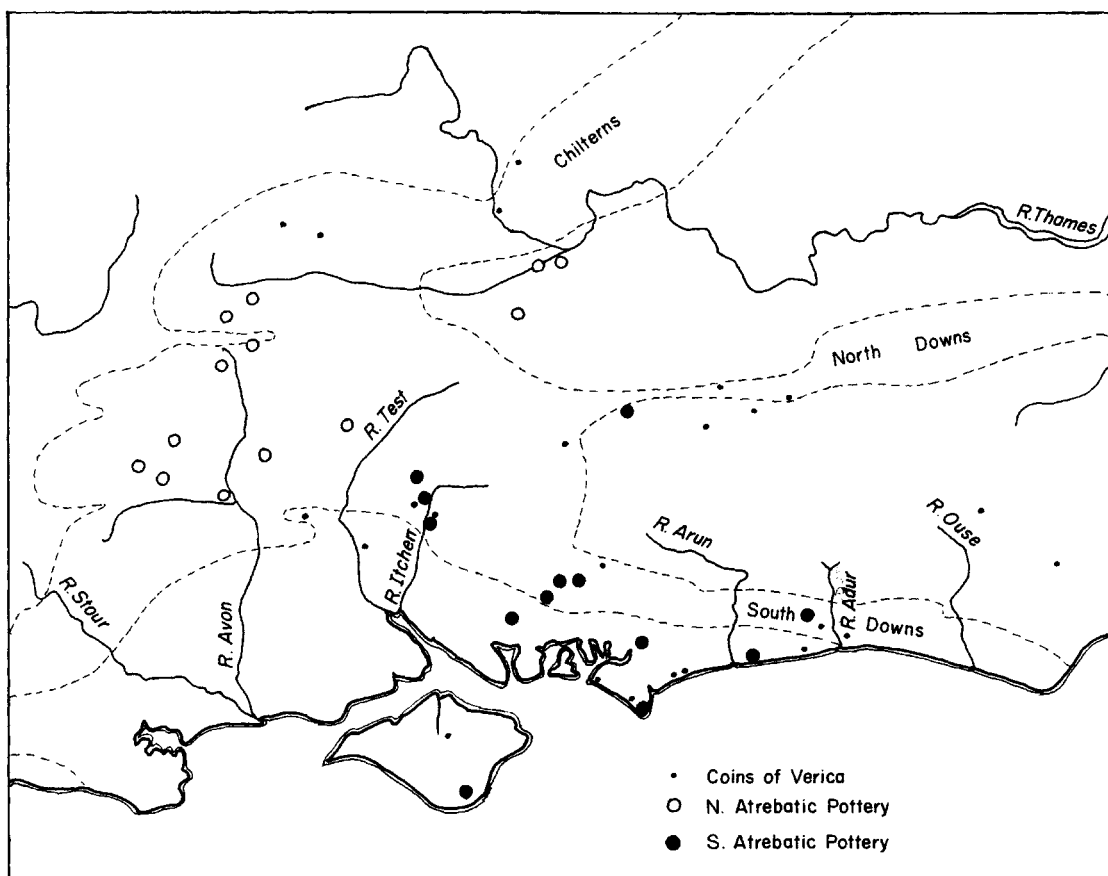
His kingdom certainly included the southern Atrebatian region. It has been pointed out⁴⁸ that pottery typical of the area is not found east of the River Adur, nor west of the River Test (fig. 116). Little is to be observed north of the South Downs. Attention has also been drawn to the condition of



115 The Chichester entrenchments (after Cunliffe and Bradley)

the hill forts in this area just before the invasion. Almost without exception all remained abandoned, with their fortifications in disrepair, through to the conquest, so portraying the apparently pro-Roman attitude of the inhabitants. By contrast, in east Sussex and also north and west of the Test, many hill-forts were re-commissioned against the Roman advance.

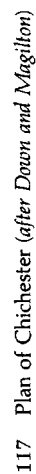
So much for the southern Atrebatian kingdom which Cogidubnus inherited. But Tacitus mentions that he was also given certain other states to rule over.⁴⁹ We cannot be absolutely certain at what stage this happened, whether at the conquest or at some later date, although the former would seem most likely. Which were the states given to him? Cunliffe has argued⁵⁰ against one of



116 Distribution of Atrebatic coins and pottery (after Cunliffe)

them being the northern Atrebatic kingdom, which had been occupied by the Catuvellauni before the invasion, and instead, has suggested that it was the unknown tribes in east Sussex and west Kent. There is certainly no reason why the latter should not have been included, although the early constitution of the *civitas Cantuariorum* would have taken care of the administration of much of that part. But his other argument carries less conviction. Much of the area which he ascribes to the northern Atrebates later became divided between the administrative areas of the *civitas Belgarum* and the *civitas Atrebatum*. Yet according to Cunliffe's own definition the capital of the former virtually lay in southern Atrebatian territory at Winchester. Unless, therefore, Cogidubnus'

kingdom was *reduced* in size at the outset, we can only conclude that the *civitas Belgarum* was constituted after his death from part of his original kingdom and part of the northern Atrebatian area, so that its full extent may have stretched from just east of Winchester almost as far as Bath.⁵¹ This overlap between the original kingdom and a later *civitas* surely indicates what states were given to Cogidubnus. The inclusion of the northern Atrebates will therefore have extended his frontier, certainly as far as the River Kennett, and possibly even to the Thames, and would have included also the oppidum at Silchester.⁵² Only on his death would the three new *civitates* have been constituted, the core of his old kingdom becoming the *civitas Reg(i)norum*.



Newly established king or not, where did Cogidubnus first reside within the oppidum? It is possible that, after the invasion, the residence remained at Selsey, if it had ever been there; the subsequent erosion of the site has made it impossible to prove. However, the earliest history of Fishbourne should be remembered; Chichester would appear to have been a less likely candidate. Nevertheless, at both, the first buildings were of military character. Fishbourne seems to have been a coastal stores depot, either connected with the initial landings or with the southern campaigns of Vespasian and Legio II Augusta, but this use may not have lasted more than a year or so, after which the store buildings were replaced by a series of other timber structures. Cunliffe has interpreted the largest of these as the first residence of Cogidubnus,⁵³ but there are reasons for questioning his view.⁵⁴ If, however, his interpretation is right, then it is probably right also to see Fishbourne as the 'capital' of his kingdom: the 'capital' at this stage comprising mainly the residence of the king.

In Chichester, excavations, especially those by Alec Down in the area between Tower Street and Chapel Street, have shown a series of pre-Flavian timber-framed buildings, of which the earliest are undoubtedly of military origin; they have also produced a number of Iron Age coins, including some of Verica's.⁵⁵ It is also now known that the street grid at Chichester and probably the principal public buildings were not constructed before c. AD 75–85,⁵⁶ by which time we should assume the demise of Cogidubnus and the break-up of his kingdom.

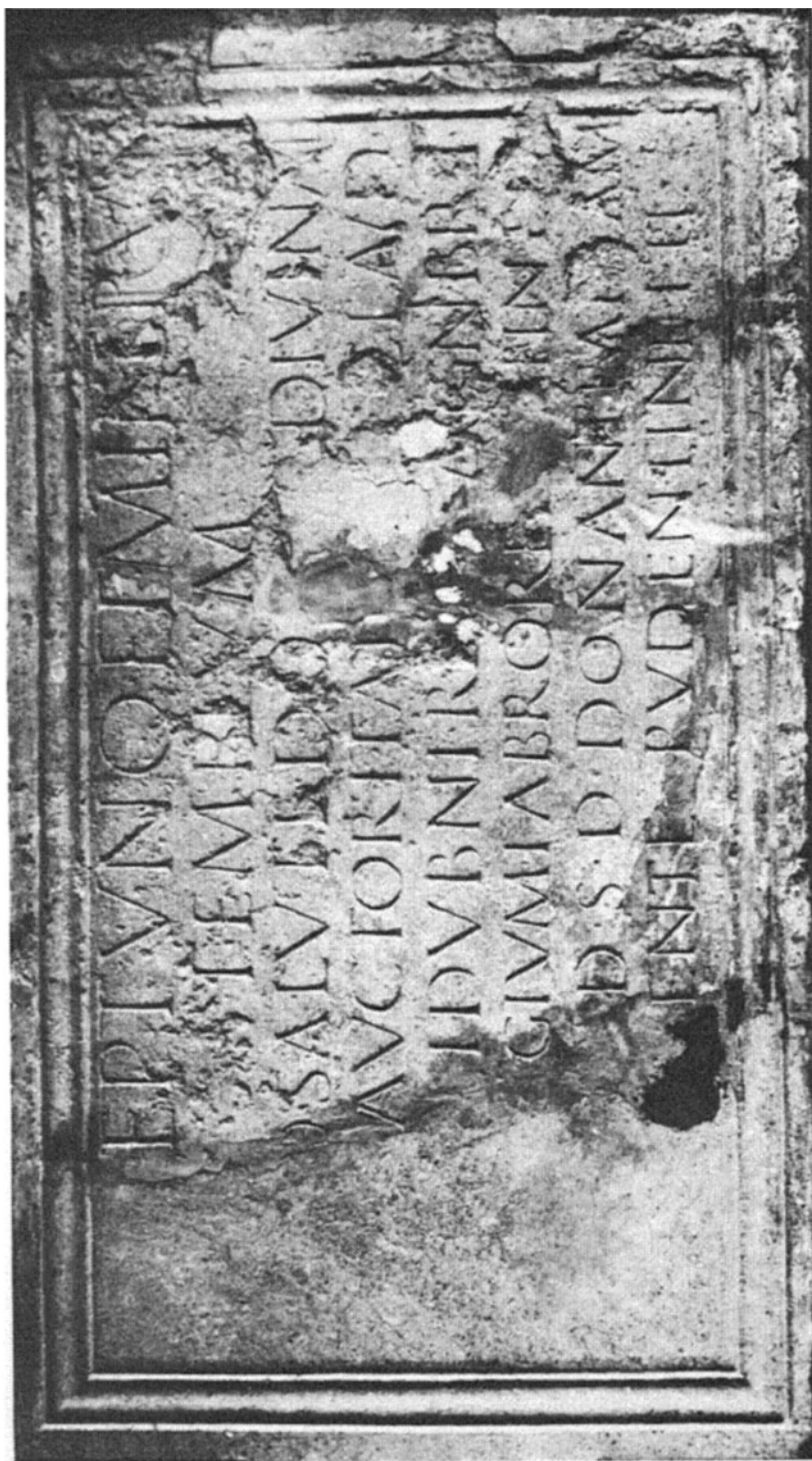
Many authorities have claimed, on all too little evidence, that Chichester saw a widespread process of rapid Romanization. There is indeed the dedication to Nero, dated to AD 57–8, found in 1740 on the corner of St Martin's Lane and East Street, but now lost.⁵⁷ It would imply the presence of some grandiose structure, and we might wonder if it came from a palace at Chichester before Cogidubnus retired to his new one at Fishbourne in his declining years. Certainly if

Chichester is to be seen as his capital at this time, then one would expect to find his official residence on the spot. Apart from this inscription, there is as yet little indication of advanced Romanization in the Claudio-Neronian period, for the famous Cogidubnus inscription⁵⁸ is perhaps best ascribed on present evidence to the early years of Vespasian's principate (fig. 118). Such Romanization as there was would seem no more than a veneer restricted to Cogidubnus and his entourage and which penetrated to no great depth in society.

We are left therefore with four possible sites for Cogidubnus' early residence: Selsey, Fishbourne, Chichester or somewhere else altogether, and at present the weight of evidence seems to be tilting in favour of Fishbourne, although towards the end of his reign Chichester was developing at the expense of the other sites.

As mentioned above, the first proper attempt at major town planning seems to have taken place at Chichester during the early or mid-Flavian period. This possibly represents the change-over from client kingdom to civitas, following the death of Cogidubnus, or alternatively his retirement from active affairs and their placing in younger hands. It is probably to this period that the Cogidubnus inscription, which was found in 1723 near the junction of St Martin's Lane (Lion Street) and North Street, belongs. It records the dedication of a temple jointly to Neptune and Minerva made on the authority of Cogidubnus, who, on earlier readings of the inscription, was described as king and imperial legate. Now, however, Professor Bogaers has subjected the inscription to a new, detailed examination, and he has decided that the titles '*rex et legatus augusti in Britannia*' can no longer be accepted.⁵⁹ In its place he has convincingly proposed the reading '*rex magnus Brit'*', with the implication that Cogidubnus, as a 'great' king, had been given other civitates to rule over, which, as we know from Tacitus, was correct: so he was Cogidubnus the Great.

The later history of Cogidubnus and his centre at Chichester, arising from his over-rule of other



118 Dedicatory inscription of a temple to Neptune and Minerva by Ti. Claudius Cogidubnus
(*Chichester Photographic Services Ltd*)

civitates, is to some extent inextricably mixed with Silchester and Winchester, both of which may be assumed to have been within his realm, and with the events of AD 69–70.

In AD 68 Nero committed suicide and civil war rent the Empire. In quick succession, first Galba, then Otho and then Vitellius became emperor, only to be deposed in turn. Finally Vespasian, commanding an army in Judaea, succeeded where the others had failed. He had earlier commanded Legio II Augusta during its campaigns in southern England, when it is possible that he struck a firm friendship with Cogidubnus.

The governor of Britain in early AD 69 was Trebellius Maximus, who had for some time been experiencing disciplinary troubles in his dealings with the army. Trebellius was forced by the army to flee for his life and Vitellius replaced him with Vettius Bolanus. The number of legions in Britain had already been reduced to three by the withdrawal of Legio XIV in AD 67. Further reductions were made in AD 69 when the three remaining legions provided vexillations to support Vitellius, although this was to some extent compensated by the return of Legion XIV after the defeat of Otho, whose cause it had supported. The resumption of severe hostilities with the Brigantes threw an additional strain on the province.

This then was the situation in Britain when Vespasian became emperor. A major war threatened the northern frontier; the garrison was weakened and divided in its loyalty and was commanded by a man who had supported Vitellius, and who, furthermore, did not appear to have full control of his army. The Boudiccan rebellion only a decade earlier must still have been a very real memory. Not for a year was Vespasian able to send a governor on whom he could rely fully to control the British situation. What would be more natural than for him to invoke an old friendship? It seems likely that Cogidubnus supported Vespasian's cause against Vitellius.⁶⁰ From what we can infer of the character of Cogidubnus, he would have imparted a steadying influence to an unstable situation.

Can we therefore see, in the ramparts built to surround Winchester (p. 291) and probably Chichester⁶¹ (bearing in mind that Silchester was already protected (p. 273) at this time), the creation of a Vespasianic stronghold in Cogidubnus' kingdom; a protection against a mutinous and unreliable army rather than against a threat from outside the province? To these three major towns might also be added the small roadside posting stations at Hardham, Alfodean and Iping.⁶² The two former lie on Stane Street, north-east of Chichester, the latter on the road to Silchester. All are much too small to be classified as 'small' towns, none being over 5 acres (2ha) in extent. Unfortunately, none has been properly excavated and no date can be ascribed to their defences, but they would fit the present context.

The reward for Cogidubnus' loyalty to Vespasian may well have been a 'golden handshake' of massive proportions, and quite sufficient to have paid for the splendid palace which he built for himself at Fishbourne, even if he did not receive the authority of a legate.⁶³

Recent finds within the area of the Iron Age oppidum are worth noting, especially the clay moulds for making coin flans from Boxgrove, above 3 miles (5km) east of Chichester,⁶⁴ and a very large cremation cemetery, containing over 150 burials, at Westhamnett dating from c. 50 BC although the first burials may pre-date the oppidum.⁶⁵ At the Cattlemarket site, just south-east of the east gate, three timber round houses were discovered in excavations; they may be of late Iron Age date and if so could be part of a farmstead.⁶⁶

Although, as mentioned above (p. 259), the earliest occupation of the town site at Chichester was almost certainly by a military unit, probably containing legionaries, little can be said about the layout of the fort or fortress. There were no less than five phases observed in the pre-Flavian timber buildings in the Chapel Street–Tower Street area; the first three followed one another without a break, but they were separated from the fourth by a time when part of the site was used for

industrial purposes.⁶⁷ Quantities of military equipment, much of it of legionary origin, were also recovered. Some signs of perimeter fortifications come from the area east of the town, where there is not only the large ditch known to run south from the Eastgate area, but also two ditches set at an obtuse angle to one another, which were traced through the St Pancras, Cattlemarket and Needlemakers sites and more recently at the Hornet and, on the west side, at the Theological College.⁶⁸ But the largest of these ditches at the Eastgate is probably best ascribed to another either earlier or later period, while the other two, if taken together, would obviously have formed an irregularly shaped enclosure. How long the site was occupied by the army is difficult to gauge. It probably served as a base camp, as at Fishbourne, during the early part of Vespasian's campaigns towards the south-west and the Isle of Wight, and possibly thereafter as a convenient coastal stores depot.

As recorded above, there seems to have been a hiatus between evacuation by the army and laying-out of the town, during which no clear idea had been developed as to what was to be done with the site. Pottery was being manufactured and jewellery was being enamelled in the Chapel Street area. These activities were superseded by rather better built timber-framed houses with substantial flint and greensand foundations, which in turn were replaced by more ephemeral timber structures, accompanied seemingly by the construction of the first streets of the town; overall planning had begun.⁶⁹

At one stage in planning the town, a large area near the centre was spread with a thick layer of gravel (see fig. 117). For some time it was thought to have represented the piazza of the forum, but excavations in 1970–1 showed that it covered far too great an area. It seems therefore to represent a general levelling-up of the centre, so as to seal remains of earlier, demolished buildings. We might wonder if this large, gravelled open space acted as the forum, or place of general assembly, before the construction of proper buildings.

Perhaps it was this that attracted to the site the name of *Noviomagus Reg(i)norum* or literally according to Jackson, the 'Newfield' or new clearing of the *Reg(i)ni*.⁷⁰ The forum occupied part of this area, and is thought to lie in the corner formed by the intersection of North Street and West Street. A massive wall, over 6ft (1.8m) thick was found below the Dolphin and Anchor Hotel, on the north side of West Street, and may belong to the forum or basilica;⁷¹ it could possibly have been part of a stylobate. But the date of the gravel spread presents problems of interpretation. It has now been sampled in no less than four separate places and has yielded consistently Antonine material. It would seem, therefore, that an extensive reorganization of the town centre was still taking place up to the mid second century. In West Street the gravel overlay a mass of debris, similarly dated, from a demolished masonry building of size and quality.⁷² It is possible that it represents the remains of an earlier late-first- or early-second-century forum. But there is no need to look for formal administrative buildings before the death of Cogidubnus, as, presumably, they would have been located in his palace. Further east, and on the west side of North Street, the corner of a large foundation of limestone blocks was seen in a building trench to be set in the gravelled area mentioned above.⁷³ Since it appears to be an isolated structure it is most likely to have been the base for a large statue, and similar to that situated in the forum piazza at Gloucester (p. 155). The statue of Jupiter, probably of third-century date, and attested by the inscribed plinth (see below p. 268 and fig. 119) found on the Post Office site was probably connected with a temple precinct.

Although the forum appears to have lain in the north-west angle formed by the intersection of the two principal streets of the town, it must interrupt the straight line of the street running north from the south gate. The remainder of the street system is less perfectly known. The modern lines of North Street, East Street and West Street, which meet at the Market Cross, follow approximately the lines



119 (a) Pedestal of a column base, dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus; (b) left side of the pedestal, showing two undraped female figures (*Chichester City Museum*)

of earlier Roman streets. The metalling below South Street has been seen in a contractor's trench outside the court house, but this lies outside the walls; a change in line must therefore have occurred inside the town. The eastern edge of a street was encountered on the site of St Peter the Less in North Street, not far from the edge of the modern street.⁷⁴ The metalling revealed there represented a second-century widening of the earlier street. The line of another street, north of, and parallel to, that surmised on the line of East Street and West Street is indicated by discoveries made in 1966 during excavations of part of the grounds of St Mary's Hospital.⁷⁵ Other possible street lines parallel with them are suggested by a gravel surface found in the theological college gardens outside the west defences, and south of the west gate,⁷⁶ and by another seen during construction of the County Hall extension. More recent excavations on the latter site have, however, entirely failed to confirm it,⁷⁷ although observations in 1972 revealed another north-south street. If that in the Theological College is indeed a street, it would imply that the construction of fortifications in the late second century reduced the area of the town, and that the street grid originally extended beyond these limits.

The positions of these east-west streets originally led Holmes to suggest a standard distance of 400ft (122m) between them, but the discovery of the St Mary's Hospital example reduced this distance by nearly half, and certainly complete regularity of insulae can rarely be expected in Romano-British towns; this factor has now been demonstrated at Chichester by further work.⁷⁸

The existence of other public buildings has been indicated during excavations over the past few decades. In 1960 and 1962 excavations undertaken in advance of an extension to Morants shop (now the Army and Navy stores) on the north side of West Street revealed part of what was probably a public bath-house (see fig. 121). Part of an apsidal cold bath was found together with walls at least 5ft (1.5m) thick. This building dated to the fourth century but overlay an earlier bath-house, one room of which contained a black

and white mosaic.⁷⁹ Much more information has now been gained about this large and elaborate building, which must have occupied the next insula west from the forum, in the area between modern Tower Street and Chapel Street. The whole structure appears to have measured some 214ft (65m) by 263ft (80m), probably with a palaestra at the southern end and hot rooms at the northern end. At one time it had contained mosaics remarkably similar to some of the late-first-century pavements in the palace at Fishbourne,⁸⁰ which could indicate an early original date of construction. The water supply for the baths seems to have been obtained from a deep, stone-lined cistern, which penetrated the water table; it was roughly square in shape, with an apsidal south wall. The water was pumped into a masonry header tank to flow by gravity through pipes, probably made of lead, into the bath-house. A deep drain situated north of the baths carried waste water away to the west.⁸¹

Although numerous wells have been found at Chichester to match the supply to the bath-house, there is as yet no indication of an aqueduct or distribution system, although possibly the River Lavant was diverted from its original course east of the town to provide a supply. Antiquarian sources, though, carry a tradition of an aqueduct entering, or close to, the north gate. But some large sewers, one certainly timber-lined, others of masonry, have been found in several places, other than those which served the baths, and they may represent part of a system which covered the town. One of them was 4ft 6in (1.4m) deep and 9ft (2.7m) wide and was apparently bordered by a fence or hedge to prevent unauthorized access. It probably drained westward into the River Lavant, which in Roman times ran round the west side of the town. In the late fourth or early fifth century the ditch became clogged with large quantities of building debris and rubbish.

In 1930, a commercial excavation brought to light several architectural fragments from the West Pallant area near All Saints' Church. One piece was carved with an elaborate acanthus decoration. All probably came from a public

building and it has been suggested that they were part of the *proscenium* of a theatre. Alternatively they may once have decorated a temple. Another temple is, of course, indicated by the *Cogidubnus* inscription, but excavations carried out since 1967 around the area in which it was found have proved indeterminate, although a brick foundation seen in a service trench in nearby North Street may belong to it.

Another public building of importance, the amphitheatre, was recognized in 1934 when trial cuttings were made in a suspect area about 500yds (457m) south-east of the east gate (see fig. 13). The arena, 185ft (56m) by 150ft (47m) was set 4ft (1.2m) below the contemporary ground level and floored with gravel. The arena wall appears to have been boarded over and then covered with painted plaster, in a similar fashion to the Cirencester arena, where traces of pink-painted plaster survived on the wall (p. 307). The date of erection was placed between AD 70 and 90 by the excavator, who considered that it had ceased to be used by the end of the second century. It was also suggested that this abandonment was caused by the building being left outside the defences of the town, and that the masonry was robbed to supply stone for the walls.⁸² Although possibly correct, these conclusions must now be regarded as doubtful as amphitheatres excluded from towns by the construction of defences are not uncommon in Britain and a number are known to have continued in use. Certainly the first fortifications would have required no stone, and only with the construction of the masonry walls later in the third century would the amphitheatre have been at risk from robbers.

Some fragments of partly engaged columns were found at St Richard's Hospital, some distance outside the town walls to the north-east. No foundations of buildings were seen, and they would appear to have been dumped in a disused gravel or clay pit of a later date. However, they imply a building of some size with an elaborate façade.

The question of whether Chichester was fortified in the later first century (c. 70), as was

Winchester (and with Silchester probably already protected), must for the present remain unanswered (p. 261 above). The large ditches encountered near the Eastgate and on the Cattlemarket site may have belonged to such a circuit. Equally, they could have been part of the defences of the oppidum, left open and possibly reused in the Roman period, as possibly happened at Silchester; or they might have had a military origin. But their size and shape probably precludes the latter.

The fluctuating opinions on the later defences of Chichester are typical of the confusion, arising from a lack of adequate investigation, that now surrounds Romano-British urban fortifications (p. 75 above). It was thought originally that the rampart was contemporary with the masonry wall.⁸³ Then Holmes cut a single section across wall and bank on the southern sector and concluded that the wall had been inserted into the front of an earlier bank.⁸⁴ Now Magilton has sectioned the west wall and concluded that wall and bank were contemporary. But he recorded a partial rebuild, for which a cut had been made into the rampart behind the wall, but not to its full depth. He has also drawn attention to the fact that the foundation of the wall found by Holmes was wider than elsewhere and exhibited an internal offset, which did not appear in other sectors. Moreover, the front face of the wall has been observed to be of flint behind one external tower and of small dressed stone behind another. To quote Magilton: 'The implication would appear to be that where the wall needed to be entirely rebuilt it was constructed on broader foundations, at least in the Cawley Priory area. Additional confirmation that stretches were rebuilt comes from examination of the bastions.' Moreover, in 1993 it was found that the wall itself, on the north-eastern part of the circuit, contained horizontal layers of silt in the core, suggesting interruptions in the course of building.⁸⁵ Quite. There could be no better illustration for the circumstances set out in Chapter 2 (p. 75 above). So far at Chichester the wall has been examined at only a dozen or so places, widely spaced around the circuit, but few have included full investigation of the rampart.

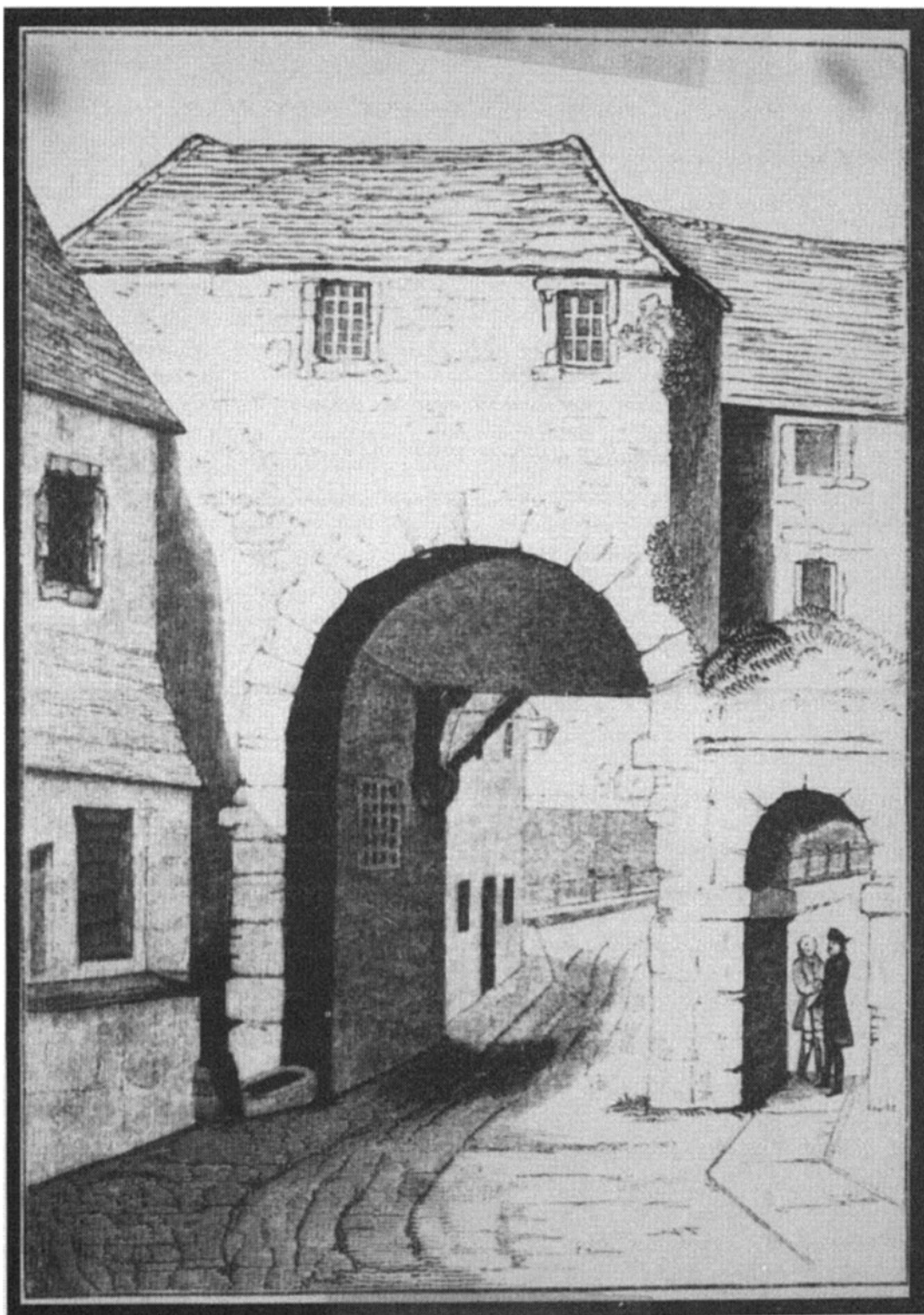
What is clear is that the circuit of the wall is far from homogenous, and shows evidence for repair or rebuilding in at least a quarter of the samples. The same could be true of the rampart, while we cannot yet be certain that any sector so far revealed represents the primary construction work; and if so, which? There is an urgent need for lengths of the fortification to be completely excavated so as to address these problems; until then it might be better to suspend judgement on whether the wall was preceded by a free-standing bank and, if so, whether it extended for the full circuit. It is well to remember the curious circumstances at Dorchester in this context (p. 328).

Consequently the precise date of construction of the masonry fortifications cannot yet be assessed, in view of the comments made in the preceding paragraph, but along with most other town walls in Britain, it probably took place during the middle decades of the third century. The wall was built of coursed flints, 8ft (2.4m) wide at the base, and still standing in places to a height of 8ft (2.4m) or more. It had everywhere been incorporated in the medieval wall. The width was reduced to about 6ft (1.8m) by means of two internal scarcements. Excavation in a garden of Friary Close, at a point where the front face had been protected by a bastion, showed that parts had originally been clad with dressed stone. The rampart seems to have been levelled off to meet the top scarcement on its inside face. The fortifications included two external ditches, which had mostly been destroyed in cutting the medieval ditch.

It has always been assumed that the four main Roman gates coincided with the sites of the medieval gates, placed approximately on the four cardinal points of the compass. Excavations just east of the south gate showed the Roman wall and bank, and part of a street, so that the Roman gate probably lies east of its medieval successor. A similar situation was observed beside the west gate when excavations took place just north of its probable position in 1964.⁸⁶ A woodcut of the

Eastgate by an eighteenth-century artist shows a central round-headed arched opening with a smaller foot passage to one side (fig. 120). The arches lack keystones and the voussoirs of both are massive, as is the masonry of the impost. It seems likely that this is an illustration of the Roman east gate which had continued in use down to the eighteenth century. The masonry is very similar to that of the Newport Arch, Lincoln (p. 135). The south-east corner of the (?) east tower of the north gate was seen in commercial excavations. It was constructed of large, dressed ashlar, and it is unfortunate that a series of earth falls prevented all but the most cursory examination. The relationship of this masonry to the curtain wall and rampart might suggest that the tower was either a later addition or else represented a rebuild.⁸⁷

Five external towers still stand at Chichester, of which four lie on the southern part of the walled circuit; two more have been identified in excavations, while even more are illustrated on early maps of the town. All were additions made probably at some time in the middle of the fourth century, and in order to erect them solid foundations, which were roughly square in shape, were dug down to the underlying rock. At the front, at ground level, lines of large ashlar were placed to form aprons, on which the towers proper were built. These were nearly horseshoe-shaped in plan and projected some 17ft (5.2m) from the front face of the curtain wall, with the same maximum width. The lowest course consisted of a chamfered plinth; above was a facing of small blockwork, with a core of flint and chalk masonry. They were probably solid at least to the first-floor level. Short retaining walls seem to have been built against the sides of each tower. The inner ditch, open before they were constructed, appears to have been filled and a new, wider one excavated on the line of the outer ditch. The evidence for these external towers has now been assembled and studied by Magilton,⁸⁸ who has concluded that at Chichester, unlike most towns, there was a regular spacing with an interval *c.* 315ft (96m) between them.



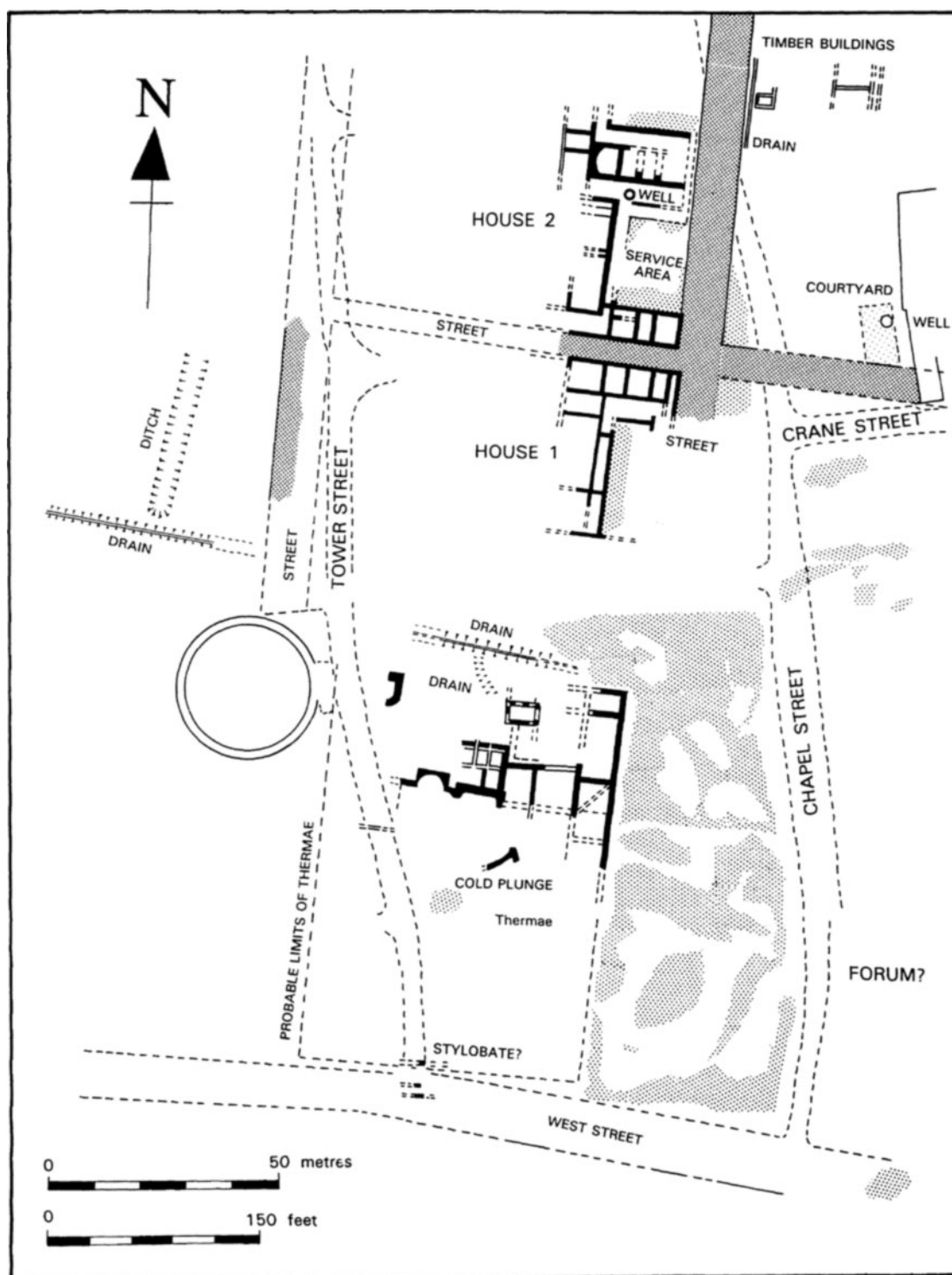
120 Eastgate; eighteenth-century woodcut by Grimm (*Chichester Civic Society Excavations Committee*)

No internal building at Chichester has ever been completely excavated, although the sites of a number of houses are known, chiefly from very fragmentary remains. Extensive building remains have been found round the cathedral. Several of the rooms contained mosaics, while plain tessellated floors have also come to light. One room contained a hypocaust, and the building was dated to the second century.⁸⁹ Another house of similar date was discovered during the eighteenth century in the Bishop's Palace garden; one room had a mosaic floor said to have been 30ft (9.1m) square. Recent excavations between Chapel Street and Tower Street have revealed two other substantial second-century houses, facing the west side of the street and separated by an east-west street. That to the north had a gravelled courtyard at its centre. Subsequent alterations saw the latter rebuilt on more solid foundations and enlarged to the east and south, so that it encroached on the streets. During the fourth century it contained at least four tessellated pavements (fig. 121). The building was still in use at the end of the century.⁹⁰ Two possible shops have been found in the same area. On the east side of North Street another masonry building, possibly a shop of late-third-century date, was sampled in the excavations of 1959; one room had possessed a coarse tessellated floor.⁹¹ A house with a hypocaust is known in South Pallant, and another with a tessellated corridor in the grounds of East Pallant House. The latter was built in the late first or early second century and was demolished in the early fourth century.⁹² It is likely that it was connected with a fulling establishment, as a mortar-lined pit, 4ft (1.2m) square and 3ft (0.9m) deep, contained a deposit of fuller's earth, with a well nearby. Other building remains have been found in a number of places north of East Street.

The evidence for a fullery mentioned above is one of the few archaeological traces of industrial and commercial activity found in the town. Bronze-working was carried out between the Flavian and Hadrianic periods on the Chapel

Street site; enamelled brooches may have been among the products, as crucibles and enamelling frit were found associated with unfinished brooches. Iron-ore smelting is known to have taken place during the Flavian period on the North Street site. The slag found there points to a bloomery in which the ore was smelted without flux, and one small piece of refractory lining from a furnace was identified. Other samples of slag and hammer scale represent the working-up of crude blooms. The same site provided evidence for a possible circular oven, perhaps used for baking, during the first half of the second century. Iron slag has also been found near the west gate, the east gate and Cattlemarket sites.⁹³ The Cogidubnus inscription, however, can probably be taken as providing additional evidence for craftsmen who worked in the town and who were early organized into a guild in the Roman manner. Another important local industry was probably connected with quarrying. Apart from deposits of chalk and flint associated with the South Downs, sandstones outcrop near Midhurst, 11 miles (18km) north of Chichester, where a quarry is known at Lods-worth. Somewhat more distant were deposits of a fossiliferous limestone (in Kent called Bethersden marble) akin to Purbeck marble; they occur in Sussex at Petworth and Charlwood, and the stone could have been used for inscriptions and other ornamental pieces. A calcareous sandstone from Horsham laminates easily and provided excellent roofing slates.

Apart from the temple dedicated to Neptune and Minerva and the pedestal of the Jupiter statue or column (see fig. 119), there is little other evidence of religious buildings or beliefs. Yet it is worth recording that both these inscriptions make use of the formulae invoking the *domus divina*,⁹⁴ in spite of the fact that a hundred years or more separated their cutting. The imperial cult, including that of the divine house, must have been of considerable importance in the town and would almost certainly have warranted a temple of its own. An altar probably dating to the late first century and dedicated to an unspecified local



121 Bath-house and fourth-century houses near Chapel Street (after Down)

genius was found under North Street close to the town centre,⁹⁵ while fragments of a hexagonal stone slab, dedicated to the Mother Goddess of the homeland by a treasurer, perhaps of a guild, were found outside the east gate.⁹⁶ A small votive figurine, found outside the town near the south-west corner, probably came from a domestic shrine. Part of a pipeclay figurine of Venus was found on the St Mary's Hospital site. A small bronze figure of a horse found in East Street might also be a votive object.

As with all sites where few inscriptions have been found, little can be said of the inhabitants. The altar to the local genius mentioned above was erected by Lucullus, son of Amminius. The recurrence of a good Belgic name is interesting and indicates the continuing racial affinities of some of the population. Neither father nor son were seemingly Roman citizens, but it is interesting to note the Latin name of the latter. Three fragmentary tombstones tell us something of other inhabitants. Two, from the area of the south gate, where they had probably been incorporated in the masonry of the defences, refer to Aelia [... Cauva,⁹⁷ who was 36 when she died, and to Catia, who was possibly the wife or daughter of Censorinus, and who died at the age of 23 or 24.⁹⁸ The third tombstone, found in the south-western sector of the town wall where it had probably been used for the same purpose as the other two, refers to an unknown man who died at the advanced age of 85.⁹⁹ The first tombstone appears to be of late-first-century date, the second is probably mid second century at the earliest, and commemorates a woman of native origin whose Roman citizenship originated under Hadrian; the date of the other is uncertain.

One of the principal cemeteries of the town has been found in the St Pancras district,¹⁰⁰ where it must have been situated alongside Stane Street. It was used from c. AD 70 until well into the third century for cremations, but a small number of inhumations took place during the third and possibly early fourth century. The cemetery

occupied an estimated area of about 4.3 acres (1.7ha) and had contained an estimated 9500–10,000 burials. The majority of people buried in the area seem to have been reasonably well-to-do and some interesting grave groups were found. One, perhaps belonging to a minor official, contained items possibly connected with his work and with some form of regalia. Another, probably of a woman, contained a tinned-bronze mirror with a wooden frame and leather case. Several were buried, together with their grave goods, in bottomless wood containers, or tiled cysts. An interesting feature of this cemetery is the lack of burials of the period before AD 70 when the early town of Cogidubnus is reputed to have been founded. This is in marked contrast to another large cemetery further east from the town at Westhampnett.¹⁰¹ Here over 200 cremations have recently been discovered which range in date from c. 50 BC to c. AD 70, thus crossing the critical divide between Iron Age and Roman and covering the period of development of Verica's and Cogidubnus' centres through to the early civitas capital. The dates for these two cemeteries would suggest that one succeeded the other, caused perhaps by a shift westwards of the main centre of population. A late inhumation cemetery, probably extending into the fifth century, existed on the opposite side of Stane Street from the St Pancras cemetery; another outside the west gate in the grounds of the Theological College¹⁰² has so far produced 60 burials, mostly orientated east–west.

The main roads running from the town are well known. Stane Street, from London, approaches the east gate from a north-easterly direction, and may originally have been aligned on Chichester harbour before the town was founded. Some miles outside the town a branch road diverges to run along the Sussex coastal plain and presumably served the villas in that area. From the north gate a road runs direct to Silchester, and from the west gate to Bitterne with a branch to Winchester leaving it at Wickham. The road from the south gate presumably ran towards Selsey, where a

considerable settlement survived during the Roman period, together with some farms in the neighbourhood.

The countryside around Chichester seems to have been divided between farms of continuing native character and villas. Some of the latter, such as Angmering and Southwick, show a development which is normally earlier than that of other Romano-British villas, and we might see here the Romanizing influence of Cogidubnus and his followers. Others, although starting more modestly, ultimately grew to great size, such as Bignor, which must have been the centre of an estate several thousand acres in extent. Yet the eastern part of the civitas in the Weald of Sussex never attracted much villa settlement and it is to be assumed that it was used principally as an industrial area devoted to the extraction of iron. Only in the coastal area was this activity replaced by farming. The relationship between the villas in the coastal area and the many native farms, which have been identified on the South Downs, is not known; it is interesting, however, that their distributions appear mutually exclusive. Moreover, the native farms are associated with extensive areas of cultivated fields, and some certainly in the fourth century became more elaborate.

Little is known of the end of Roman Chichester. Two zoomorphic buckles of late military type were found in the upper filling of the disused sewer near the County Hall, and suggest the presence of a Roman garrison.¹⁰³ Since the sewer contained much late-fourth- or early-fifth-century pottery, the continued existence of an urban militia into the fifth century is implied. The bath-house was being refurbished in the 370s and some of the houses were being enlarged after the mid-fourth century. But the main drains eventually collapsed and silted, the streets became pot-holed and covered with mud, with roofs falling on to them. No signs of violent destruction have been recorded; decay seems to have been the instrument of destruction. Surprisingly, apart from two exceptions, the coin series ends with Valentinian II

(375–92), suggesting no extension of civilized economic life much beyond the end of the fourth century. The only two coins later than this have both been found outside the eastern defences. Being so near the coast, the town must have relied heavily on the Saxon Shore defences for protection, and the formal abandonment of Portchester and Bitterne must have been a serious blow.¹⁰⁴ According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle Pevensey fell in AD 491,¹⁰⁵ and Saxons were settling at Portsmouth very early in the fifth century. Cunliffe's excavations at Portchester Castle are important in this context, as they show that occupation continued even after the main military garrison had departed and that, early in the fifth century, the site was occupied probably by a band of *laeti*. But despite this evidence from nearby sites, and the indications which they provide, the fate of Chichester will remain hidden until excavations there provide the necessary evidence.

SILCHESTER

(*Calleva Atrebatum*)

Silchester is probably the best known of all Romano-British towns. The long series of excavations which took place intermittently during the nineteenth century culminated in an all-out effort to uncover the whole town between 1890 and 1909, in excavations which were sponsored by the Society of Antiquaries. The objective was largely achieved, within the standard of the day, and as a result we have a reasonably complete, but all too little understood, plan of Silchester. How much was lost in achieving it will never be known. Since then, most work has been concentrated on the elucidation of the town's history, mainly by studying the supposedly four different circuits which, at one time or another, were thought to have been adopted for the town's defences.

In the pre-conquest Iron Age, the earliest indications so far of a settlement appear in the last half of the first century BC, with round houses being constructed on the site of the later basilica.

These were succeeded by a total reorganization, late in that period or early in the first century AD. A regular pattern of streets was imposed, accompanied by rectangular buildings. If this was not in itself enough to emphasize the importance of the new settlement, then the increasing quantities of pottery imported from Gaul and the Mediterranean and evidence for the production of high-quality metalwork would indicate its growing sophistication.¹⁰⁶

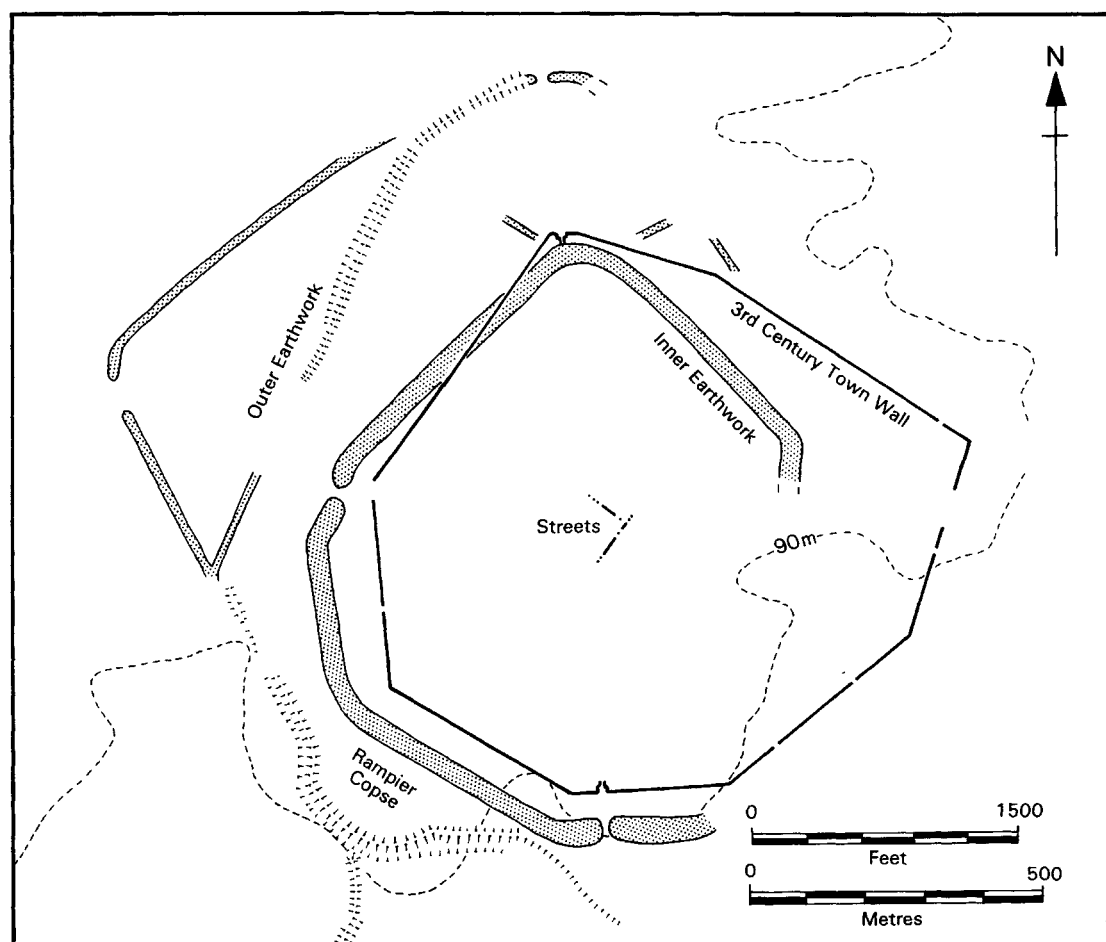
Late Iron Age Silchester has always been associated with the Atrebatian prince, Eppillus, who rebelled against his brother, Tincommius, so causing a split within the tribe which was not healed until after the conquest. Eppillus is known to have issued his own coins with the mint mark *Calleva* in an abbreviated form; fragments of fired clay moulds for making coin blanks have been found in and around the town. Silchester, therefore, became the principal centre of the northern Atrebates until Catuvellaunian expansion overwhelmed it, after which it seems to have been, in turn, an oppidum of Eborac and Caratacus. Its boundaries (fig. 122) have yet to be fully defined, but they seem to contain parts of the so-called Outer Earthwork, hitherto thought to have been an urban fortification of the early Flavian period.¹⁰⁷ Certainly Rampier Copse and the 'Salient Dyke' belonged to the system, as well as sectors to its south, and to the north of the later town; but attempts to locate its eastern circuit have so far failed.¹⁰⁸

The Roman invasion must have seen the arrival of, and possibly a short stay by, an army unit, and both legionary and auxiliary metalwork, together with what may be tent fragments, have been found.¹⁰⁹ The plan of a timber-framed building, earlier than the Flavian basilica, is reminiscent of a military principia, but so far there is no indication of other buildings or of fortifications, mainly because no serious search has been made.¹¹⁰ The army's presence was probably needed to suppress any pro-Catuvellaunian faction, and to see to the smooth transfer of administrative power to Cogidubnus. Cunliffe has argued that the northern

Atrebates were not included in Cogidubnus' kingdom, but reasons have already been put forward (p. 256 above) for rejecting this argument. Much depends here on the date of the Inner Earthwork. Boon suggested that, in the years immediately following the conquest, Silchester became part of his kingdom and that the Earthwork was constructed to protect the first town.¹¹⁰ But such precise dating has not yet been achieved. More recent reviews¹¹¹ have assigned it to a period which could fall either side of AD 43, with a bias in favour of an early rather than later date, since the *terminus post quem* for its construction is c. 10 BC. So far no original entrances through the Inner Earthwork have been identified, but later at least five would have been needed to accommodate the new Roman roads from London, Cirencester, Dorchester-on-Thames, Salisbury, Winchester and Chichester – the last two merged before reaching the south entrance. If Hawkes is correct in suggesting the almost immediate surrender of the Dobunni¹¹² after the Roman landing, then presumably one of the first tasks of the army in the west would have been to secure their territory; hence the immediate need for a properly surveyed and metalled road from Silchester to Cirencester.

Despite Fulford's preference for a pre-conquest date for the Inner Earthwork, which would see the *terminus post quem* being equated with the actual date of construction, it can still be argued as belonging to a later period. There is now an unfortunate and growing tendency for a return to the bad old days when the date given by a *terminus post quem* was assumed to be the same as the date of construction (see also p. 233). This will simply not do, as otherwise we might as well forget about the former and throw the accepted practice of several decades out of the window. It obviously needs repeating that when attempting to date a bank, the material from beneath it or contained within its make-up at any one point on the circuit can at best only reflect the date of the structures or occupation of the immediate area through which it had been driven; the exception is

CALLEVA



122 Iron Age defences of Silchester (after Fulford)

some artefact which had been dropped by a member of the construction gang, but these are rarely found, and difficult to assess.

If allowance is made for these factors, other contexts arise into which the Inner Earthwork can be put. It is not impossible that it was constructed by one of the Catuvellaunian princes in response to the landing of the Roman army in Kent and Sussex, while Boon's theory that it formed the boundary of the first 'town' of Cogidubnus still makes historical sense, providing that it is now adapted to include a military force, as represented

by the central principia dated to very early after the conquest; the two are not incompatible, as is emphasized below. Finally, if Fulford is correct in his assessment of the date, there was still nothing to prevent the Earthwork from being used to protect the new town and its military core at the very beginning.

Fulford argued that a military occupation lasted until the late 40s and that the town only began its formal development thereafter. Yet the principia continued in use until it was replaced by the Flavian basilica. This means that the supposed

duration of the military presence cannot be directly linked to the life of its buildings. In this confusion between military and civil almost any scenario can be imagined, especially if we are dealing with a client kingdom, where less regularity may be expected in military matters. A client king could maintain his own army, which might in most respects be armed, equipped and organized in the Roman manner, and consequently identical to, and so indistinguishable from, regular units of the Roman army. This might explain 'military occupation' continuing at both Chichester and Silchester in parallel with civilian development. Equally a client state might contain garrisons of the regular Roman army whereby the king was both protected and supervised.¹¹³

In 1948, Aileen Fox published an article in which she proposed the existence of a street system earlier than that commonly known,¹¹⁴ by comparing the alignments of various buildings. She concluded that some of the buildings, which were placed obliquely to the known grid, belonged to an early phase in the town's development. When the article was published the Inner Earthwork was still unknown. Its discovery enabled Boon to look afresh at her suggestions, and he pointed out that there are some 33 buildings, including the bath-house, which appeared to be related to a line joining his proposed east and west entrances through the Earthwork.¹¹⁵ Yet, one at least of these buildings, the bath-house, in part overlies the eastern line of the fortification, showing that, whatever its date, the Earthwork soon became obsolete.

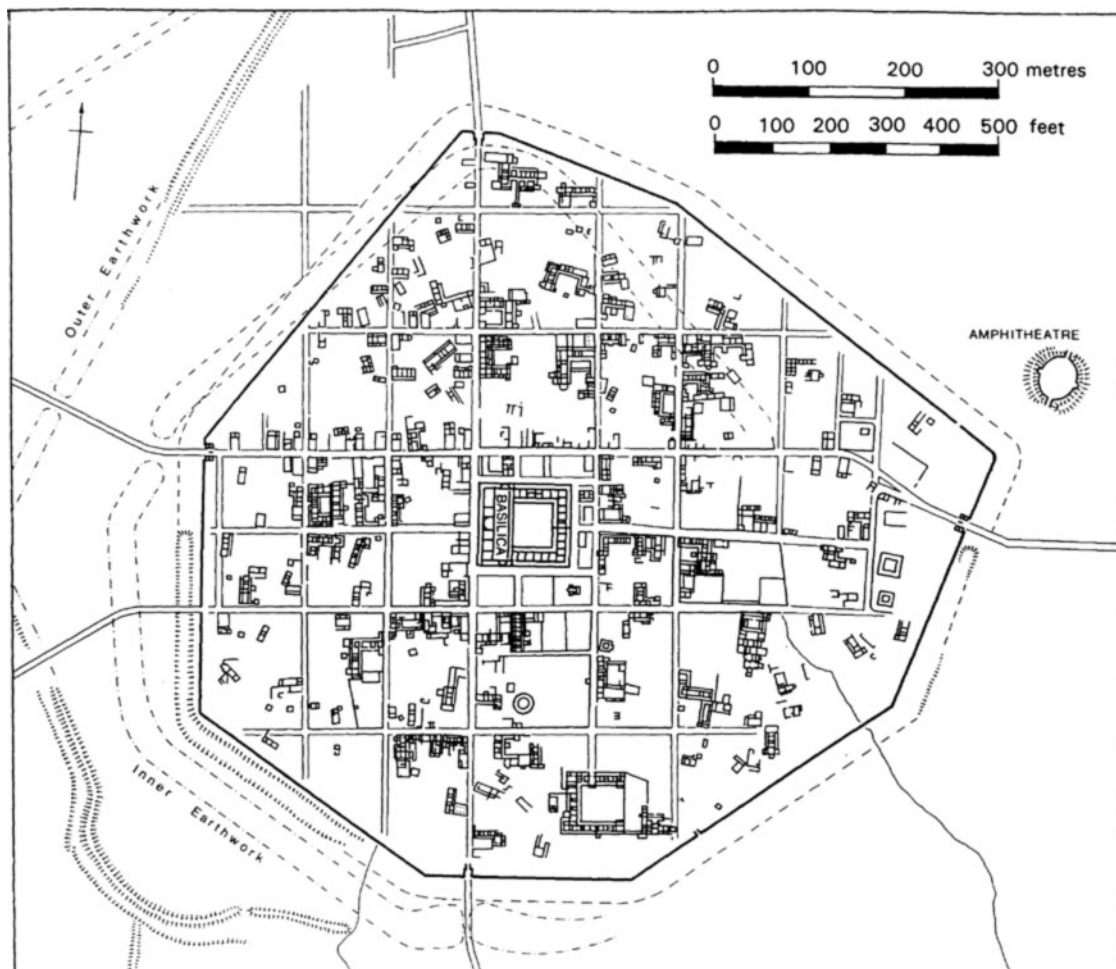
According to the above account, the bath-house must have been one of the earliest major buildings in the town. It is often given a Neronian date, on the totally inadequate evidence of a stamped tile¹¹⁶ found in its ruins. Yet it manifestly belongs to the early plan, for its front was realigned when the later street grid was laid out. If the main part of the street grid was late first or early second century, then a Flavian date for the bath-house is perhaps not unlikely. This first bath-house had a comparatively simple plan. A Tuscan-style portico fronting the street provided access to

an exercise yard, which itself seems to have had porticoes surrounding it. Opening off the north-east corner was a latrine with a drain running round all four sides. A triple entrance led from the exercise yard into the changing room, beyond which was a cold room, equipped with a central basin and flanked by plunge baths of different size. Beyond again lay the tepidarium and caldarium, each with its own furnace and plunge bath. The whole building stretched for about 150ft (45m) back from the street frontage. Later alterations, largely undated, considerably extended the bathing facilities (see fig. 10), although some contraction was noted towards the end of the building's life.¹¹⁷

Even if Boon's identification of the Outer Earthwork as new defences erected between 47 and the end of the first century¹¹⁸ can no longer be accepted, there is still a very slight possibility that the Inner Earthwork remained in commission, even if only partly functional, although this would presuppose a somewhat later, Flavian date for the bath-house than normally ascribed.¹¹⁹

But if this hypothesis ultimately proves unsupportable in attempting to show that Silchester had some form of protection during the reign of Cogidubnus, there is still an alternative possibility. At Manor Farm, close to the later east gate, Fulford excavated the edge of a large ditch, perhaps as much as 33ft (10m) wide, and dated to c. 60–70,¹²⁰ which might be part of a hitherto unidentified circuit. But it must be admitted that, despite the extensive investigation of Silchester, it has not been observed elsewhere.

However one views these proposals, there is a probability that Silchester was in some way defended in the Claudio-Neronian period. The existence of fortification here can be matched by their provision at Winchester (p. 291) in the late Neronian or early Flavian period, and by their probable presence at Chichester (p. 262); to these may possibly be added the very small road stations at Hardham, Alfodean and Iping (p. 261). The odd one out in this list of early fortifications is, of course, Verulamium; the remainder lie within the area hypothetically



123 Plan of Silchester (after Hope, Boon and Fulford)

attributed to Cogidubnus. Boon has argued that the kingdom was legally outside the province and so beyond the immediate control of the governor. If he is right, Cogidubnus could presumably do as he pleased with regard to the defensive measures taken for his towns, just as he could deploy his own armed forces. But a governor could always intervene in the affairs of a client state, either to protect the king or depose him, as happened to the Icenii in the late 40s. The Boudiccan rebellion might have provided the context for the provision of these urban fortifications, but this is too early to account for Winchester which, in any case, was the site furthest away from the centre of disorder. The

critical years were probably 69–70, when Winchester was finally added to Cogidubnus' list of fortified towns and when he gained high honours and a reputation for steadiness and loyalty (p. 261 above). If Silchester and Chichester had not already been defended, they surely would then have been.

The extent of the Claudio-Neronian town is not yet known; it should have been confined within the Inner Earthwork, but by the Flavian period it was clearly outgrowing this boundary.

As already described (p. 257 above), the death of Cogidubnus, possibly in the late 70s, led to the fragmentation of his kingdom and the constitu-

tion of three new civitates. Silchester was the obvious choice for the capital of the Atrebates. At the centre, on the site of the sometime principia, a forum and basilica were built, almost certainly before the new street grid was laid out, since the two do not exactly relate. The major axis of the town always appears to have been from east to west, yet the London road did not begin to conform to this line until it was well inside the later defences;¹²¹ thereafter it ran not quite parallel to, and at a little distance north of, the forum. In contrast, the main north–south road ran down the west side of the basilica, so that the building nearly, but not quite, occupied the most favoured position at the junction of the *cardo* and *decumanus*. This behaviour of the London road may be partly accounted for by the presence of a religious enclosure (p. 281) situated almost due east of the forum, which could be of Iron Age origin, and which was ultimately enclosed within *Insula xxx*. In the Roman period it appears to have been deliberately united with the forum by a street running from the latter's entrance; this street was more closely aligned to the axis of the forum and did not conform with the later street grid.

For many years the masonry forum and basilica at Silchester were often quoted as being typical of such buildings in Britain, following the excavations first of Joyce and then of Fox and Hope, in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹²² More recent work in other towns has shown this symmetry to be quite untypical. Now, however, Fulford's excavations in 1980–6 not only have shown greater irregularity in the masonry building, but have also revealed the first timber-framed basilica and forum to be discovered in any Roman province.¹²³ Its full size has not yet been established, but the basilica was marginally shorter than the later masonry replacement, being only about 230ft (70m) long overall. It consisted of a nave, about 21ft (6.5m) wide, with at least one aisle, about 11½ ft (3.5m) wide; both hall and aisle were divided in the centre by a large entrance lobby about 26ft (8m) wide. Rooms at the north end of the main hall are in the correct position for a tribunal, but may have had other uses, since one,

unusually, contained a well; a comparable room probably existed at the south end. The positions of the north and south wings of this forum were established; both projected about 10ft (3m) beyond the ends of the basilica. Another well was situated in the north-west corner of the forum piazza, and a base placed on the axis, and about 43ft (13m) in front, of the entrance lobby may have supported an altar or statue (see fig. 9).

The timber-framed building was replaced by a masonry forum and basilica during the second quarter of the second century. It may in part have been constructed round the wooden building so that the latter could remain in use until the former was commissioned (see p. 337 for Exeter). The forum was built round an enlarged piazza, 142ft (43m) by 130ft (40m). On the north, east and south sides porticoes gave access to ranges of rooms behind them (see fig. 9). The main entrance of monumental character lay centrally in the east range. It is difficult to distinguish different periods of structural work from the accounts of the excavation, although there are odd discrepancies in the building lines of the two rooms at the north-east and south-east corners. Neither is it possible to say if the apses which occur in two rooms of the south range and in one of the north were part of the original work, or whether they were additions. The two rooms with apses in the south range may have been public offices or even shrines, but the remainder were most likely shops. A possible exception is the apsidal room in the north range, for hereabouts in 1744 was found a dedication to *Hercules Saegon* [. . .]¹²⁴

All three ranges were surrounded by an external portico, which was only interrupted by the monumental screen wall of the main entrance. The building was constructed using the Tuscan style of architecture, and Bath stone was used extensively for ornamental features. Fragments of a dedicatory inscription cut on Purbeck marble slabs, with some letters about 11in (280mm) high, have been found but unfortunately no fragment was large enough to enable a full reading to be made.¹²⁵

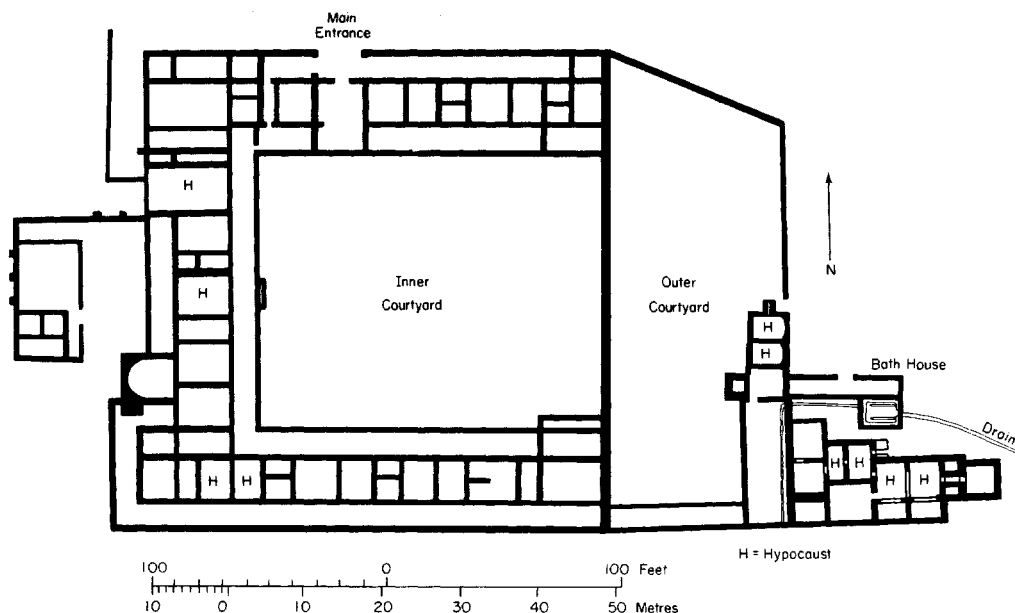
The whole west side of the forum was occupied

by the basilica, about 295ft (90m) long and about 104ft (32m) wide overall. This was made up of three main elements: a range of rooms, about 36ft (11m) wide, a hall about 43ft (13m) wide, which was once thought to have been composed of an aisle and a nave, and an aisle about 13ft (4m) wide. At each end of the hall was, at first, an apsidal tribunal which projected across the exterior ambulatory; later these were converted to rectangular forms. The westerly range of rooms varied in size and shape.¹²⁶ The central room terminated in an apse and has often been referred to as the curia, but Frere has made the valid comment that it was too small to have comfortably accommodated all members of the ordo.¹²⁷ Instead he has proposed that it served as a shrine for the principal deities of the civitas, and that the curia was most likely the large hall at the north end of the range. The bronze eagle found by Joyce in 1866 in the southern room of the range could have come from some composite piece of statuary representing a local *tutela*, or alternatively it may have been an attribute of a statue of Jupiter. The basilica, like the forum, also had an external portico, which was interrupted by the two projecting tribunals. In contrast to the forum, the basilica made use of the Corinthian order, but the fragments of capitals found exhibit a stiffness displayed by much provincial carving.

The main street grid was not laid out until after the construction of the timber forum and basilica and presumably also the bath-house. The front wall of the latter was ruthlessly cut back to form a new wedge-shaped portico so as to accommodate the street in front of it, while some houses and shops seem to have been equally affected. Various theories have been proposed to account for the distances between the streets and the size of the insulae in the new system. Boon suggested that they were based on standard units, unusually of the *pes Drusianus*,¹²⁸ while Crummy preferred measurements based on the *pes Monetalis*.¹²⁹ More recently Walthew has 'confidently believed'¹³⁰ that the private houses and insulae at Silchester are related to measurements based on units of $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pedes Monetales*. It is difficult to

imagine any competent surveyor using such awkward units, especially with the Roman system of numbering and mensuration, and the eye of faith is more than needed to accept such figures. Why the street alignments should have been changed, and why the forum was left in an insula far too large for it, are problems which cannot be answered. Perhaps an alignment based on the forum would have required the destruction of too many existing buildings, possibly belonging to influential people. If so, it shows a somewhat piecemeal approach to the problem of town-planning at Silchester and implies that no totally coordinated plan, covering all stages, probably ever existed. In 1938–9, Mrs Cotton gave a suggested date of AD 90–120 for the street grid, from excavations carried out near the north-western side of the Outer Earthwork, and at the amphitheatre gate (p. 280 below).¹³¹ But these sites lie on the outside edges of the street system and the date may be, as Boon has observed, no more than an indication of the length of time which it took to implement the whole scheme. But Fulford's more recent excavations have added nothing to alter this date.¹³²

Another public building, which was probably planned at the same time as the street system, is the so-called mansio in Insula VIII (fig. 124). Its alignment is the same as that of the streets and it occupies part of a double insula, close to the south gate. In so doing, it interrupts at the south end the line of the main north–south street east of the forum. This same street, if produced southwards, would coincide with the entrance to the building, and it probably did so in antiquity.¹³³ It should be emphasized that there is no proof that this building was the mansio, or official inn, for users of the *cursus publicus*, although there are a number of indications to show that it was no ordinary house. It was a large building, covering almost as much ground as the forum, and larger than any other house at Silchester. At the south-east corner there was a bath-house of considerable size, which adjoined an open courtyard running the whole length of the eastern side, and which was in turn separated from the main building by a substantial



124 The mansio (after Hope)

wall. The main part of the building was arranged in three wings around a colonnaded courtyard 148ft (45m) by 115ft (35m). The main entrance, with an elaborate external portico, lay towards the west end of the north wing. Apart from the entrance, both north and south wings were almost identically planned, with the rooms mainly arranged in groups of three. Two of each set of rooms ran the full width of the wing, but the third was divided lengthwise by a partition wall into two smaller rooms. The west wing contained what appear to have been reception rooms, three of which were heated by hypocausts. The excavators considered that this wing had been extensively altered, and certainly the published plan contains some peculiarities which could only be explained in this way. A westward extension from the centre of the wing may have been part of these alterations, as originally an external portico had existed outside the north, south and west wings, whereas it appeared to terminate against the sides of the extension in the later plan.

Although there is nothing against the building being the residence of some notable citizen, its

size alone, when taken with the arrangement of the rooms and the probable early date, would seem to indicate a public use. When it is remembered that Silchester lay on no less than four routes of the Antonine Itinerary, a mansio of considerable size is the most likely interpretation of its use.

The only other public building belonging to the early years of the town's development is the amphitheatre, the original construction of which has been dated to the late Neronian–early Flavian period. It is situated close to the north-east corner of, and outside, the late-second-century defences. An eighteenth-century source records masonry walls, although the building was not mentioned by Stukeley, who described it as a pond, despite the survival of the banks to a height of nearly 13ft (4m) above the surrounding ground level. It was excavated by Fulford in 1979–85;¹³⁴ he found that the earliest structure was of timber, which had revetted not only the seating banks, enclosing an almost circular arena, about 140ft (43m) across, but also the two diametrically opposed entrance passages through them (see fig. 14). The rear of

the banks was, in contrast, kept in place by stacked turf. The material forming the banks was partly obtained by excavation of the arena floor to a depth of up to nearly 9ft (3m); this would have had the effect of making them seem higher, yet it would have provided only about half of their make-up. The remainder was presumably quarried from the outside. Traces of terraces were observed dropping down the inner slope of one bank and they were most likely related to the seating arrangements, while opposing recesses had been set into them at the ends of the axis at right angles to that joining the entrances. A drain carried out water from the arena through the north entrance.

Sometime in the middle of the second century, radical alterations changed the arena from a circular to an oval shape, measuring about 146ft (44m) north-south by 124ft (38m). This was achieved by extending the arena northwards, while at the same time reducing the diameter between the recesses. Although the retaining wall was still built of timber, its posts were set in lengths of continuous trench in contrast to the first amphitheatre's individual post settings; the latter appear to have been retained in the entrances (see fig. 14).

It was not, however, until probably the early third century that the amphitheatre was rebuilt in masonry. The new arena wall, generally about 3½ft (1m) wide, was recessed into the bank behind the wooden wall of the preceding period, with which it conformed, so that the arena was enlarged by about 3ft (1m) all round. The entrances, especially at the north end, were made wider and seemingly longer, while the recesses became apsidal-ended chambers. The gates into the arena were still of timber and were hung on posts situated at the junctions of the entrance and arena walls. Weepers were set near ground level in the latter to allow water in the banks to seep through, whence it was carried in a shallow soakaway running round the circumference. It is probable that the seating bank was also heightened, perhaps using the material excavated for the wall foundations (see fig. 15).

But this was not the end of construction work,

since new modifications to the arena wall and floor had almost certainly taken place before the middle of the century, when large quantities of sand, clay and gravel were dumped in the arena to produce a saucer-shaped floor; a new and more substantial drain was inserted, while the entrance passages and recesses had to be adapted to the raised level.

The late second century saw the erection of a new earthwork fortification on a line which more closely approximated to that of the long defunct Inner Earthwork. It has already been suggested that work on masonry fortifications was started at certain towns in Britain during the late second century (p. 74 above) as a preliminary move by Clodius Albinus. In almost every case where this can be discerned, there is evidence to show that the work was completed in haste by the use of earthwork in place of masonry for the curtain walls.

The fortifications at Silchester have been the subject of fitful investigations since Joyce first started in 1872.¹³⁵ Most important have been Mrs Cotton's in 1938–9¹³⁶ and Professor Fulford's from 1974–80.¹³⁷

As indicated above, the late-second-century defences of Silchester were of earthwork, and were first identified by Mrs Cotton. The nature of the construction was slightly different, though, from that observed in some other towns (e.g. Cirencester, p. 310), since timber was used first, certainly at the north and south-east gates and most probably at others.¹³⁸ As at Cirencester, work began with these gates. The rampart followed; its full width is not known but it probably exceeded 30ft (9m) and, as with most other examples of urban earthworks, it was of dump construction, with the ends being partly retained at the gates by flimsy wattle fences. There would appear to have been two ditches in front of the bank.

After the lapse of a little time, the timber gates were replaced by masonry. This took the form first, at the south-east gate (see fig. 33), of infilling between the timber uprights, which was then followed by reconstruction of the gate piers. It is

worth noting that the masonry of all the gates made extensive use of brick for quoins and facing, whereas the later curtain wall did not.

The south-east gate was originally identified by Fox and Hope¹³⁹ as a sluice gate carrying away water from the mansio baths in Insula viii. Fulford has now shown that it was a normal postern, with a drain running beneath it, probably giving access to an important extra-mural building. The original width was 8ft (2.5m) but this was reduced to little more than 3½ft (1.1m) by the masonry piers. Both masonry north and south gates (see fig. 32) were single arched openings, 14ft (4.2m) and 12½ft (3.8m) wide respectively, which may have supported towers. The east and west gates (see fig. 31) which, as already mentioned (p. 276), carried the principal road through the town, were larger, with double portals, each about 13ft (4m) wide and separated by a central *spina* of about 4ft (1.2m). Both were flanked by guard-chambers and projecting, rectangular towers.¹⁴⁰

The earthwork was reinforced by the insertion at its front of a masonry curtain wall, about 9½ft (2.9m) thick at foundation level, probably in the 260s. The existing inner ditch was also filled to provide a firmer foundation, and another dug further out. In places along the marshy parts of the south-east side wooden piles underpinned the wall; the bank was also enlarged. At distances of about 200ft (61m) along its circuit, the wall was carried to its height at the full width for lengths of about 12ft (3.7m); elsewhere the width was reduced to 7½ft (2.3m) by an internal scarcement. These projections, called counterforts by Mrs Cotton,¹⁴¹ may have acted as bases for stairways leading to the parapet; similar arrangements have also been observed at Caerwent (p. 384). Apart from the gates already referred to above, which were now incorporated, three additional gates of masonry were planned for the new scheme: the south-west gate, carrying the main road to Sorviodunum, the amphitheatre gate (see fig. 33), and another, smaller postern some 300yds (273m) further north-west from it. The latter was never completed, and the opening was

blocked before the wall had risen to its full height.¹⁴² Both the other gates consisted of simple arched openings in the wall, about 11ft 6in (3.5m) wide, and are typical of the later form of town gates.¹⁴³

Another opening lay in the south-eastern wall, some 200yds (183m), north-east of the south-east gate. It carried the stream which now passes through a break in the wall; only the east side of the original opening was observed in 1902, the other having been destroyed.¹⁴⁴ This stream rises in the area of the public bath-house in Insula xxxiii, and was probably used in the same way as the spring near the mansio baths.

The reference to the water supply and drainage of two bath-houses leads us to consider other comparable arrangements. The geology of the site is such that water could easily be obtained by sinking wells to the clay bed which underlies the surface gravel. The wells varied in depth from 8ft (2.4m) to 30ft (9.1m), and were usually lined with flints, where they passed through the gravel, and below that with timber. Several appear in each insula, including the forum and basilica, and were probably sufficient to supply most domestic needs. Despite their frequency, a need was still felt for piped water, and a wooden pipeline was traced running from the ditch outside the south-east gate, under the wall and bank and along the north side of the street as far as Insula iii, where it possibly served a building on the south side. It is recorded¹⁴⁵ as having terminated against a rough mass of flint masonry situated in the edge of the ditch, from which it was suggested water had been drawn. Yet the pipe runs below the curtain wall and bank which strongly implies an earlier date for its construction, for, if it was later, it would surely have been carried through the gate. If so, then the masonry structure may represent the remains of a castellum which was either partly destroyed when the ditch was dug, or else left standing on its edge. In either case the original source of water almost certainly came from elsewhere, but whether from a nearby spring or from an aqueduct is not known. One of the most interesting finds made at

Silchester, which may provide a clue to the way in which an elevated cistern could have been fed, is a reciprocating force pump (see fig. 59), found in a pit below a house in *Insula* xiv.¹⁴⁶ The cylinders, reservoir and rising pipe were made of lead, attached to an oak stock. The cylinders were 22in (559mm) long and of 3in (76mm) bore.

A hint of the religious life observed at Silchester has already been indicated (p. 276). Several temples are known in the town, in addition to other possible shrines. Apparently the main religious site lies near the east gate in *Insula* xxx.¹⁴⁷ The *insula* was bounded on the north, south and west sides by a flint wall and by the town wall on the east (fig. 125). We cannot say if the line of the town wall there precisely followed the original east boundary of the *temenos*, but it probably did so. Two Romano-Celtic temples are known to lie near the west side of the enclosure which occupies a low rise within the town. Both temples are aligned to follow the first town plan. That to the north was the larger, and is indeed so far the largest known in Britain, with a *cella* 42ft (12.8m) square and an external portico 13ft 6in (4.1m) wide. The *cella* of the other was 24ft (7.3m) square and the portico approximately 12ft (3.7m) wide. The floors of the first were of concrete, which had been raised considerably above the surrounding ground surface; the smaller had floors of plain red tesserae. Both exteriors had been rendered with red-painted stucco. A small column of Bath stone was found in the Silchester churchyard, which partly overlies the site, and probably came from the smaller of the temples. Fragments of Purbeck marble wall-sheathings and mouldings were also found during the excavations, but the only objects of religious importance were two miniature clay votive lamps.

An apsidal structure in the north-west corner of the *insula* may be part of a third temple; excavations could not be completed owing to existing farm buildings. A large hall-like building lay between it and the northern temple. The fact that the parish church is parallel to the temples might suggest that its outer walls are in part

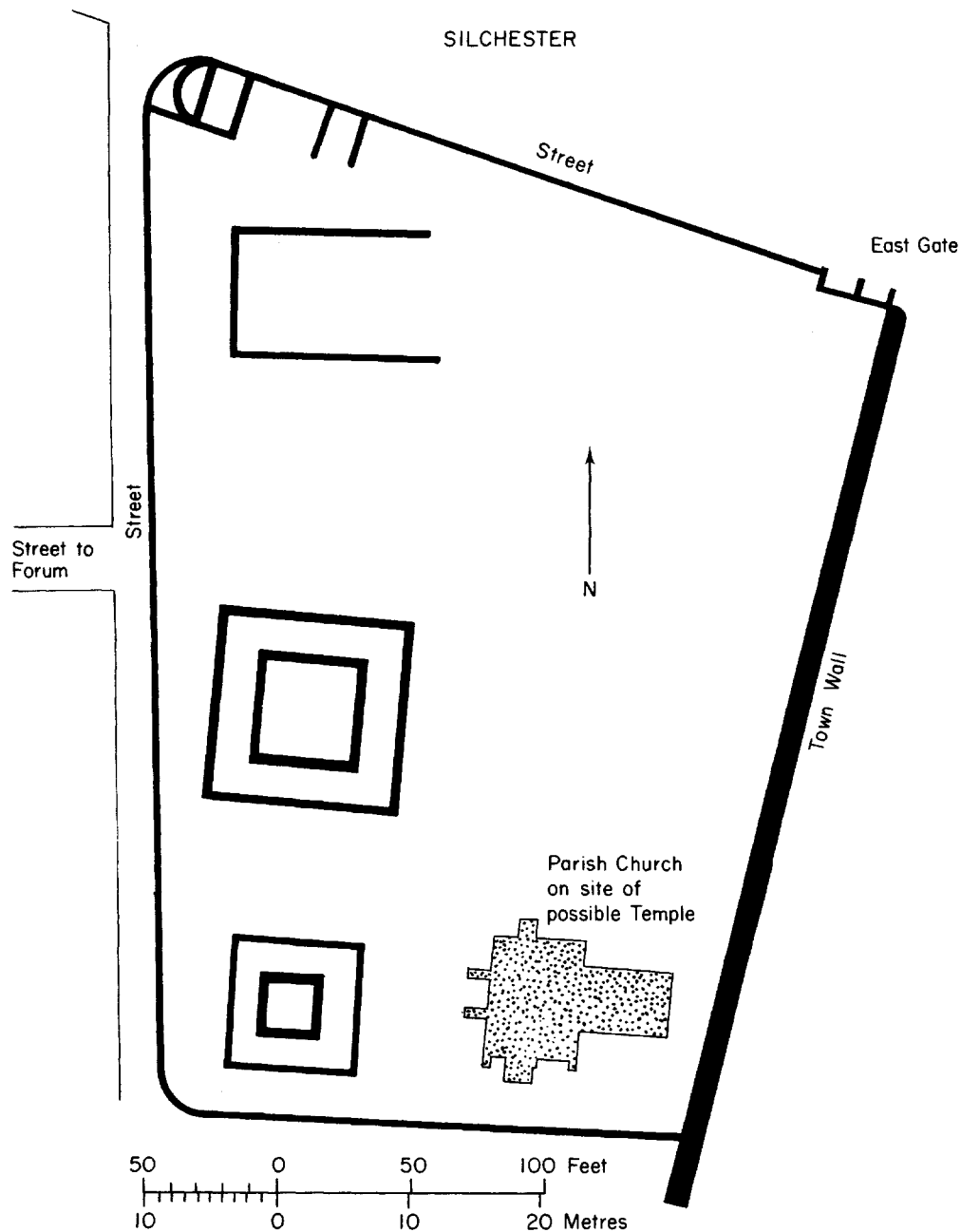
founded on the remains of a fourth.

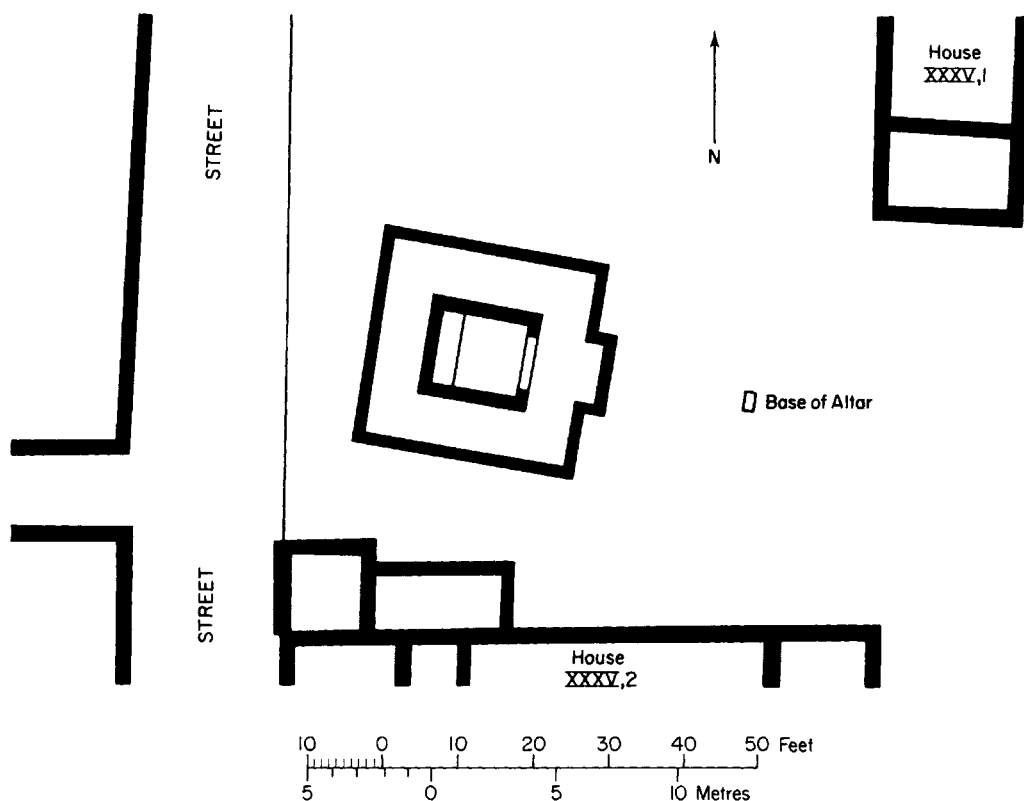
Another temple of some importance lies near the west side of *Insula* xxxv, and was likewise not aligned with the street grid.¹⁴⁸ It was considerably smaller than those in *Insula* xxx, the *cella* measuring only 12ft (3.7m) by 14ft (4.3m) with a portico about 7ft (2.1m) wide surrounding it (fig. 126). An entrance about 10ft (3m) wide lay on the east side of the portico, while across the west end of the *cella*, a platform, 3ft (914mm) high, had been built, presumably to carry statues. The area around the temple produced some interesting finds, which included fragments of three inscribed panels of Purbeck marble, and five fragments from two statues, one of which may have represented Mars. The inscriptions, which are considered below (p. 289), help to throw some light on the institutions of Calleva.

Yet another temple existed in *Insula* vii and was of polygonal form with sixteen sides, but with a circular internal face to the wall of the *cella*. The diameter of the *cella* was 35ft 7in (10.9m), and the width of the surrounding portico 9ft 6ins (2.9m).¹⁴⁹ The building lay in a considerable area of open ground surrounded by a continuous wall on the north, east and south sides which probably formed the boundary of a *temenos*.

Three other buildings might qualify as pagan shrines or temples, but there is nothing to suggest what cults they represented. There is also evidence for the existence of *aediculae* and private shrines in domestic houses. Apart, however, from some small bronze and pipeclay figurines of quite normal type, and some other accessories, there is little else to suggest the religious inclinations of the pagan population, which seem to have been along lines typical for Romano-British towns.

The last building with a religious significance to be considered belongs to a very different category from those already described. It was situated in the south-east corner of the *insula* in which the forum lay. This building was first excavated in 1892¹⁵⁰ and re-excavated by Richmond in 1961.¹⁵¹ It was small, measuring only 42ft (12.8m) by 24ft (7.3m), and the long axis was orientated

125 The temple enclosure near the east gate (*after Hope*)

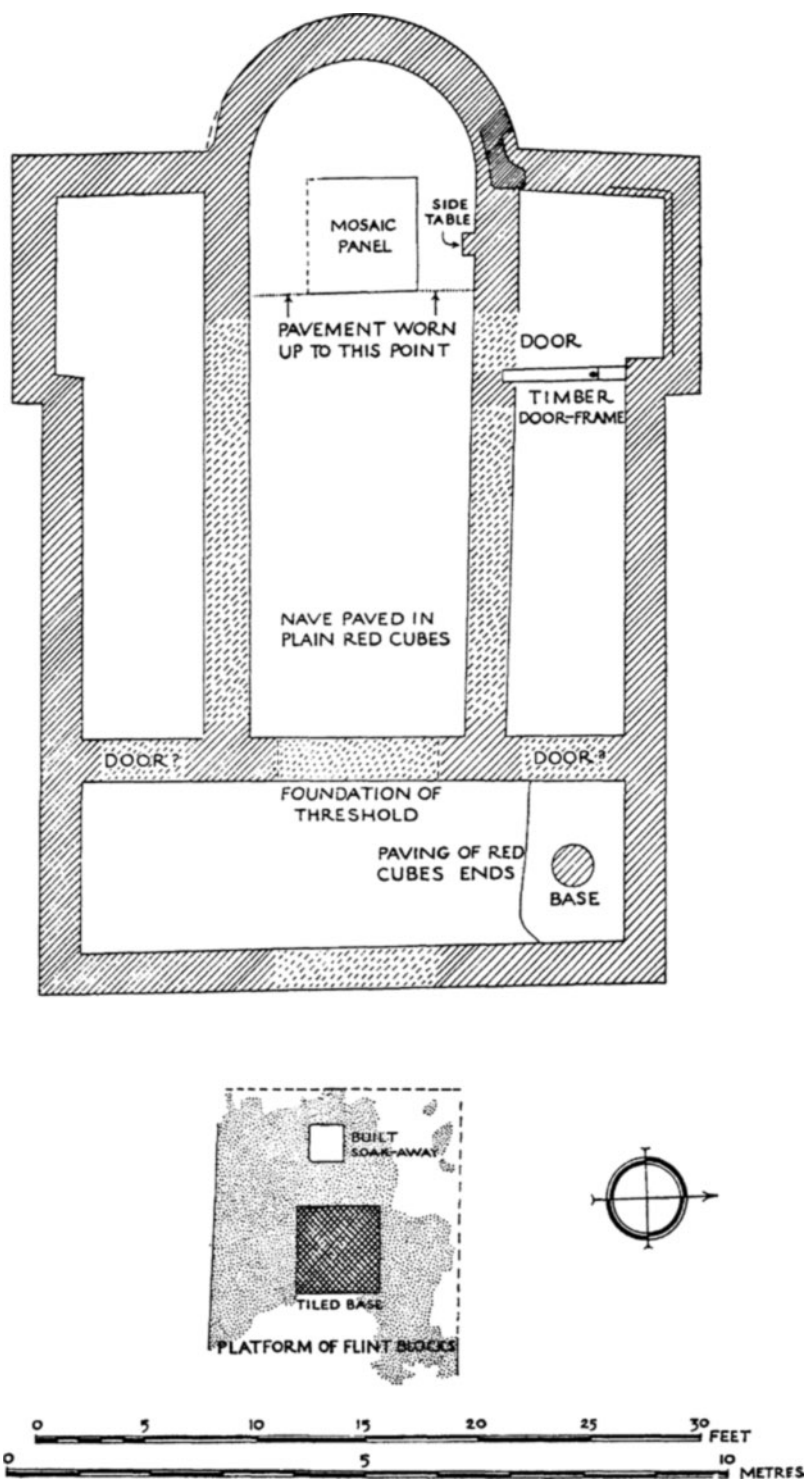


126 The temple of Mars (after Hope)

east-west. At the east end, an ante-room, or narthex, occupied the full width of the building. A circular flint foundation 22in (559mm) in diameter was placed centrally at the north end of the narthex. The rest of the building was divided into a central nave with apsidal west end and two side aisles. The aisles terminated against slightly wider rooms at their west ends resembling transepts, from which they were separated by screen walls (fig. 127). The floor of the nave and narthex had originally been covered with a red tessellated pavement, containing a square of black and white chequerboard mosaic at the base of the apse. Much of the floor had been disturbed at later periods, some of the hollows being attributed by Richmond to the action of squatters. Traces of opus signinum were found adhering to the face of the mosaic. East of the building was a tile base, 4ft

(1.2m) square, set in the middle of a mass of pitched flints. The edges of this foundation had been badly robbed, but a straight edge still survived on the south. A pit, carefully constructed in flint and tile, was situated slightly west of the tile base and was an integral part of the whole structure.

Three coins, which had a white deposit still adhering to them, were found with displaced flooring material in the 'squatters' hollows. Richmond claimed that the deposit was the same as the mortar used for the floor matrix, and that therefore the coins must originally have been embedded in it. However, a recent analysis does not support this theory, and has shown that the white incrustation was derived from corroded lead.¹⁵² Consequently the building cannot be closely dated, but it is certainly not earlier than the mid



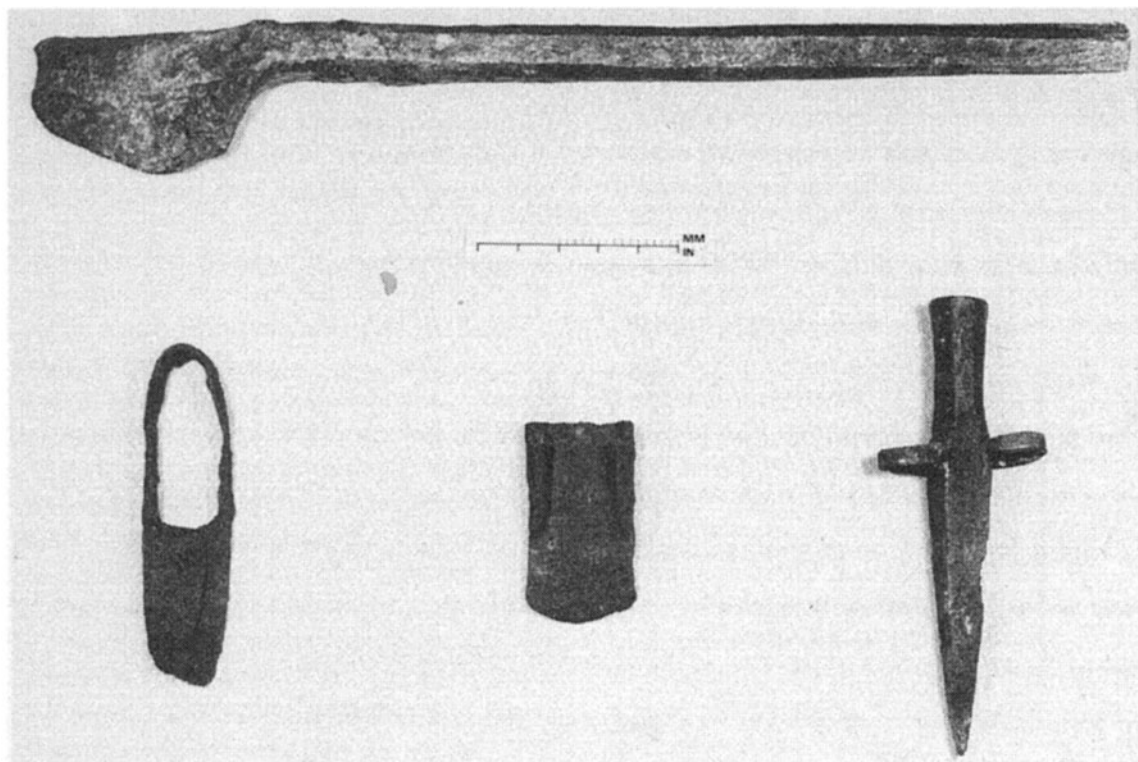
third century, and most likely dates to the early fourth century.

Although there is no absolute proof that the building was a Christian church,¹⁵³ its position in the town, its date and its modest plan create a strong presumption. It has been suggested that the isolated structure at the east end was a baptistery with laver and soak-away pit. A baptistery would imply that this was a cathedral, and Silchester, therefore, the seat of a bishop. Probably the strongest argument in favour of it being a church is that relating to its central position in the town. But many of the building's features can be matched in pagan contexts. Yet a lead seal found in the basilica and stamped with a  monogram within the letters [P]MC,¹⁵⁴ might be taken to suggest that the practice of Christianity played some part in the official life of the town.

The consideration of this fourth-century building in its correct context as part of the religious life of the town has advanced us beyond that point in time which this narrative had reached, and attention must now return to somewhat earlier commercial and domestic buildings of the town. It is often found in many towns of Roman Britain that the insulae close to the forum are packed along the street frontages with narrow strip-like buildings usually interpreted as shops.¹⁵⁵ One of the most notable features at Silchester is the marked lack of crowded buildings; the number of such premises is few and chiefly confined to the main east-west street. Admittedly, flimsy buildings of this type may have been missed by the excavators, but alternatively we might presume that some others, which on the sole basis of their plans might be called dwellings, incorporated within their structures some provision for commerce or industry, as was done in Building xxxviii, 1 at Verulamium (p. 235), and at Colchester (p. 125); comments have already been made on this association of domestic and commercial functions (p. 66). Certainly House 4 in Insula x at Silchester was partly used as a silver refinery and contained a cupellation furnace.¹⁵⁶ In one or two others it is possible to discern groups of shops

united within one block as at Verulamium and Cirencester.

Certainly there is no lack of other evidence to indicate the economic activities of the inhabitants. At an early date, probably before the forum was built, there seems to have been a tannery situated near the north-west corner of Insula vi. A considerable area was found covered with ox-jaws, an indication that skins with only the heads attached had been brought for treatment, as was often customary in the Roman world.¹⁵⁷ Three cobbler's lasts from the ironwork hoards demonstrate the presence of leatherworkers in the town. A number of circular hearths, concentrated especially in Insulae x and xi, were suggested by the excavators to have supported vats used by dyers, although such hearths would have been suitable for a wide variety of purposes, such as brewing, baking or cooking. A pewterer was at work in the forum, for six fragmentary moulds for vessels were found in 1892.¹⁵⁸ Most moulds of this type are of late date and they probably belonged to the period when the basilica was being used for metal-working (p. 289). The rare evidence for silver refining, referred to above, is complemented by more prolific evidence for the activities of bronzesmiths and blacksmiths. The two hoards of ironwork, which were found in 1890 and 1900, contained assortments of smiths' tools, including tongs, anvil, striking hammer and farriers' tools. More recently, in 1955, an iron-smelting furnace was found, in which iron ore, probably from local sources, was reduced to metal. The ironwork hoards also contained a plentiful supply of carpenters' tools, and, of considerable interest, some agricultural implements, which included ploughshares and coulter (fig. 128). Such finds, presumably the stock-in-trade of working town blacksmiths, support the suggestion made in an earlier chapter (p. 68) that many country districts depended on the services provided by towns and villages for repairs and replacements to equipment. Another trade represented was coopering, and it was also found during excavations that parts of barrels



128 Agricultural implements from Silchester (*Reading Museum*)

were often used to line sections of wellshafts. One of these, however, had been made of silver fir, which is native to southern Europe, and was a container originally used for importing Spanish or French wine.

A brickworks is proposed at Little London just under 2 miles (3km) south of the town, where the Neronian tiles may have been made;¹⁵⁹ another kiln was probably situated near the amphitheatre. Two kilns making early pottery have been discovered outside the north gate;¹⁶⁰ doubtless more remain to be discovered and a dump of Claudio-Neronian wasters was located near the amphitheatre.¹⁶¹ Later, much pottery reached the town from the Alice Holt kilns near Farnham and from the Thames Valley kilns higher up the river at Oxford; smaller quantities of other wares came from further afield such as the New Forest and Dorset.¹⁶² Masons' workshops undoubtedly

existed, as indicated by unfinished carvings,¹⁶³ but whether the large number of jet and shale objects from the town indicate manufacture on the site is uncertain; no waste pieces have ever been identified, so it would seem improbable.¹⁶⁴

The houses of Silchester are truly representative of Romano-British urban dwellings. The earliest, insofar as they can be detected, were frequently built of wattle and daub attached to timber frames, similar to those in other early towns. Most also had a simple plan. Some presumably developed as time passed and appeared in a rebuilt, although not necessarily realigned, form at later dates, in which the older alignment was sometimes incorporated into new extensions conforming with the street grid. We do not know precisely at what date masonry foundations and walls began to be used here for private houses, although, as at Verulamium, it

might be suspected that such developments did not generally occur much before the middle of the second century. Some sixteen large courtyard houses are known at Silchester and most conform with the lines of the street grid. The number is hardly enough to accommodate all members of the curial class, even allowing for several members of one family to sit on the *ordo* at the same time, and we might infer that not all owned houses of the most opulent type. This would be in keeping with evidence elsewhere from which a wide social and economic range of members can be inferred. Although over thirty of the houses are known to have had mosaic floors, they lacked the more ebullient pictorial designs found in mosaics at Cirencester and some other towns. Most are composed of conventional geometric and stylized floral patterns. Only one pavement, which probably came from an earlier version of House XIX, 2, contained more animated scenes. Fragments of painted wall-plaster indicate the same types of decoration and use of standard colours that have been found more recently in other towns.¹⁶⁵

Many houses had courtyards, or larger areas associated with them, which may have been used as gardens or orchards. One of the most interesting aspects of the earlier investigations at Silchester, in which they were far ahead of their time, was the publication of detailed lists of plant remains. These lists include plants which today would most likely be accounted as weeds, although many, such as Good King Henry, corn salad, nettle, valerian, self-heal, penny cress and St John's wort, may have been used for culinary, dyeing or herbal purposes. Other plants possibly were deliberately cultivated in gardens for their appearance, such as mallow, rose, violet and box. Yet others, although also occurring wild, may have been used as vegetables, such as carrot, parsnip and celery; there is also a single example of an edible pea. Both coriander and chervil seem to have been grown as seasonings. Poisonous plants such as hemlock and varieties of nightshade would have been useful for pharmaceutical preparations. Frequent use seems to have been made of wild fruits,

such as blackberry, raspberry, wild strawberry, sloe, crab-apple, elder and hazel nuts. Cultivated and improved fruits included a small medlar, bullace, damson, a plum of Orleans type and the mulberry, all of which may have been introduced to this island during the Roman period. Whether grapes and figs should be included in this list is more problematical and the seeds found may have come from imported dried fruit, although both vines and fig trees will grow readily in Britain. The presence of marsh marigold and water chickweed indicates ponds and marshy areas within the town. Linseed may suggest the preparation of flax for the manufacture of linen, or fodder for cattle.

Other remains found in the course of excavation give a reasonably complete picture of the non-vegetarian diet of a town. Apart from domestic animals and birds kept for food, hunting must have provided the more exotic items on the menu, which included wild boar and several other species of game. Both fresh-water and sea fish were represented and included a variety of shellfish and edible snails.

Boon has suggested¹⁶⁶ that the lack of villas in the country immediately around Silchester indicates that the land was farmed from the town. Further, he has pointed out that certain houses within the town have large yards and out-buildings, which would have been suitable for farm use. Added to the presence of farm implements and a corn-drying oven, it seems a reasonable assumption to make.¹⁶⁷ Recent pollen analyses have shown a mixed environment around Silchester in the pre-Roman and Roman periods, with much open land containing heath, pasture and arable, and with marsh and damp carr outside the south-east gate; the latter also supported oak and birch, as well as scrub containing alder, blackthorn, elder, field maple and hazel.¹⁶⁸

So little is known about the burials and cemeteries at Silchester and so few inscriptions have been found, that not much can usefully be said about the inhabitants. One of the principal cemeteries was outside the north gate, but it has never been excavated. Only one tombstone is



129 Tombstone of Flavia Victorina, wife of T. Tammonius Victor (*Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge*)

known,¹⁶⁹ which refers to Flavia Victorina and was set up by her husband Titus Tammonius Victor (fig. 129). The chief interest lies in the name Tammonius, for it also recurs in that of the dedicator, T. Tammonius Vitalis, of the inscription to Hercules found in the forum; his father was Saenius Tammonius and it is probable that the family were prominent in civic life, Roman citizenship having been conferred on the father presumably for service as a magistrate. It is interesting that the later generations preferred to use the more correct form of the name. Despite the fact that so little is known of individuals, we do know that there were sufficient residential non-Callevans in the town to form a guild, *collegium peregrinorum*, which seems to have had connexions with the temple in Insula xxxv (p. 281).¹⁷⁰ The inscriptions (fig. 130) referring to the guild are also important because they have been taken to reflect on the possible status of the town. One inscription refers to [*consistenti*]um *Callevae*, the other simply to C[. . .] C[. . .]. In an earlier expansion, both Birley and Boon claimed that this would read *c(ivitatis) C(allevensium)*,¹⁷¹ from which they inferred that, by the early third century, Silchester had become a municipium. This was rejected by Frere,¹⁷² and has now been revised by Boon;¹⁷³ no certain restoration is possible.

The later history of Silchester is difficult to piece together. For many years, the assumption made by the early excavators – that the basilica and forum had been burnt during the troubles following the episode of Allectus in 296 – remained current. But Fulford's excavations have now shown that the 'burning' had been misinterpreted.¹⁷⁴ During the later third century much of the hall had been taken over for metal-working, and became the workshops of coppersmiths and pewterers; later these were mostly replaced by blacksmiths, while later still, possibly towards the end of the fourth century, a small hypocaust was inserted into the external portico near the south-west corner. By then also industrial activity appears to have ceased, although some form of occupation lingered on into the fifth century.

Silchester is one of the few towns in Roman Britain which have never produced evidence, apart from the wide flat ditch, for the addition of external towers to the curtain wall, and which might imply that its position was comparatively safe. At some unknown date, however, the southern portal of the west gate, and the south-east gate, were both blocked, while the width of the south-western gate was reduced by nearly half, presumably to increase their defensive capacities. Five items of military equipment, usually associated with the late Roman army, have been found in the town,¹⁷⁵ but there is no early Germanic settlement in the area.

The very latest objects from Silchester have been reviewed by Boon.¹⁷⁶ They include fragments from glass vessels and beads of the very latest Roman types, and some bronze pins with western, Celtic affinities. One is tempted to associate the latter with the Ogham stone from Insula ix, which Professor Jackson, on stylistic grounds, dated to probably the seventh century or later. However, Sir Ifor Williams ascribed a provisional date of c. AD 450 to the stone while Frere has also cast doubt on Jackson's conclusions. The inscription on it reads EBICATO[SMAQ]I MVCO[and it is the most easterly example of this Celtic script yet known.¹⁷⁷ The Silchester region in the fifth and sixth centuries has been considered by O'Neil.¹⁷⁸ He pointed out that a high proportion of coins from the Silchester excavations can be dated to AD 388–95, and that many of them showed a considerable degree of wear, so indicating continued occupation of the site well into the fifth century. To these can be added a small hoard of jewellery and late, mostly silver, coins found buried in the tail of the counterscarp bank of the Outer Earthwork at Rampier Copse; the date of burial was probably c. 410.¹⁷⁹ From Goring up to Dorchester on the north bank of the Thames, there was an area of intensive early Saxon settlements,¹⁸⁰ which contrasts strongly with the almost complete lack of similar occupation in and around the Silchester area. To the north-west and west of Silchester, there are a number of linear



130 Three fragments of an inscription from around the temple in Insula xxxv. They refer to a *collegium peregrinorum* in the town (Reading Museum)

dykes which face away from the town (see fig. 186). O'Neil made the suggestion that these dykes acted for a time as a frontier between Saxon occupied areas and a surviving British enclave based on Silchester¹⁸¹ or even London. Furthermore, he considered that they were erected at a time when Saxon expansion had been halted and when a temporary agreement had been reached between both sides leading to a state of equilibrium, such as might have happened after the Saxon defeat at Mount Badon. It is interesting that the alignments of all the major roads from Silchester have been preserved for considerable distances with the sole exception of that to Dorchester-on-Thames, which crossed the implied frontier near Padworth. Presumably it was no longer used beyond that point, for, from there on, almost to Dorchester, the line is altogether lost.¹⁸²

We might conclude therefore that life at Silchester lingered on through the fifth and early sixth centuries until the next phase of Saxon expansion began in the middle of the sixth century, after which it was extinguished for ever.

WINCHESTER (*Venta Belgarum*)

The earliest permanent settlement on the site of Winchester dates to the first and second centuries BC, when a large earthwork was constructed to enclose an area on a promontory partly west of, and around Oram's Arbour, and partly underlying the western half of the later Roman town. Recent excavations, however, have shown that this occupation was slight from about the middle of the first century BC and was not resumed until c. AD 50.¹⁸³ There is probably enough evidence from immediately round Winchester for us to be able to attribute the area to the southern Atrebatian kingdom,¹⁸⁴ so that immediately before the conquest it would presumably have been politically under Catuvellaunian domination. Reasons have already been put forward for considering that this part was given to Cogidubnus as an

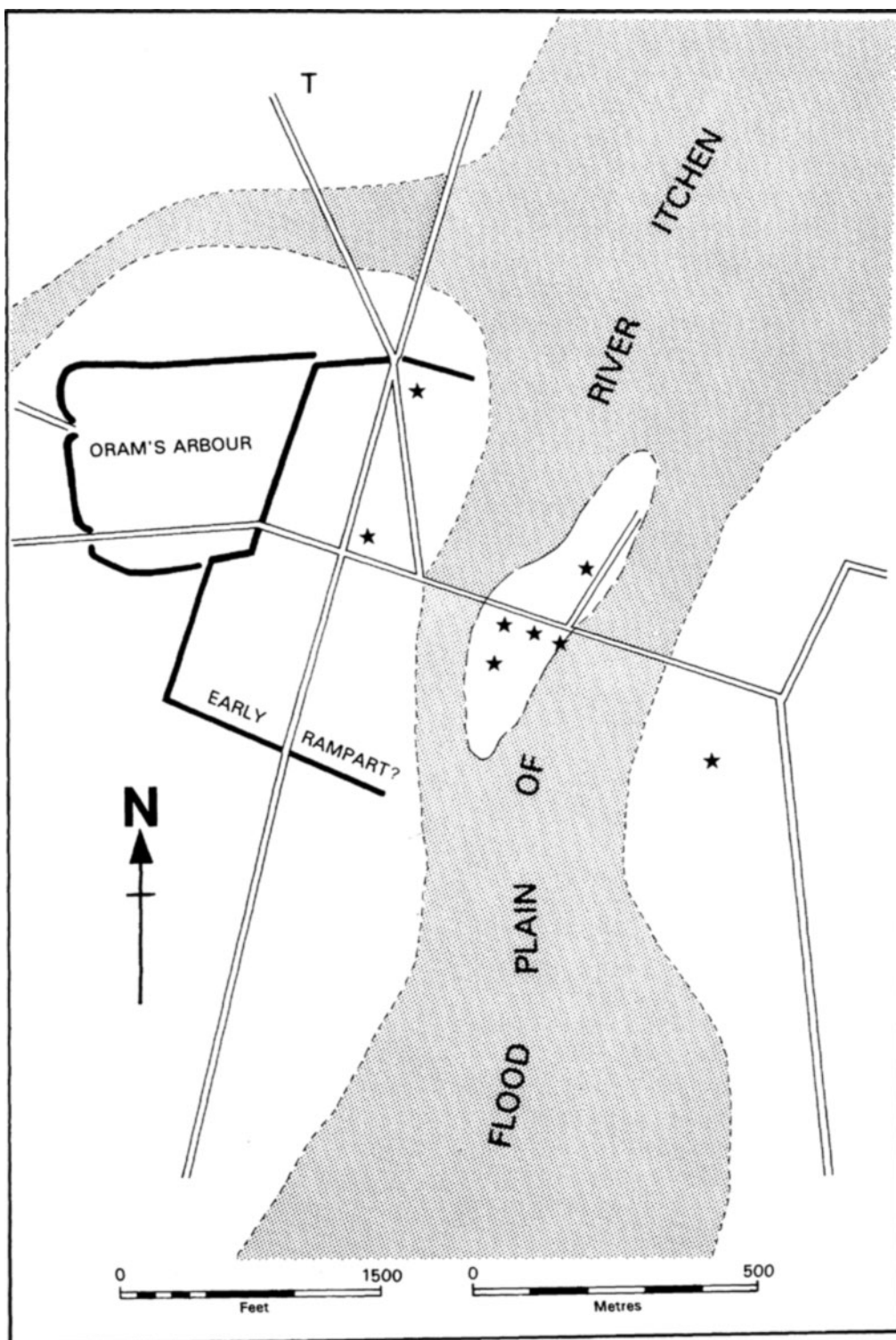
addition to his kingdom after the conquest (p. 257), and comparisons between early Chichester, and Silchester have been drawn with Winchester.

So far nothing has been found to suggest an early Roman military occupation at Winchester. Virtually no samian pottery and only a few brooches of the Claudio-Neronian period have come to light; this is not, however, conclusive proof for the absence of a military occupation. Timber buildings of equivalent date have been identified in the area of St George's Street, but not enough was uncovered to prove either a military or a civilian origin. If there was a fort it was most likely situated on the higher ground of the castle area; it should be noted that pre-Flavian material is generally sparse and largely restricted to the areas of higher ground.

However, it is surprising that, despite the extensive excavations, no evidence for either a fort or even for an immediately pre-conquest native centre has yet come to light.¹⁸⁵ In the circumstances, it would be as well if these conclusions were treated with caution, for, if the evidence is not forthcoming, Winchester would be the only town in Britain where the normal criteria governing growth to a civitas capital are entirely absent.

A considerable amount of work has been devoted in the last few years to recreate the local topography of Winchester in the early Roman period.¹⁸⁶ This has shown that the river occupied a broad flood plain, somewhat west of its present course. It probably flowed in several meandering channels around one or more elongated islands of higher ground in the middle of the plain, which became the centre of the Roman town. The islands probably contributed to a natural crossing place, which ultimately emerged as the main east-west axis of the town; early Roman material has been found buried up to 13ft (4m) deep in the mineral silts surrounding them (fig. 131).

The first genuine indication of Roman fortifications occurs in the late Neronian or early Flavian period, when an earthwork was constructed. It has been identified in Tower Street, at the south gate,

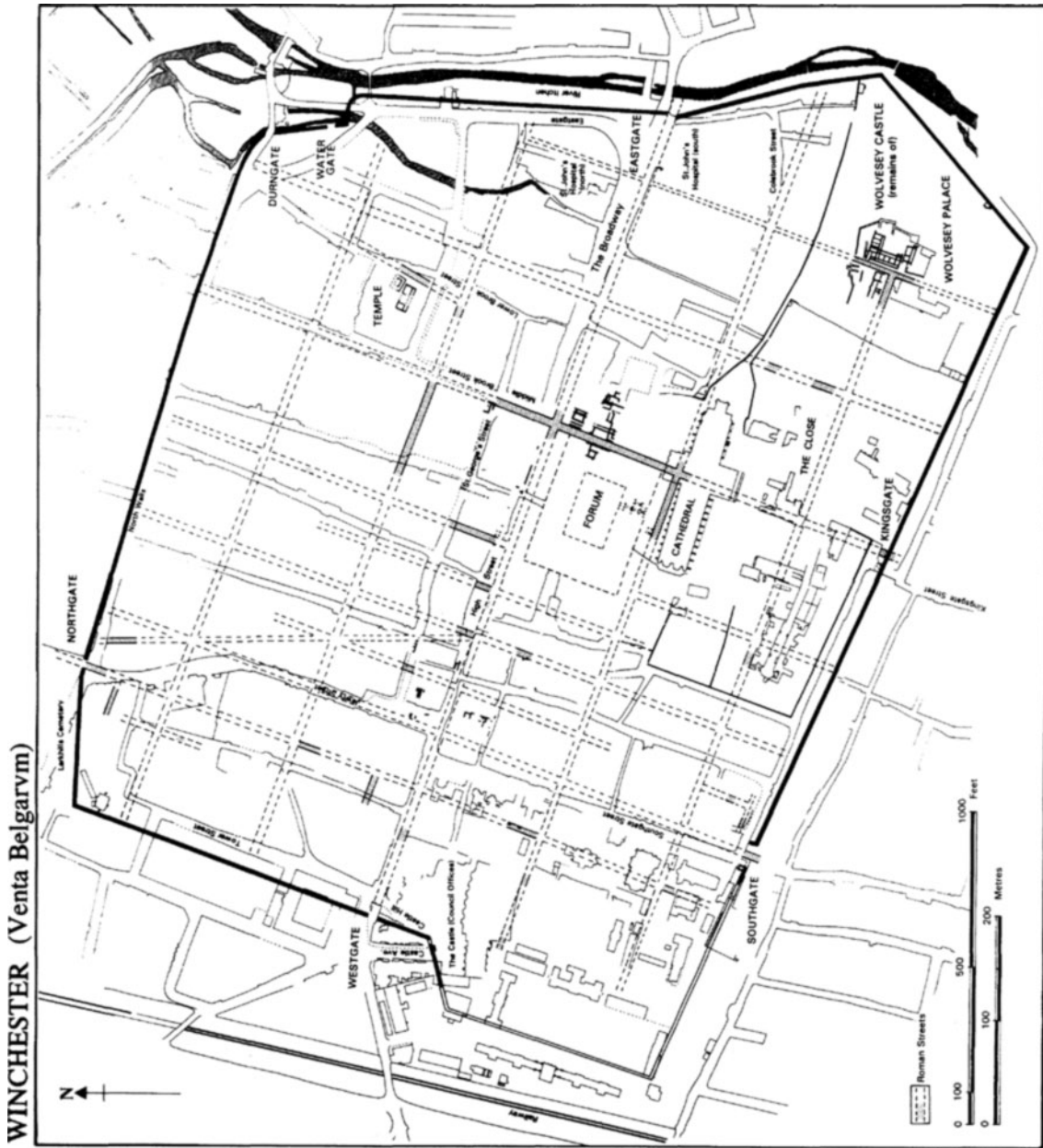
131 Early-Roman Winchester and the River Itchen (*Winchester Museums Service Archaeology Unit*)

and in the castle yard where the bank passed across the filled ditch of the native enclosure;¹⁸⁷ the earthwork was also incorporated in the later town defences. A timber-framed gate (see fig. 29), with three sets of paired posts between the rampart ends, had been erected on the same site as that used for the later south gate. An unworn *as* of Nero was found in one of the post-holes.¹⁸⁸ Gates of this form are characteristic of the Neronian and early Flavian periods and have been found at the forts at Nanstallon, Baginton and Brough-on-Humber. Reasons have already been put forward (p. 261) to explain the construction of fortifications at Winchester c. AD 69–70. They may be related to the part Cogidubnus played in the civil war, and his possible friendship with Vespasian. However, it is not yet known what line these fortifications took on the eastern side, for no sign of them has yet been found there. Either they enclosed a different area, or they were never completed; another possibility is that the enclosure was restricted to the higher ground on the west bank of the river. The bank itself was variously composed of clean clay with flints or chalk with flints, and was retained at the front by a turf-revetted earth wall; it exceeded 40ft (12m) in width. On the west side there was a curious salient, perhaps dictated by the behaviour of the Oram's Arbour defences, as was the later north gate, and which was preserved by the later defences.

As at Chichester and Silchester, the death of Cogidubnus brought marked changes at Winchester. It became the capital of a newly formed administrative area: the *civitas Belgarum*. The choice of title for the civitas, derived from an ethnic rather than a tribal name, indicates that it was created, as with the Cantiaci, by merging several tribal units, or parts of tribes, each of which was presumably too small for independent status. It certainly seems to have taken in parts of both the old southern and northern Atrebatian kingdoms, and it may have extended westwards towards Bath.¹⁸⁹ It is difficult to understand why a site so close to the eastern boundary should have been chosen for its capital.

The change in administrative arrangements brought about considerable development at Winchester. A system of streets was laid out in the Flavian-Trajanic period (fig. 132), which was preceded by the probable canalization of the river to a course further east and an extensive system of large ditches to drain the low-lying areas. Despite also the existence of the early defences to the west, the street system was already extending eastwards onto the flood plain. One ran diagonally from the north gate in a south-south-east direction. So far the lines of the main east–west and north–south streets are reasonably certain, but they do not appear to intersect precisely at right angles. Also known are the streets to the north, south and east of the forum area and another further east. Yet another, found near Lower Brook Street, does not align with any already mentioned, although it is running in an approximately north–south direction.¹⁹⁰ It is worth noting that, if the layout of the streets in the western part of the town is as regular as postulated, then the insulae so enclosed are considerably narrower than most in Romano-British towns; they may have been influenced by terraces on the western slope, in comparison with those to the east.

An insula in the centre of the town is known to have contained a large public building complex, which was discovered during excavations underneath the site of the Wessex Hotel and the Cathedral Green.¹⁹¹ This complex is most probably the forum and basilica, as no other insula contains structures which can be so interpreted. A hypothetical reconstruction by D. Mackreth puts the basilica along the west side of the complex,¹⁹² with overall dimensions of 310ft (94m) by 410ft (125m), but much more information is required before there can be any certainty. What little is known of the plan would imply a forum with a somewhat asymmetric plan, in many ways resembling that at Leicester (p. 345). The position, though, with respect to the main axes of the town, is anomalous. It certainly lies on the main east–west street, but removed by several insulae from the main north–south axis. Possibly, in order to



132 Plan of Winchester (Venta Belgarum) and Winchester Museum, Winchester, Hampshire, UK

secure firm foundations for such a major building, it was deliberately sited on one of the original, intermediate islands, where also the ground would have been more level than on the slope to the west. Construction seems to have taken place at the end of the Flavian period or slightly later. Fragments of Purbeck marble slabs have been found associated with this building, and a large eye from a more than lifesize statue in limestone was found in the filling of Saxon graves above. To such a building could also belong the fragment of a building inscription (fig. 133) found in 1957, in Middle Brook Street.¹⁹³ It is probably a dedication

to one of the Antonine emperors and the letters are the largest known on any inscription in Britain.

It is unfortunate that so little has been discovered of the early history of the town, the explanation being partly that, on the east side, the levels almost invariably lie at or below the modern water level. However, on the west side there is still a marked absence. As a result, little detailed information is available on its formative years. The Romano-Celtic temple discovered in Lower Brook Street is probably dated to the second century,¹⁹⁴ but, apart from the plan, little more can be said about it. It appears to have been of



133 Fragment of an imperial dedication from Middle Brook Street (*Winchester City Museum*)

conventional shape with four projecting pilasters set in the portico wall on the entrance side; the inner pair corresponded with two more at the ends of the front wall of the cella. The overall dimensions were 45ft (13.7m) by 38ft (11.7m), and the cella measured 23ft (7m) by 18ft (5.5m) internally.

Towards the end of the second century, new earthwork fortifications were constructed. At the western end of the town, the Flavian bank was embodied in the new work by tipping layers of soil, scraped up from field surfaces, on top of it. The new bank was probably revetted with turf at the front and some turf was also buried in the core.¹⁹⁵ Elsewhere this bank has been identified on the east side of the town in Colebrook Street and on the south side at the south gate. Excavations on the north side have shown the later wall foundations probably cutting through it. But, as at Chichester, there are some apparent inconsistencies in the record of the relationship between the wall and the rampart. Despite the above observations, Biddle noted¹⁹⁶ that at Wolvesey the latter seemed to be contemporary with the wall, but his published section of the defences at the south gate admittedly shows a cut in the front of the rampart, which, on first impression, was intended for inserting the wall; however, the cut does not penetrate as far down as the foundations themselves.¹⁹⁷ This is an almost exact analogy with Magilton's recently published section of the defences at Chichester,¹⁹⁸ where he argues that wall and bank are contemporary and that the internal cut was made for rebuilding (p. 265). Clearly, far more work needs to be done at both towns before these points can be finally settled. In the meantime, it would be unwise to speculate further.

However, in line with current opinions, a masonry wall was perhaps inserted into the front of a pre-existing bank, possibly in the early third century. The excavations in Southgate Street showed that the wall turned inwards for at least 18ft (5.5m) on the east side of the gate. But no actual gate structure connected with this inturn

was observed, and it would seem that the gate proper was set well to the rear of the line of the curtain wall to which it was joined by the inturns. If the masonry gate was set back behind the line of the curtain wall, then it would have closely resembled the east and west gates at Silchester (p. 280 above). Indeed Biddle has pointed out¹⁹⁹ the close similarity of the known dimensions. That being so, we might suggest that at Winchester, as at some other towns, work had started on masonry fortifications before the earthworks were erected, or that it was preceded by yet another timber gate set in front of it, as at Silchester.

The construction of the masonry curtain followed closely the line of the second earth bank; only on the north side of the town is there perhaps slight doubt. The wall was built of large flints laid in courses between thick layers of mortar, and was about 9–10ft (2.7–3m) thick. It rested on a massive foundation of flints and puddled chalk. No indications of the Roman ditch have yet been found as, on the north, west and south sides it had been replaced by the medieval ditch, while on the east side the presence of the River Itchen might have rendered a ditch unnecessary. The width of the augmented rampart, contemporary with the wall, varied from 40 to 60ft (12 to 18m), the wider dimension being due to a steep downward slope behind the west curtain wall.

The line of the wall has been traced on all sides of the circuit forming a slightly irregular trapezoid with a marked salient at the castle. On the east side it roughly follows the line of the river. It enclosed an area of 144 acres (58ha).²⁰⁰

Apart from the south gate little is known of the other Roman gates. It is probable that both the east and west gates lie on or near the same sites as their medieval successors. Massive foundations discovered below the Great Western Hotel and St John's Hospital in 1928²⁰¹ are probably part of the structure of the former. The site of the north gate is not definitely known, although the road from Silchester, joined by that from Mildenhall just outside the town, is aimed at precisely the point occupied by the medieval gate; but the relevant

positions of the north and south gates with respect to the streets would prevent a direct line between them. Chalk foundations observed at the north gate in the 1930s may possibly be Roman work. Other possible gate sites are Kingsgate and Durngate, but their Roman origin is entirely unproved. An interesting recent discovery, a short distance south of the latter, was a small postern gate leading to the river (see fig. 33). Constructed of greensand blocks, the opening was 8ft (2.5m) wide; timber fittings for a hinged door with iron collars and nails were discovered still in position. Later a vertical sluice was inserted.²⁰²

The evidence for other public works is slight. A conduit, reputedly of Roman date, ran through the wall just south of the Durngate, having been found in 1848. It was 14in (356mm) wide and 9in (229mm) high, and in part was lined with lead. Outside the wall, it ran parallel for some distance and was covered with a thick layer of opus signinum. It was argued that the fall, from north to south, indicated an aqueduct bringing water from the river, rather than a drain.²⁰³ If so, it would be contrary to normal procedure, unless the water was drawn off well upstream. A water supply entering the town here is by no means impossible as a line of wooden pipes was found running north-east to south-west in Lower Brook Street. But an aqueduct derived from this quarter must have been of very limited use, as it could hardly have supplied buildings on the rising ground to the west. Now though, another possible line for an aqueduct has been identified by excavation and geophysical surveying in the Worthy Park area and by aerial photography at Woodhams Farm north-west of the town. It seems to have adopted a sinuous course to take advantage of the contours of the Fulflood Valley before approaching the north gate, from where presumably the water was distributed through the town.²⁰⁴ The source has not yet been identified.

The growth of private property seems to have expanded from the late first century onwards. Early in the second century plot boundaries were

being laid out inside the south gate in the form of gulleys set 20 Roman feet apart and running at right angles from the main north-south street. Each property was later provided with a well. In the Brooks, property boundaries of the Flavian period were encountered, two of which contained timber strip-buildings; they were replaced by masonry in the late second century.

Only comparatively few houses and shops, though, have been identified and excavated. Excavations in 1961 revealed parts of buildings in the north-west corner of the insula east of the forum.²⁰⁵ Building 1 had a small rectangular courtyard fronting the street; a well was situated at the north end of the courtyard. Behind the courtyard, a corridor ran the length of the building and was floored with red tessellation. A fragmentary mosaic was placed centrally in the floor, presumably to correspond with the entrance. At both ends of the corridor, wings projected forward to the edge of the street. The building was occupied in the third century and it seems to have been ruinous by the early fourth century, after which the area was left vacant, but fenced off from the street.

Two other buildings, apparently distinct from Building 1, were identified in the same area in the contractors' excavations, but little can be said about them. Many houses have been indicated solely by the discovery of mosaic pavements. Part of a good-quality mosaic was uncovered in 1878 under the road beyond the west end of the cathedral burial yard. It was part of a border of a large and elaborate pavement containing interlaced squares with heads, figures and dolphins; it is now in the City Museum.²⁰⁶ In pattern, it was probably not unlike the better known pavement from the Bramdean villa.²⁰⁷ Another was found in a house in St George's Street. Such other pavements as are known seem to match the general standard of the British civitas capitals.

One house, or possibly a shop, which has been more fully excavated, is in Lower Brook Street, close to the temple referred to above (p. 295).²⁰⁸ It was a simple building of three or four rooms with a

corridor running down the south side. At the east end of the corridor there appears to have been an entrance porch. A courtyard south of the building directly abutted the street to the east. The house was not built until the early fourth century, after the destruction of the temple. In the most easterly room, which itself had a wide doorway opening to the street, there was a large raised rectangular hearth, surrounded on three sides by a trough.²⁰⁹ Two small ovens opened off the trough, but had a common stokehole not connected with it. In a later stage the ovens and hearth were removed. Cakes of bronze were found associated with this room, although there was no specific evidence of bronze working, such as moulds, dross or slag. One of several wells in the courtyard produced a small wooden figure (fig. 134), which has been interpreted as a representation of a Celtic goddess.²¹⁰ The building appears to have been destroyed in the late fourth century. A more substantial fourth-century courtyard house was uncovered in The Brooks in *Insula VIII*; in a secondary modification it had been equipped with a hypocaust in one room and with tessellated floors and mosaics.²¹¹ An even larger house, perhaps dating from a little earlier, was found to its south, but could not be completely excavated.²¹² Other typical, modest town houses, possibly with associated commercial accommodation, but belonging to the late second to late fourth centuries, were located in the next *insula* to the north.

One of the few completely excavated houses is of interest since it dates to the late Flavian period and must therefore represent an early stage in the town's development. It lay close to the south-east corner, in the area of Wolvesey Palace, and had been constructed throughout of timber, but this was ultimately replaced by a succession of large masonry houses, lasting at least until the mid fourth century. This area seems to have had a comparatively high density of buildings, certainly in the second century, with both shops and houses represented.²¹³

An industry at Winchester is implied by the



134 Wooden image of a Celtic goddess, 7in (180mm) high, from The Brookes (Winchester Archaeological Research Unit)

mention in the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the *procurator gynaeceii* (in *Britannia*), *Ventensis*.²¹⁴ This reference has already been discussed in connexion with Caistor-by-Norwich (p. 253), as it has been claimed that the *Venta* of the *Notitia* refers to that town. However, of a number of authorities who have identified it with Winchester, Wild has been the most recent to advance cogent reasons for this choice.²¹⁵ He has considered the organization and character of this institution, but no building has yet been found at Winchester which could be interpreted as a weaving mill. Since it was almost certainly concerned with the manufacture of woollen cloth for official use, it may have been closely associated with a fulling shop. If so, the most likely place to find it would be at the eastern end of the town near the river, and it is worth recalling the aqueduct, mentioned above (p. 297), in this connexion. The Brooks area was certainly the centre of the medieval textile industry.

One of the few inscriptions found at Winchester is on an altar discovered near the south end of Jewry Street and dedicated to Italian, German, Gallic and British mother-goddesses by Antonius Lucretianus (fig. 135), who is described as a *beneficiarius consularis*.²¹⁶ The style of the lettering has led to it being dated to the late first or early second century. The duties of these officers seem to have been varied, but they were undoubtedly junior members of the governor's staff, who were often employed in a clerical capacity. Might we therefore suggest that this minor official was stationed at Winchester to help organize the clothing levies then operated by the army? Only with the reorganization of the government service and the establishment of regular factories in the fourth century would the administration have been placed in civilian rather than in army hands.

In the fourth century, Winchester seems to have been more densely occupied than before, although there are signs of decline beginning in the mid fourth century. No interruption occurs in the coin sequence and a major late-fourth-century cemetery is known at Lankhills. A house at Wolvesey Palace was equipped with tessellated

floors and continued to be used until the later part of the century. Unfortunately much of this late evidence has been planed off in the Saxon period and during the Middle Ages, and so little is known of the houses at this time.

There is some evidence that the defences were modified during the fourth century by the addition of bastions. However, two external towers, recorded in the late eighteenth century between the west gate and the north-west angle, are most likely to be of medieval origin.²¹⁷ But there is also a projecting tower, probably of horseshoe or semicircular shape, which had been added to the wall some 17ft (5.2m) east of the south gate, and which is certainly Roman.²¹⁸

The Lankhills School cemetery, lying between the Silchester and Mildenhall roads outside the north gate, is of particular interest because of its entirely fourth-century use.²¹⁹ It was in no sense a cemetery used only by the poorer inhabitants, for many of the burials were well and even richly furnished; the majority had their heads approximately to the west, but this alone cannot be taken as a firm indication of Christian burial rites, especially since their alignments seem to be related more to the nearby roads than to the cardinal point. Most were buried in wooden coffins. The most interesting are a number which contained late Roman military equipment in the form of small knives, zoomorphic buckles and belt tags, together with a number of cross-bow brooches and some glass beakers of very late date. Apart from the fact that Winchester contained a military garrison in the late fourth century, it is clear that the civilian inhabitants were still reasonably wealthy. Burial did not cease in the area until after AD 400.

Other cemeteries at Winchester are located east, west and south-west of the town. That to the west is estimated to have contained 300 to 400 inhumations oriented east-west. The eastern cemetery has many similarities with Poundbury, Dorchester (p. 332), and even contained a mausoleum decorated with painted plaster. Two isolated burials of Flavian date were found in 1964 in



135 Altar set up by Antonius Lucretianus, *beneficiarius consularis* (British Museum)

Grange Road, about a mile (1.6km) south of the south gate,²²⁰ during work on a sewer trench. Both bodies had been cremated and the burials contained a range of samian, coarse pottery, glass and bronze vessels. Grave 1 appears to have had an iron- and bronze-bound wooden box included, while the most interesting object in Grave 2 was a shale tray or trencher, inscribed with an elaborate geometric pattern. Two joints of pork, a samian cup and platter, and two knives and a spoon had been placed on the tray. There are distinct affinities between these burials and the richer graves of the Belgic period, with perhaps indications of trade with Durotrigian areas, for the shale trays are distributed mainly in the Dorset region, but with outliers at Silchester and London.

Winchester seems to have possessed considerable suburbs outside the fortified area of the town. A house of some substance, with tessellated floors, was cut through when the London and South-Western Railway was constructed in 1838. It lies some 430ft (130m) west of the west gate and close to the road leading to Old Sarum.²²¹ Another house with tessellated floors was noted when the Great Western Railway was extended to Winchester and lies well outside the south-eastern town boundary. More recently a fourth-century suburb has been noted on the north side of the town and exhibits a degree of deliberate planning, with side streets set at right angles to the main road. The ditch of Oram's Arbour was also cleaned out during the late Roman period, as

though to protect a western suburb or refuge.

So far there is little evidence for the end of the Roman town. The late military garrison, mentioned above in connexion with the Lankhills cemetery, seems to belong to the late fourth and early fifth centuries. There is a general scatter of early Anglo-Saxon sherds in later levels in the Lower Brooks Street region but, as yet, no structures to associate with them. Yet over the streets east of the forum was found a layer of rough cobbling separated from the street surface by a layer of black, stony loam.²²² A similar cobbled surface was also found overlying the street to the south of the forum, where it was bounded on the south by post-holes,²²³ and again separated from the street surface by a black peaty layer. In both cases the cobbled surfaces were associated with late Roman pottery, with the exception of one coarse, hand-made sherd. Other sherds of similar pottery have been found in later contexts. The implication would seem to be that, after civic discipline broke down, houses were built over the streets, which provided firm, well-drained foundations. At least one similar occurrence has been noted at Canterbury (p. 202). It is impossible to say precisely when this occurred, but a date in the fifth century might be envisaged. At some stage also the south gate appears to have been blocked first by a ditch and then by a crude masonry wall built across the front between the inturns of the curtain wall, but the exact date of this structure is equally uncertain.



FLAVIAN EXPANSION

CIRENCESTER, DORCHESTER, EXETER, LEICESTER AND WROXETER

The considerable expansion of the civilian areas of Britain during the Flavian period has already been discussed in general terms in an earlier chapter (p. 27) and more especially in connexion with the dismemberment of Cogidubnus' kingdom (Chapter 6). But the expansion by no means ended there. The military advances of the early Flavian period caused the release from military government of further considerable areas, so giving rise to the constitution of five more civitates: the Dobunni, Durotriges, Dumnonii, Corieltavi and Cornovii.

CIRENCESTER (*Corinium Dobunorum*)

The evolution of the *civitas Dobunorum* and its capital at Corinium has already been cited in Chapter 2 as an example of how such developments could occur. Yet the sequence of events there recorded, although in accordance with much modern thought and evidence, leaves several points open to argument.

Hawkes' assessment of the Belgic Dobunni and their initial contact with Rome, which was included in Mrs Clifford's report on her excava-

tions at Bagendon,¹ still carries much weight, although some fine-tuning has taken place with regard to dates. His views were to some extent bolstered by Allen's work on the Dobunnic coinage, by Mrs Clifford's own interpretation of her excavations and by Miss Fell's report on the pottery. But many points which arise there are open to question, especially with respect to the latter.² Some of the principal planks in their concerted arguments are the assumptions that Boduocus, as ruler of the eastern part of the tribe, was the leader of the expedition of the Dobunni to Kent, that it was he who surrendered to Rome and was, in turn, made an ally and client king over the whole tribe. Another is that the remainder of the kingdom under Corio³ was hostile to Rome, allied itself with Caratacus and built the earthworks in and around Minchinhampton. These suggestions certainly explain many of the facts, but by no means all, and alternatives, in some cases more acceptable, can be put forward.

Allen puts the date for the coins of both Corio and Boduocus as falling between AD 43 and 47. Yet the Roman army had certainly arrived in the Cirencester region by AD 44, if not before, and an initial division of the tribe after occupation would have been meaningless, so that the arrangements then in force can only reflect what had happened before the Roman conquest. Certainly the

respective distributions of the coins of Corio and Boduocus are almost mutually exclusive, and that of the latter appears to represent a wedge driven into the Dobunnic heartland, with coins of Corio appearing north, west and south of the area. Moreover, the coins of Boduocus are the only Dobunnic coins reflecting a pronounced Roman influence. This noteworthy difference could well throw fresh light on the passage of Dio Cassius which refers to the Dobunni (Bodunni) being subject to the Catuvellauni.⁴ Remembering the considerable southward expansion of the Catuvellauni in the early 40s, after the death of Cunobelin, it seems not improbable that they had also penetrated westward into Dobunnic territory by means of the Thames Valley, which would have been the easiest and most convenient line of approach. Certainly Boduocus' coins are found predominately in the area of that river's headwaters. Was Boduocus therefore a Catuvellaunian, or even a puppet Dobunnian, king implanted after conquest? We might so believe in view of the noted change in coin styles, which may have been derived more from Catuvellaunian than from direct Roman influence. It is partly because his coins are stylistically the latest in the Dobunnian series and partly because none were found in the two main hoards from Nunney and Sherborne,⁵ that Allen gives them a mainly post Roman-conquest date. However, he is careful to point out that it may be wrong to expect them in hoards so far south of his apparent kingdom. Dr Kent on the other hand would tentatively ascribe an entirely pre-conquest date to both series. There seems no good reason therefore to conclude from our present evidence, as Hawkes has done, that the Boduocan coins were issued solely after the Roman conquest, when, by simply placing the larger part of the Boduocan issue into the year or two before the conquest, the way is opened for a complete revision of current theories.

Hawkes has rightly argued that the Bodunni, who surrendered to Aulus Plautius in Kent, were a part of the Dobunni, incorrectly named by scribal error in Dio's narrative. It seems likely also that

the detachment concerned would have represented Boduocus' faction, as part of the Catuvellaunian dominions. So far we can follow Hawkes, but at this point we must part company from him. Whether they had surrendered to Rome or not, there seems no reason why Boduocus and his followers should have been treated any differently from other Catuvellaunian invaders of neighbouring territory. They were ejected from Trinovantian, Cantiacian and Atrebatian territory, so why should they have been allowed to remain in possession of Dobunnic land? It often happened that the indigenous tribe, hard pressed by the Catuvellauni before AD 43, actually welcomed Roman intervention. Instead of making out, therefore, as Hawkes, Allen and Mrs Clifford have done, that Corio and the remainder of the tribe greeted the Roman army with hostility, the very reverse may have occurred. The 'anti-Roman' styles seen by Hawkes on most Dobunnic coinage may be no more than non-Roman. Moreover, if Corio had been hostile, it seems extremely unlikely that he would have been permitted to continue minting his own coins.

Before going further, we must consider next the principal oppida of the Dobunni and their associations. Undoubtedly Bagendon was one of the most important in the decades before the tribe was split. There was the mint of the main ruling dynasty. The absence of Boduocan coins from this site might imply a movement of tribal headquarters under a new 'foreign' king, and in this context we might consider Minchinhampton.⁶ Mrs Clifford suggested that these earthworks were a product of an alliance between Caratacus and Corio. But it seems to strain the facts to breaking point, if only because the Roman army would hardly have been guilty of such stupidity as to place a permanent fort at Cirencester only 12 miles (19km) from the postulated centre of unbroken hostility. Moreover, Corio would have been unlikely to throw in his lot with his chief enemy, even without the Roman army on his doorstep. Yet the oppidum at Minchinhampton has still to be explained. It undoubtedly belongs to

the last Belgic phase in the Cotswolds and has produced not only a coin of Boduocus but also metalwork comparable with pieces from Catuvellaunian homelands. Although Mrs Clifford uses the latter to support her views on the presence of Caratacus, they could equally well have been brought by a Catuvellaunian conqueror, Boduocus, or his followers. With Boduocus eliminated by the Romans, the way would have been open for Corio to have returned to the old dynastic capital of Corinium at Bagendon. This explanation makes allowance for the fact that, while coins of Boduocus have seldom been found in areas demonstrably under Corio's control, isolated coins of Corio are known from areas under the sometime control of Boduocus. The ultimate choice of Corinium as the *civitas* capital in the Flavian period also emphasizes the importance of Bagendon in tribal politics and the return to that district of the tribal leaders.⁷

We may summarize the foregoing arguments, while at the same time pointing out that they are not necessarily any more acceptable than those put forward by Hawkes. They can only be considered as an alternative, but just as reasonable, scenario.

Catuvellaunian expansion westwards led to the conquest of Dobunnian lands in the upper Thames Valley and the division of the tribe. A Catuvellaunian puppet-king, Boduocus, ruled over the conquered territory, and at the time of the Roman invasion sent a detachment to Kent to assist the parent tribe. On surrendering to Aulus Plautius, Boduocus was removed from the lands he had conquered and control of the whole Dobunnian tribe returned to the surviving dynast, Corio, who remained as a possible client king until the arrangements were swept away in the reforms of Ostorius Scapula. One last point might be made. The Celtic prefix *Cori-* was by no means uncommon, occurring as a place-name both in Britain and Gaul. Is it only coincidence that the name of the tribal capital of the Dobunni should have incorporated the same prefix, at a time when place-names were being consolidated and Latinized, as

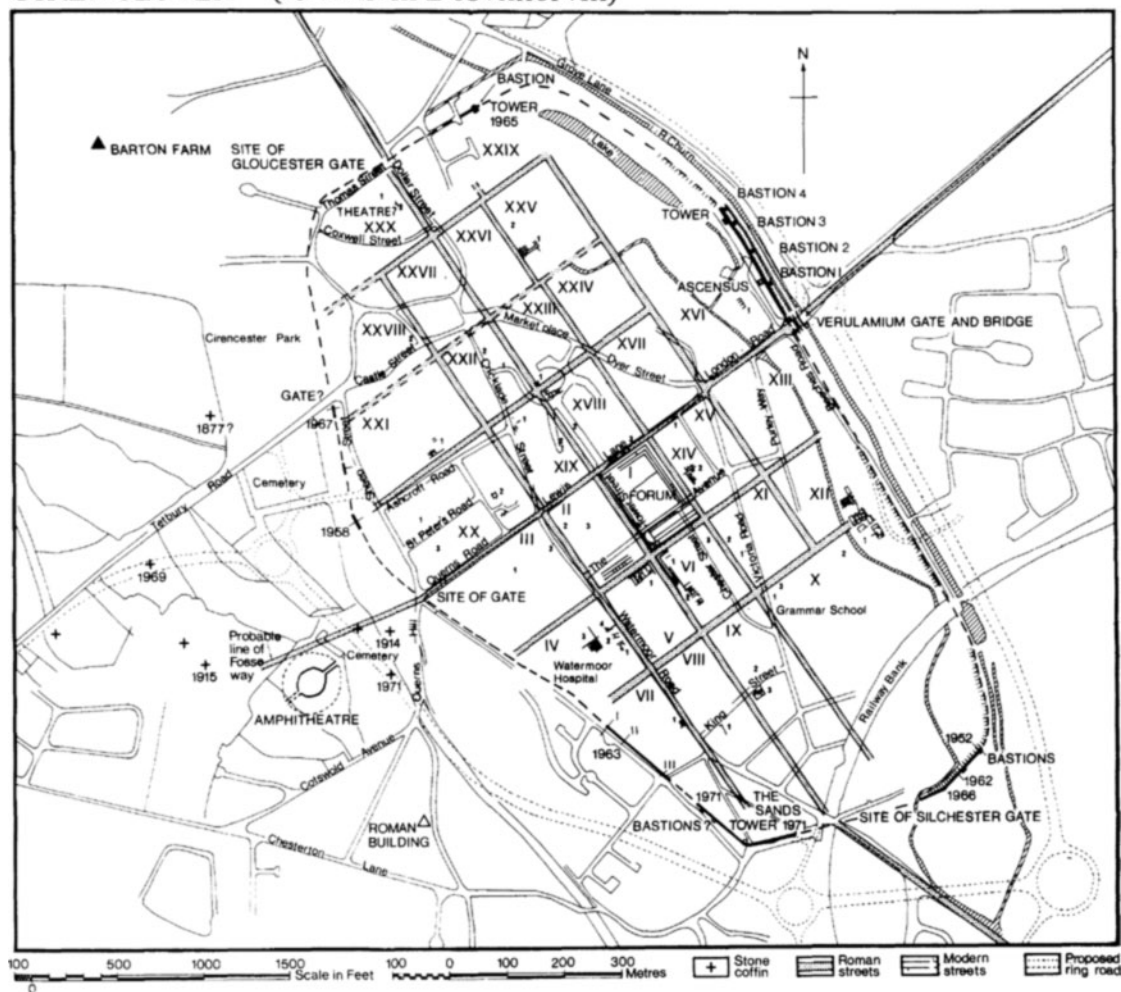
that contained in the name of one of its few recorded tribesmen?⁸

Despite uncertainty over the Dobunnian ruler immediately after the Roman conquest, there is less doubt about what happened at Cirencester (fig. 4). A fort was probably established in the area later occupied by the southern end of the town, probably within a year of the invasion.⁹ Contemporary occupation at Bagendon continued¹⁰ on an apparently increasing scale until the early 60s at least, by which time a new fort for a cavalry regiment had been established. North-west of this fort, a civilian settlement also started to grow. No doubt the fort and its occupants provided the necessary incentive to cause a gradual migration of the inhabitants to a more convenient position immediately outside it. This civilian settlement seems to have been regulated almost from the first, no doubt under legal status of *vicus*, with streets laid out parallel to the axes of the fort.¹¹ Unfortunately little is known of its buildings, although excavations near Ashcroft Road beneath *Insula* XXI and also below the forum showed traces of contemporary timber structures.¹²

The fort at Cirencester was evacuated, probably in company with others in the west Midlands and south-west, during the mid 70s.¹³ The constitution of the *civitas* Dobunorum must have followed immediately. The selection of Corinium as the site for the capital has already been discussed extensively (p. 29), and within two or three decades the town had been laid out on a regular grid pattern over an area which included not only the early *vicus* but also the fort. A forum and basilica, which were larger than those of any other town in Roman Britain except London, had been built; an amphitheatre had been provided for amusements outside the main planned area, and many houses and shops were being erected (fig. 136). Even by this early date, the town was provided with a market, separate from the forum, in *Insula* II, which may be taken as an indicator of the wealth already concentrated in the neighbourhood.

The site of the town lies almost entirely in the

CIRENCESTER (Corinivm Dobvnnorvm)



136 Plan of Cirencester (after McWhirr)

valley of the River Churn, which is floored by a thin layer of clay over gravel. The ground falls away to the south-east, where parts may have been marshy, but rises gently on to the oolite to the north-east, and more sharply to the west. The Rev. Canon Grensted was of the opinion that stone quarries of Roman date existed alongside the White Way, while others are indicated in the region of the amphitheatre.

The forum stood in the centre of the town and was flanked by Ermin Street on its south-west, by the Fosse Way on its north-west and by the

basilica on its south-east sides (see fig. 7). Hence the basilica occupied an unusual position with a mainly northerly aspect. Except for the north-east end of the basilica, the whole complex was surrounded by an external colonnade 13ft (4m) wide. It occupied an area measuring 550ft (168m) by 340ft (104m). The piazza floor had been made level with a thick layer of limestone rubble and gravel to counteract the natural slope of the ground to the south-east. No evidence survived to indicate the nature of its surface, but paving-stones of sandstone may have been provided, as in

the later periods. The piazza itself measured 350ft (107m) by approximately 275ft (84m). The latter measurement is uncertain as the south-west range has never been excavated. An internal colonnade, about 25ft (7.6m) wide separated the piazza from the basilica, the north-west and north-east ranges and is to be inferred also on the south-west side. As far as is known the ranges were divided into shops or offices in the normal manner.¹⁴ A fragmentary inscription¹⁵ found in Lewis Lane, in the north-west range, includes the word *respublica* and is presumably a reference to the *civitas Dobunorum*. It probably belongs, however, to a later period than to the original foundation.

The basilica, which was first identified by Cripps in 1897–8, was partly re-excavated in 1961.¹⁶ It consisted of an aisled hall approximately 80ft (24.4m) wide, running the full width of the insula, but with the south-western end occupied by a paved apse whose diameter was the full width of the hall. The nave was 34ft (10.4m) wide and was separated from the side aisles, each 18ft (5.5m) wide, by sleeper walls carrying columns. The sleeper walls, which had to carry the main weight of the structure, were 4ft 6in (1.4m) wide, but the outer walls were of slighter construction and sometimes did not exceed 2ft 6in (762mm). The apse was not matched by another at the opposite end of the hall, and indeed, as Cripps showed, the north-east end was probably covered by a portico forming the main entrance to the building, and giving directly on to the street. Fragments of Corinthian capitals, 2ft 6in (0.76m) in diameter, found in the vicinity probably came from the portico, while part of an even larger capital, 4ft (1.2m) in diameter, may have come from the nave (fig. 137). The precise find-spot of the latter is not recorded, although it is thought to have come from the general area of the basilica.

A range of rooms was incorporated on the south-east side of the basilica, between the hall and the external colonnade. The range was 20ft (6.1m) wide, but to begin with individual rooms appear to have varied in size.

Apart from the architectural fragments men-

tioned above, other decorative features of the basilica appear to have included mouldings of Purbeck marble and Italian marble wall-veneers. A larger than life-size human eye and lid from a bronze statue came from the apse.

The asymmetry of the basilica as well as the imperfectly known central section makes it difficult to identify individual parts and it is probably rash to speculate before more is known of the plan.¹⁷

However, when the basilica was built, the architects failed to take into account the filled ditches of the cavalry fort, over which it had been partly built. Consequently walls sank and cracked, and by the middle of the second century a major rebuilding programme had to be initiated. Some of the original walls, which had been given inadequate foundations, were completely rooted out, and new, deeper foundations inserted. Slight changes in plan were incorporated at the same time and the number of rooms in the south-east range was increased. Parts of the forum were also altered, the internal colonnade was slightly reduced in width and a new floor was laid in the piazza.

The insula immediately south-west of the forum (Insula II) seems to have been laid out from the first, at least in part, as a gravelled open space, with some slight evidence for timber structures. The gravelled surface formed an extension of the street to the south-east which remained unusually wide throughout its life. By the Hadrianic period, however, a substantial masonry building had been constructed to a plan which closely resembled a wing of a forum. It consisted of a single range of rooms, each roughly 18ft (5.5m) square, probably with timber partitions dividing one from another, set between colonnades or arcades and running parallel to the street (see fig. 26). A number of pits were found, both on the edge of the street and also beneath internal floors, which had been filled almost to capacity with cut and sawn animal bones, as though from the preparation of joints of meat. Beyond the range to the north-west, the original open courtyard was preserved.¹⁸ The



137 Part of a Corinthian capital, probably from the basilica (*Corinium Museum*)

combination of open space and probable butchers' shops would point perhaps to a combined cattle and meat market. Specialist markets and market halls of this type, while well known in Rome,¹⁹ are rarer in the provinces, and the existence of one at Cirencester emphasizes the agricultural wealth of the surrounding countryside even as early as the late first and early second centuries.

Another public building provided in the earlier town was the amphitheatre, situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (800m) south-west of the centre. It survives today as grass-covered banks with the arena entrances easily distinguishable. The first amphitheatre was constructed with the seating banks raised on

mounds of turf and limestone rubble. In part, the site seems to have been used beforehand as a quarry, signs of which were observed beneath the north-east arena entrance. The existence of this quarry was undoubtedly an advantage for the builders as part of the quarry face was probably used as a backing for the interior bank. The entrances into the arena were lined with timber and in part revetted with drystone walls, but there was no indication of similar structures bounding the arena, although they might be expected.²⁰

Soon after the beginning of the second century the whole amphitheatre was reinforced with masonry walls (see fig. 15). The arena, of elliptical

shape, measured approximately 160ft (49m) by 134ft (41m) after reconstruction and the width of the seating banks was probably about 96ft (30m).²¹ So far, only the north-east arena entrance has been excavated.²² It was a passage 15ft (4.6m) wide, and it is likely that the outer 70ft (21.3m) was vaulted with the seating being carried over the top. Excavation of part of the seating bank showed a series of shallow terraces each of which was retained by a narrow drystone wall. These terraces probably carried the seats of wooden planks.²³

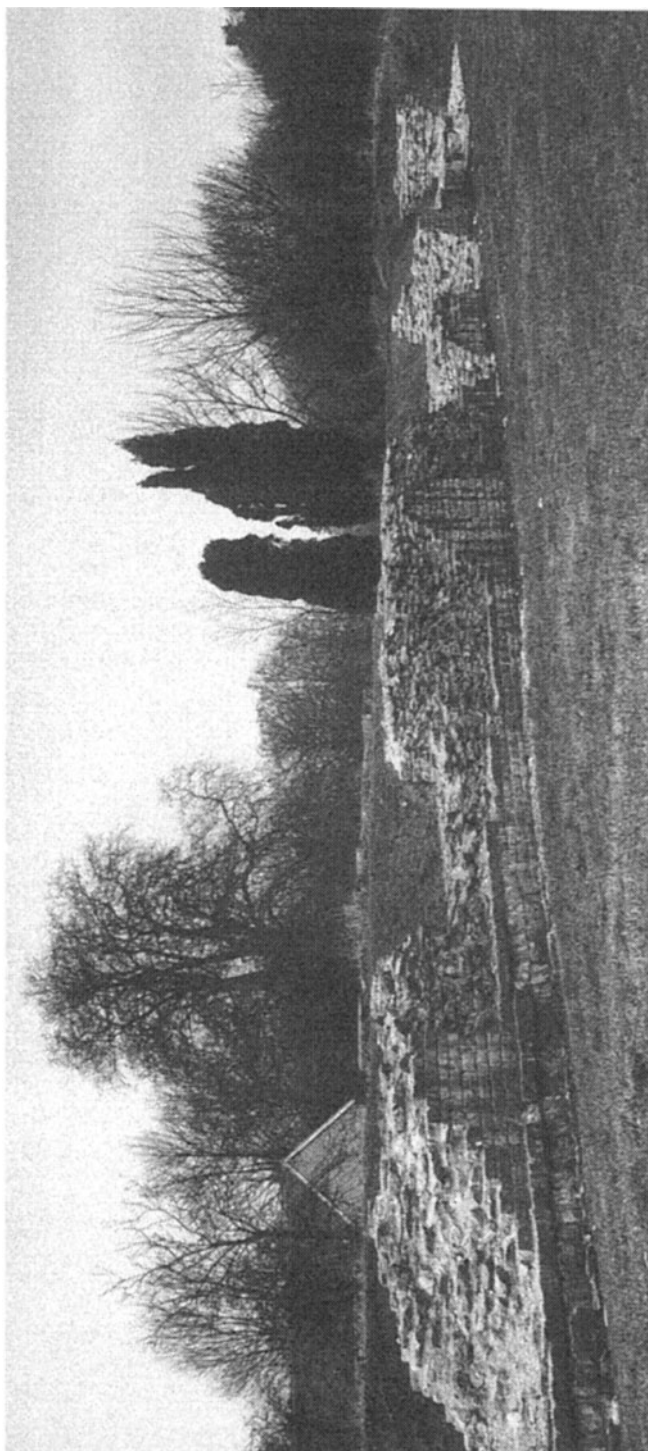
Some further rebuilding of the entrance passage and arena wall took place in the later second century, perhaps necessitated by collapse due to earth pressure. At this time small chambers were added to flank the entrance at the arena end. One could be entered from the arena only, while the other could be approached from either the arena or the passage. One or both may have been prisons or cages for incarcerating condemned criminals or wild beasts, but it is possible that one at least contained a small shrine. Dedications to Nemesis were often undertaken by performers or combatants, and altars erected to the goddess.

Sites of other major public buildings, which we might expect to have been provided for the early town, are still unknown. A pair of concentric, curving walls, with an apparent diameter of 192ft (59m), may represent part of a theatre in *Insula xxx*, but too little is yet known for there to be any certainty. No public bath-house has yet been identified, although a building with several large heated rooms, one 50ft (15m) by 40ft (12m), another 32ft (4.7m) by 24ft (7.3m), found in the eighteenth century in the area west of Tower Street, would seem to be the strongest candidate.²⁴ Unfortunately, observations made during building work in 1987 in the same general area failed to add anything significant, although eleven walls and some floors of *opus signinum* were recorded.²⁵ An aqueduct is implied by the stretch of wooden water-pipe running under the road just inside the *Verulamium Gate*,²⁶ on which a *castellum aquae* may have been placed; a source

out towards the Tar Barrows might be envisaged. Further lengths of pipe were found in Purley Road in 1972. Construction and maintenance of the streets is also worthy of mention as a public work. Webster estimated that a new surface was laid on average every fifteen years, although probably localized repairs or patchings occurred more frequently. At first the material used was almost entirely grouted gravel, although later a change was made to limestone rubble, which was well-rammed to give a solid surface. It is possible that this change was brought about by the construction of the town's masonry defences, which would have produced large quantities of limestone waste; in all, the streets of Cirencester consumed some 200,000 cu. yds (150,000 cu. m) of aggregate, representing a quarry 330ft (100m) by 165ft (50m) by 100ft (30m) deep. This almost continuous, if spasmodic, rise in the level of streets, together with the fine dust generated by traffic, was undoubtedly the cause of much rebuilding in the town, as houses and shops were gradually submerged by layer after layer of greyish silt which washed off the street surfaces every time it rained.

Temples are of course indicated by the many pieces of religious sculpture which have been found, but no religious buildings have been positively identified. One may, however, exist near Ashcroft Road, in *Insula xx*, for there was found in 1899 a collection of sculptures and altars associated with the *Deae Matres*.²⁷ Although these are somewhat later in date, the site itself could contain an earlier temple.

Construction was not confined to public buildings. Although, as yet, little is known of the early shops and houses of the town, there is enough to show that the most desirable commercial sites near the centre were being developed in the Flavian period. A row of shops in *Insula v*, across the street from the meat market, appear similar in plan and construction to the Claudian shops in *Insula xiv* at *Verulamium* (p. 219). Although built of wattle and daub on timber framework, some had good quality concrete floors and painted



138 The town wall on the north-east sector (*Wächter*)

plaster in their domestic quarters.²⁸ Their later development was, however, different from the treatment of the Verulamium shops, partly perhaps because no serious fire ever razed the complete block. Rebuilding, when it was required, took place in a piecemeal fashion, and clearly indicated individual ownership, stone structures taking the place of timber when each proprietor had accumulated sufficient capital.

The use of stone for private buildings seems to have begun at Cirencester well before other towns, such as Verulamium, in the south-east, presumably due to its readier availability. Certainly a masonry house in the south corner of *Insula xxiii* cannot have been constructed much later than the first decade of the second century, with modifications taking place shortly afterwards.²⁹

Towards the end of the second century Cirencester was provided with fortifications, although an earlier circuit might just conceivably be envisaged if sections of 'military' rampart encountered in Watermoor and at the Sands are coupled with the 'canal' bank north of the Verulamium Gate, and possibly with an earlier bank recently excavated in Querns Road; a very late-first or early-second-century date would be appropriate.³⁰

As indicated in Chapter 2 (p. 71) Cirencester, along with Lincoln (p. 133), Gloucester (p. 156) and Verulamium (p. 230), is one of the towns which adequately shows the extremely complex nature of urban fortifications; others are just beginning to emerge, such as Chichester (p. 265) and Winchester (p. 296). The results at Cirencester have only been achieved by numerous sections being cut all round the circuit and ultimately by the clearance of a long length north of the Verulamium Gate (figs 138–9). Even now there are still points not easily explained, and dating of the different phases of construction must be considered approximate at best.

The circuit on the east side of the town was largely dictated by the early canalization of the River Churn, undertaken to remove its course

from the centre of the town where it lay on the valley bottom. This operation was carried out by cutting a new course for the river bed and the erection of a 6ft (1.8m) high clay, gravel and stone rubble levee on the downhill side to prevent overflow and flooding of the town.³¹

Subsequent work on the fortifications can be summarized provisionally as follows:

1. Preliminary work on masonry fortifications was begun with the construction of at least one, and possibly more, monumental gateways, together with square interval towers, of which two are known.³²

2. Work in masonry must have ceased and the circuit was completed by the erection of an earth rampart, coupled with ditches, which incorporated the existing gates and towers.

3. A stone wall, 4ft (1.2m) wide, was built in front of the existing rampart, which was itself raised in height.

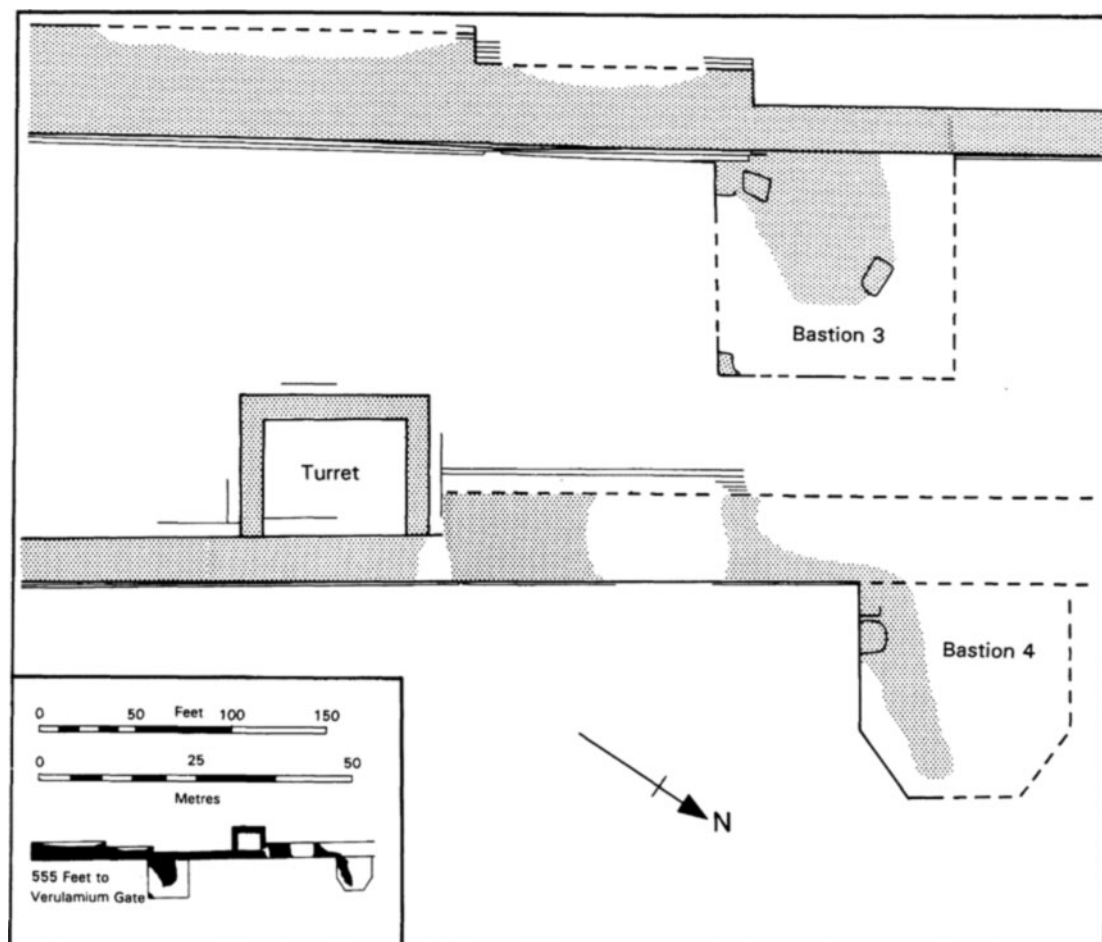
4. The stone wall (see fig. 138) was in places entirely rebuilt to a new width of 10ft (3m) by cutting further back into the rampart, which was itself again raised in height. These alterations were probably required by instability or even collapse of the narrower foundation.

5. Disuse of the internal towers was followed by construction of external towers, probably of polygonal form.

6. Repairs and modifications were made to the structures, especially on the east side of the circuit where they were exposed to flood water from the river. These were most noticeable in the vicinity of the Verulamium Gate, where, a little distance to the north, no less than five or six different styles of masonry have been observed in a length of only 164ft (50m).

It can be seen from this long sequence of construction, reconstruction and repair, covering a period of some 200 years or more, that work on the defences must have been nearly continuous.

The most impressive part of the fortifications so far excavated is the Verulamium Gate which



139 The defences on the north-east sector showing structural variations (after Cullen)

carried the joint road from both Verulamium and Leicester into the north-east part of the town. Unfortunately only about half of the gate was available for excavation in 1960, and the remainder lies under the modern London Road.³³ Moreover, that part excavated had been heavily robbed, so making difficult the restoration of the full plan. In front of the gate a masonry bridge abutment was found. At the time, it was thought that this was contemporary with the gate, but if the river course was altered before the gate was built, as now seems most probable, an earlier bridge at this point would have been a necessity. It is of course possible that the first bridge was

constructed of wood, and that the masonry bridge only replaced it when work was started on the defences, but there was insufficient evidence to decide the point. The masonry abutment had been constructed so that the plan represented adjacent chords of a large arc, and it is necessary to remember this when attempting to restore the gate plan.

The gate itself consisted of two parallel walls 4ft (1.2m) wide, set 4ft (1.2m) apart, running the full width, and through which the portals were constructed (see fig. 28). The *spinae* were set at right angles to these walls, which were continuous beneath the carriageways. Although the masonry

of the spinae had been entirely robbed, the positions of two portals were indicated by sets of wheel ruts. One set approached the inner face of the gate at right angles, while the other ran obliquely and appeared to fan out from the first set. At the north-west end of the gate, a projecting semi-circular tower, 19ft (5.8m) in external diameter, was found.

The main problem in restoring the plan of the gate centres on the unknown overall width and consequently on the number of portals which it possessed. There are three possibilities, which partly depend on the overall plan of part of the Bath Gate, uncovered during sewerage works in 1974;³⁴ it lay at the opposite end of Lewis Lane and Querns Lane to the Verulamium Gate, in a position which was then unexpected.

The possibilities have already been partly explored and will be more fully dealt with in the forthcoming account of the town's fortifications.³⁵ They need only be summarized here:

1. The gate possessed only two portals of equal width.
2. It possessed one large central portal, flanked by smaller passages.
3. It possessed two large central portals, each flanked by a smaller one on the outside.

Option (1) would create a gate much the same overall size as the Bath Gate, but would place a strain on other evidence. Option (2) would appear the most unlikely, while Option (3) was chosen by the writer, following the excavations in 1960.³⁶

The Bath Gate referred to above³⁷ was set at right angles to the line of the road emerging through it, which meant that the curtain wall was not on the same alignment (see fig. 30). Unfortunately the junctions between the two could not be examined. It had been constructed in a similar manner to the Verulamium Gate, with two parallel walls, 72ft (22m) long, extending for the full width under the carriageways, and was also flanked by two projecting semicircular towers about 16½ft (5m) in diameter. These towers are marginally

smaller than those of the Verulamium Gate, which might be an argument in favour of the whole gate being narrower; if so, then Option (3) becomes more feasible for the former.

Apart from the private shops referred to above, there is a great deal of evidence to illustrate the commercial and domestic life of the town. Already in the second century, houses were being equipped with top-quality mosaics and painted wall plaster. One house below Dyer Street, which was uncovered in 1849 and seen again in 1972, when another mosaic was found, produced two splendid pavements, and painted walls decorated with garlands of leaves. One of the pavements, dated to the late second or early third century, contained a central panel with hunting dogs apparently pursuing a quarry which was set in the part of the mosaic that had not survived. Also included were sea animals and heads of Neptune and Medusa. The other pavement, dated to the late second century, incorporated Bacchic figures, and pictorial representations of the story of Actaeon, and of the four seasons.³⁸ Another pavement, probably from the same building but discovered much earlier in 1783, depicted a spirited marine scene, which Professor Toynbee has described as perhaps the best-drawn and most classical in style of all British figured mosaics.³⁹ But most evidence for this side of town life comes from fourth-century buildings, and consequently more properly belongs to the period of the town's greater distinction.

In 1891, a small rectangular base was found in Victoria Road, which measured 16in (406mm) by 17½in (444mm) high (fig. 140). One face is lost, but the other three contain inscriptions referring to the restoration of a Jupiter column by L. Septimius [...], who is described as the *praeses* or governor of Britannia Prima.⁴⁰ The importance of these inscriptions has already been discussed in Chapter 3 (p. 87), and it need only be repeated here that they are usually taken to imply that Cirencester became the provincial capital of Britannia Prima after the Diocletianic reforms at the end of the third century.



140 Pedestal base of a Jupiter column, restored by L. Septimius [. . .], governor of Britannia Prima
(M. Cooke; Corinium Museum)

The presence of a provincial governor's court would certainly have enhanced the importance and prosperity of the town, although it is not known if it ever affected the legal status. But it is interesting to observe certain fundamental changes which were made in the layout of the forum and basilica at about the same time, as these may well have been connected with the separation of provincial from *civitas* affairs (fig. 141).

The forum was divided in two unequal parts by a wall, perhaps carrying an elaborate architectural screen, built parallel to the north-west range and 130ft (40m) from it. The wings of the forum within the new north-western enclosure were also extensively altered. The internal colonnade was enclosed and a continuous mosaic floor laid within it, the mosaic being made up of a series of panels each containing different geometrical patterns. In the centre of the north-west range a large foundation was built across its full width and was floored with tessellation and mosaic. A projecting plinth, constructed at a later date, adjacent to the inner colonnade wall at this point, gave extra depth and probably provided the base for a portico. The floor level of the piazza also seems to have been raised above that in the south-eastern enclosure.⁴¹ It is possible that this part of the forum had been earmarked for provincial business and perhaps even converted into the governor's praetorium, with the audience hall placed centrally in the north-west side. Such an arrangement would have deprived the town of a considerable area of public open space and also commercial premises. Other alterations which took place south-east of the basilica may have been intended to make good part of this loss.

The street which flanked the outside of the basilica was always rather wider than most. It was now closed at the south-west end by a row of small square rooms, not unlike those in the forum wings, and it is possible that the north-east end was similarly treated. The end room of the basilica was incorporated in this row. It is possible that the external colonnade on the south-west side of the forum was extended across the front of this new

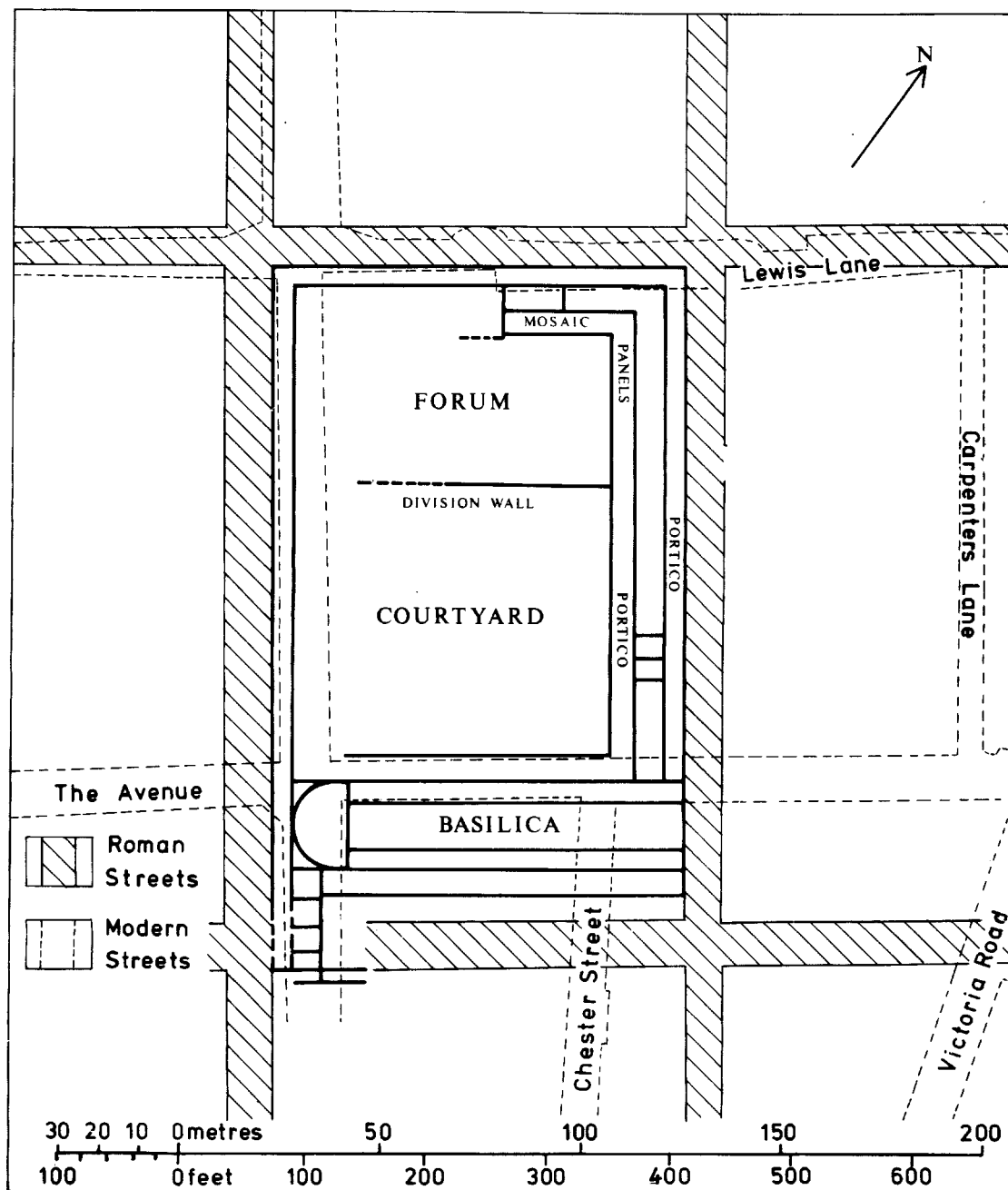
wing. Certainly the external colonnade south-east of the basilica seems to have been demolished, and several of the original rooms along this side were amalgamated and turned round so that they opened outwards instead of into the hall.⁴²

The enclosure of this wide street would certainly have provided a substitute for some of the lost space in the piazza, and the additional shops or offices in the blocking wings and along the length of the basilica would have helped to remedy the loss of covered premises. It is possible that these new arrangements also affected the building in the west corner of *Insula vi*, but too little is known about it for there to be any certainty.⁴³

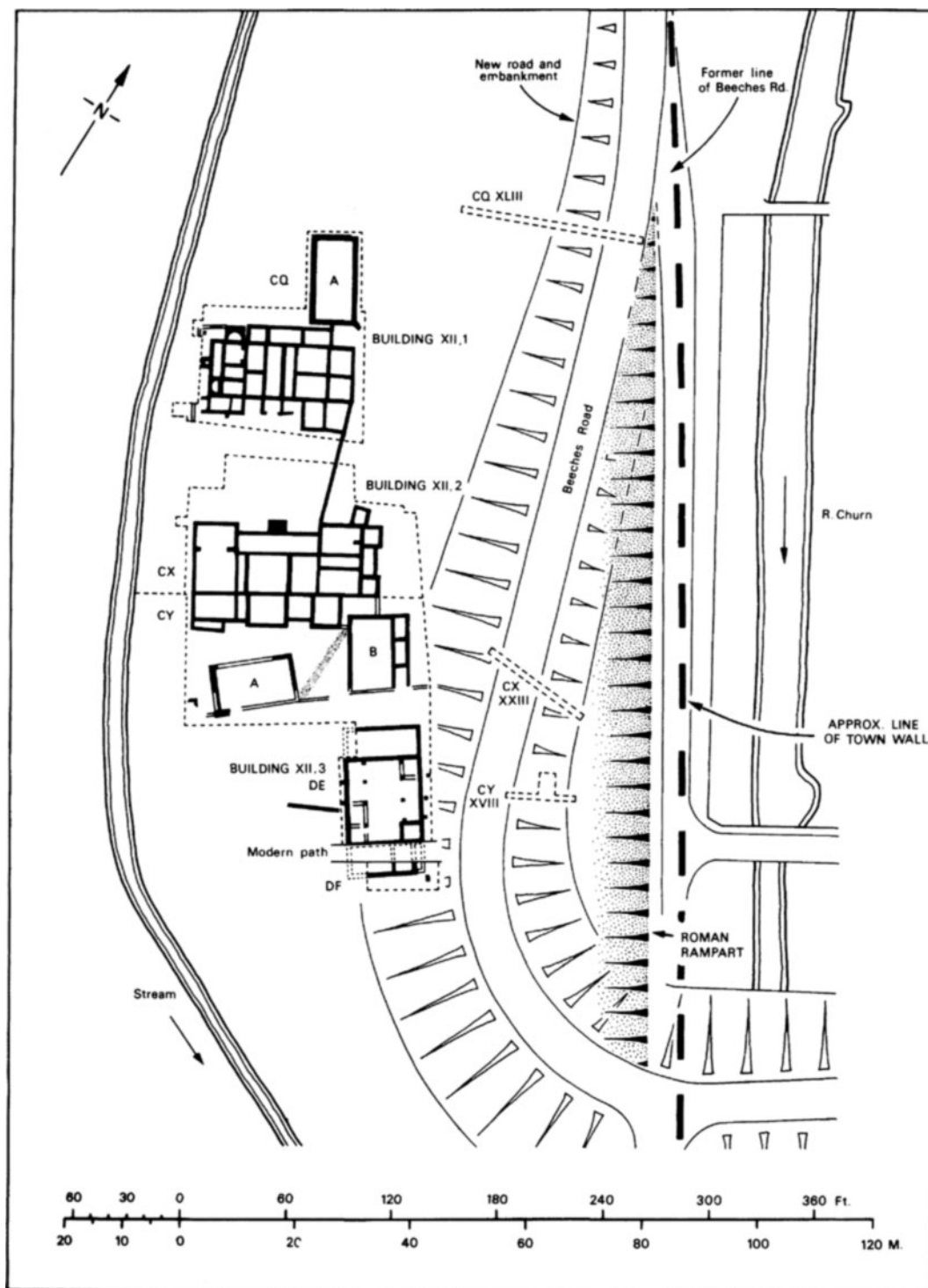
A possible alternative explanation might envisage a separate curia being constructed at the north-west end of the forum from the basilica, and not unlike the much earlier arrangement at *Verulamium* (p. 225).

In spite of ample evidence to demonstrate the prosperity of the town from the first, there can be little doubt that the wealth contained there in the fourth century far exceeded that of its earlier years. How much of this was due to the town becoming a provincial capital and how much to the rich country estates which abounded in the *civitas* cannot be apportioned, but it must have owed much to both.

The apparent wealth of a community can often be measured by noting the existence of specialist firms to provide what are nowadays euphemistically called 'luxury consumer products'. At *Corinium*, two firms can be detected, which respectively supplied mosaics and sculpture, and no doubt there were others in different fields. Mosaics in particular are usually considered as a measure of surplus wealth and as status symbols. This firm has been referred to as the *Corinian* school by Dr D. J. Smith;⁴⁴ he considers that it was certainly the largest in Britain and one of the major mosaic workshops of the western Empire. By analysing various patterns repeated from one mosaic to another on many of those from *Cirencester*, he has concluded that they were the



141 The forum and basilica in the early fourth century



142 Fourth-century houses and associated (?farm) buildings in Insulae x and xi (after McWhirr)

products of a single workshop, which was in being during the first half of the fourth century. It seems to have laid mosaics in at least six private houses in the town, and considering how few houses have been anywhere near fully excavated, this is a high percentage. Moreover, the firm also did a considerable amount of business with villa owners in the civitas, with examples of their work occurring as far away as Somerset and Oxfordshire. Nearly fifty individual pavements can be attributed to them, and they seem to have been the firm which invented the Orpheus mosaic in which the central figure is surrounded by concentric panels of birds, animals and trees. One of these patterns appears in the house below Dyer Street, which at an earlier stage possessed the Hunting Dogs and Marine Scene pavements (p. 312); another occurs in the house at Barton Farm, just outside the north-west town boundary.

A sculptor's workshop, which produced such pieces as the head of Mercury, the head of a river god and a relief of Deae Matres, had been identified by the late Professor Toynbee. She suggested that these pieces came from the hands of a first-rate Gaulish sculptor who had set up shop in Cirencester.⁴⁵ Compared with other less sophisticated pieces it may indeed be so, but there seems no reason why a British sculptor should not have been responsible for their execution. But these and many other pieces, nearly all of a religious nature, must represent patrons, mostly wealthy, some not so wealthy, who were prepared to pay for the adornment of local shrines and temples. It is interesting to compare the best quality Romano-British sculptures, which betray so much classical influence, with the strong continuing strain of native work. Cirencester and the surrounding district has produced a remarkable number of pieces, usually depicting Deae Matres or nameless local deities, executed in a wooden, two-dimensional manner. A whole range of variants can be detected from the near classical to the purely native in conception. Perhaps the most remarkable native piece is the plaque of a triad of *genii cucullati*, in very low relief, from



143 Fragment of an inscription from House XII, I, mentioning either a duumvir or a sevir
(J. Thawley; Cirencester Excavation Committee)

Cirencester. The execution is so simple that it is little more than a cartoon, yet the figures have a vitality which is difficult to match elsewhere.

In this connexion it is also interesting to be able to record a known sculptor, Sulinus son of Brucetus, who may have had a workshop at Cirencester and possibly also at Bath, for he left altars dedicated to the Suleviae at both places, and he mentions his occupation on that from Bath.⁴⁶ It has been suggested that his Cirencester workshop was situated near Ashcroft Road, on the site which produced the collection of sculptures and altars referred to above (p. 320).

The wealth of the inhabitants is also reflected in the metalwork which they purchased. Most notable amongst these pieces is the bronze figure of Cupid, which may have served as part of a table lamp. It is probably the product of a Mediterranean workshop.⁴⁷

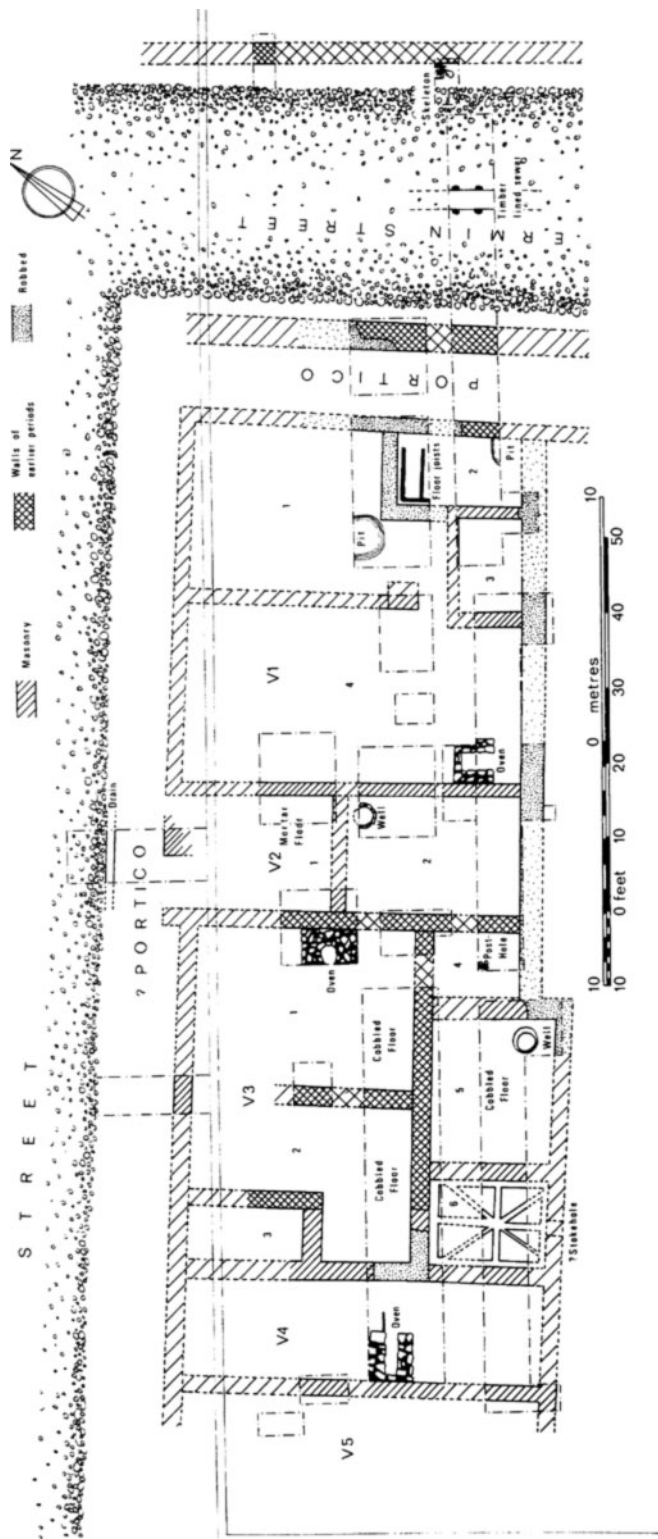
Most of our knowledge of private houses has come from examples which could not be completely excavated. Recently, however, two adjacent fourth-century houses in Insulae x and xii (figs 142–3) have been uncovered close to the tail of the town bank. Both were well equipped with heated rooms, while that in Insula xii had a small bath-suite attached; its principal rooms were

furnished with mosaics made by the local firm. The house in Insula x was approached from the street by means of a projecting portico, and appears to have been planned more like a winged-corridor villa than a conventional town house. A barn-like building lay to its rear, which seems to have served as a general workshop. Smithing was certainly carried on, and nearby was found a neatly piled stack of sandstone slabs, ready for use either as flooring or roofing material. The workshop seems too large to have served the house alone, and the varied nature of the work practised might suggest that it served a much larger estate.⁴⁸ This again raises the question, first elaborated in considering Silchester (p. 287), whether it is possible to have a farm inside a town. Was this house in fact connected with the open land in Insula x, where few buildings are known, and where there are few signs of extension of the street system? The dividing line between villa and town house becomes even more blurred when we consider the house found under Barton Farm in 1825. It was scarcely more than a few hundred feet outside the town boundary as represented by the fortifications, and we have seen before (p. 200) that it is not safe to assume that they always represented earlier boundary lines. The house was demonstrably large and it was furnished in the best manner. The Orpheus pavement, of Corinthian school manufacture, dates it at least to the early fourth century, but little is known of its earlier history. A house seems to have been stood there before the mosaic was laid, but no evidence of date was recovered.⁴⁹ However, a layer of 'earth' overlay an earlier floor, suggesting a period of disuse. Remembering that the first defences were not constructed until the late second century, was this therefore a town house which was not enclosed within the first circuit of fortifications because it had been temporarily abandoned or would it have caused an excessive enlargement of the fortified area for it to have been included? Can we therefore say with conviction that rebuilding at a later date turned it into a villa, simply because it then lay outside the town?⁵⁰

Something of the commercial life of the town has been noted above in connexion with the markets, the shops in Insula v and the activities of mosaicists and sculptors. However, it is worth supplementing the information already given about the Insula v shops. By the fourth century all had been reconstructed in masonry (fig. 144), and some five shops were identified in the 1961 excavations.⁵¹ More information was forthcoming from excavations at Price's Row, off Watermoor Road, in 1972–3, where the companion block running down the street between Insulae iv and v was encountered. But there was a surprising late development when the original front wall of the shops was demolished and sealed beneath street metalling. An elaborate columned portico was constructed leading into a new building, which was associated with several articles of a religious nature, as well as architectural fragments.⁵²

In at least two cases in Insula v, adjacent shops had been merged, presumably caused by an owner of one shop buying up his neighbour's premises. Almost without exception, all the shops were equipped with ovens of various shapes and sizes, while two at least had wells. With a meat market over the road, it might be suggested that they were concerned with the preparation and sale of cooked meats. Alternatively, the ovens were just as suitable for baking bread, and it would be possible to suggest other uses, although there was no sign of metallurgical refuse or processes. Blacksmiths there were nevertheless in the town, and the triple-chain pot-hanger in the museum is a splendid example of their work. A working goldsmith is attested by the base fragment of a crucible with specks of metal adhering to the surface, and found on the market site in Insula ii. Evidence for possible glass-making has come from Victoria Road.⁵³

There is no indication of pottery manufacture as yet, although characteristic local wares are abundant, as are colour-coated vessels from Thames Valley potteries near Oxford. It is interesting that almost all the coarse pottery



144 Fourth-century shops in Insula v

which occurs at Cirencester reached the town from kilns situated south and east of the Cotswolds; in the first century quantities came from Savernake, but the amount declined, presumably in favour of more local products.⁵⁴ Presumably also, it was found easier to move bulky and fragile goods by water, rather than by carrying them over the Cotswold scarp from the Severn Valley by road. In describing industries round Gloucester (p. 159), it was noted that Cirencester was in the area served by a number of brickworks which stamped their products. The best known firm is probably that which used the initials TPF as its trade-mark.⁵⁵

Classical religions are well represented at Cirencester by statuary and inscriptions. Of greater interest, perhaps, is the obviously widespread devotion to cults associated with the Deae Matres and local Celtic gods, especially that of the *genii cucullati*. Reliefs of the latter, sometimes showing three figures and at other times four, besides occurring at Cirencester, are widespread over the Cotswolds, and the deity represented must have been held in high esteem. The assumption made by Miss Alcock, that these had their origin in the Rhineland and occur frequently in the Cotswolds because traders or slaves brought them there,⁵⁶ is difficult to accept. The concepts of fertility embodied in the deity would have been widespread throughout the Celtic world, so leading to a degree of parallelism in development, rather than to a simple diffusion from a single cult centre. The Cotswold figures have a distinctly local feel, which is not entirely matched by others.

It is unfortunate that no temple sites have yet been identified in the town. One has been suggested in Insula xx near Ashcroft Road, where the altar to the Sulevian Mothers and the reliefs of Deae Matres were found, although the alternative suggestion that it was Sulinus' workshop (p. 317 above) is just as likely. Another possible site is to the south-west of Tower Street, under Jefferies' Nurseries, for there have been found bronze statuettes of Minerva, Diana and Cupid, and the

large Corinthian capital in which native deities have been incorporated in the design.⁵⁷ An extensive paved area in the western corner of Insula xiii, which has not yet been traced to its full extent, might be interpreted as the temenos of a temple. It was bounded by a single wall on the south-west side, but the paving itself is of fourth-century date.

An earlier discussion in Chapter 3 (p. 87) referred to Mann's suggestion that the bishop missing at the Council of Arles and represented by a deacon was from the see of the Metropolis of Britannia Prima, whose church would have been at Cirencester. Evidence for the practice of Christianity in the town, before the Edict of Constantine, may well be contained in the palindrome which had been carefully scratched on the wall plaster of a house. It was found in 1868, probably near the southern end of Victoria Road. It reads:

R O T A S
O P E R A
T E N E T
A R E P O
S A T O R

and the letters can be rearranged to form a cross made up of the title of the Lord's Prayer in Latin, PATERNOSTER with a common N. Left over are 2 As and 2 Os, the Latin equivalent of the Greek ΑΩ which symbolized for early Christians 'the beginning and the end' of the Revelation of St John the Divine.⁵⁸ Consequently this inscription may be seen as a hidden reference to Christianity made at a time when open references would have invited persecution.

The cemeteries outside the town are as yet imperfectly known. There is evidence that they existed outside the Verulamium Gate alongside the Fosse Way; outside the Silchester Gate, which was identified in 1881 when the now defunct Midland Railway was constructed, and from where a number of tombstones have been recovered; beyond the Gloucester Gate at the north end of Dollar Street and stretching for some

distance towards Stratton; along the Fosse Way south-west of the town; and outside the Bath Gate at the south-western end of Querns Lane, where a large inhumation cemetery of late date has been excavated. Examination by Calvin Wells of complete or partial skeletons representing 405 individuals has indicated a high ratio of males to females (approximately 2 to 1), with an average age of death of 40.8 years for the former and 37.8 years for the latter. This large number contained many interesting examples of pathological disorders, as well as six cases of decapitation. Of greatest importance were three identified cases of gout, the first recorded in the Roman Empire. *Colchicum officinale*, which provides a specific remedy for the disease, is still to be found growing in the area as near as Chedworth, although it is almost unknown outside the Gloucestershire region. Was there a connexion, or is it coincidence? Another unusual factor was the generally high concentration of lead in the bones, which in the case of some young children would have been sufficient to kill them.⁵⁹

No further deductions about the ethnic, social, dietary or medical history of the inhabitants of the town can yet be made. Some information on individuals can, however, be obtained from tombstones, amongst which we can number those of Philus, a Sequanian, who died at Cirencester aged 45;⁶⁰ Publia Vicana the deceased wife of Publius Vitalis, who were both Roman citizens;⁶¹ Casta Castrensis;⁶² and Julia Casta who died aged 33.⁶³ Three more tombstones found in 1971 near the Silchester Gate, where they seem to have been intended for use in a bastion, mention Aurelius Igennus (Ingenuus?), who died at the age of 6, Nemomnus (Nemonius?) Verecundus who lived to the age of 75, and Lucius Petronius Comitinus, who died aged 40.⁶⁴ Another, mentioning Saturninus, came from the foundations of the Saxon church, but perhaps most interesting of all was a fragmentary stone found in Phoenix Way. This contained a possible reference to a veteran of *Legio XII Fulminata*, a legion which, from AD 70, was stationed at Melitene on the eastern frontier; this

shows just how diverse the population of a Romano-British town could be.⁶⁵

A certain amount of evidence has been accumulated over the past few years about the last decades of the Roman town. It is clear that repairs to the defences were still being carried out in the late fourth or early fifth century, and finds of zoomorphic buckles and boar-tusk ornaments betoken the presence of a detachment of the late Roman army. Certainly at the Verulamium Gate flood prevention work was being undertaken to prevent the river undermining yet again the foundations of the wall and gate.⁶⁶ In the forum, the paved floor of the piazza reached a state of wear in which outlines of individual stones could barely be distinguished (see fig. 180). Yet the surface appears to have been kept clean until the end, implying that, although civic finances could not pay for replacements, there was still in being a measure of pride or discipline.⁶⁷ Moreover, a complete absence of coins on the floor would suggest that cleaning operations continued long enough for all Roman coins to have passed out of circulation. According to Dr Kent this had happened by AD 430.⁶⁸ So we can infer continuation of commercial life until nearly the middle of the fifth century.

What happened after that is open to question, but a slight clue is provided by excavations carried out in 1962 on a house flanking Ermin Street at the west corner of Insula xxiii.⁶⁹ This house had been provided with a portico on the road side, which, over the years, became filled with silt to a total depth of 8ft (2.4m). The source of this greyish silt could be traced back to the street. In dry weather, passage of traffic would have worn the surface to powder, which, on the first heavy shower of rain, would have been washed off the camber into porticoes of houses flanking the street. In time not only would the portico have required a new floor, but the street also would have needed resurfacing to surmount the quagmire, which, at certain seasons, would have crept from the edges over the whole surface. Each new surface laid would have aggravated the discomfort of the householders

and shopkeepers whose premises opened on to the street, as it would have served only to restart the cycle at a higher level. Consequently the formation of silt is to certain extent a measure of traffic flow. But there came a time at Cirencester, when a new ditch, dug between the street and the by then entirely engulfed portico, remained unfilled with road silt and open to collect leaves, grass and weeds (see fig. 181). We may conclude that by then traffic had dwindled to an insignificant level or had ceased altogether. Unfortunately the dark, organic filling of the ditch contained nothing by which the accumulation might be dated. But a companion ditch further south produced human bodies.⁷⁰ It would appear then, that at this stage all traces of order had broken down: grass was literally growing in the streets and unburied bodies were left to rot in roadside ditches. The significance of these factors is discussed in Chapter 9.

But supposing there was a residue of people determined to stay on in the increasingly unsafe conditions? Would they stay in a town which had suddenly grown too big for them, or look elsewhere? When excavations were carried out at the amphitheatre, it was found that performances had ceased probably by the third or early fourth century; the eastern entrance into the arena was demolished, but street-metalling continued to be laid over the reduced walls. These surfaces were associated with numbers of late Roman coins, including Theodosian issues, and it is not impossible that the arena came to be used as an extra-mural market. Later still the passageway was restored with a succession of timber revetments, indicating a comparatively long life, and the inner doorway was considerably reduced in size by rough masonry; then more street-metalling was laid down. At this stage also a large timber-framed building was erected in the arena, with extensive areas of new, but rough, cobbled floors (see fig. 182). The only dating evidence comes from scraps of very weathered late-Roman pottery, the latest coins and, most importantly, some fragments of

grass-tempered pottery (see fig. 184); the latter are the only examples of this type of ware yet found in Cirencester, and certainly date to the fifth or sixth century.⁷¹

Was the amphitheatre, therefore, turned into a fortified retreat for the surviving population, more easily defended than the 2½ miles (4km) of town wall? Much of its surrounding area is pitted with quarries. But one so-called 'quarry' has a curiously linear formation and neatly severs the building from the tongue of higher ground to the south to which it is attached (see fig. 183); is it a defensive ditch protecting the amphitheatre on its most vulnerable side?⁷² These are possibilities, which must await further investigation. But it is worth remembering that amphitheatres on the continent were often incorporated into defensive circuits, and in the Middle Ages very nearly housed complete towns for safety.⁷³ There is also the case of the amphitheatre of Sarmizagethusa (*colonia Ulpia Traiana*) in Dacia, which was fortified against barbarian invasions after the formal abandonment of the province; the entrances were blocked completely.⁷⁴ One last shred of evidence: the element 'chester' appears twice at Cirencester, firstly in the town name itself and secondly in the hundred of Chesterton, which contains the amphitheatre.⁷⁵ Finally we are told by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that in AD 577 'Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and killed three kings, Conmail, Condidan and Farinmail, at the place which is called Dyrham; and they captured three of their cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath.' If the order is correct, Condidan was king of Cirencester, and he was the only one still to carry a Latinized name, so suggesting at least a surviving Romano-British contingent, whereas the other two were purely Celtic. But had the captured 'city' of Cirencester been reduced only to the amphitheatre, and was the Anglo-Saxon warrior buried on the site of the Barton Farm house one of the assailants killed in the battle?⁷⁶ Such are the questions still to be answered, but in answering them, we shall

probably do much to clear up some of the outstanding problems of the end of Romano-British towns.

DORCHESTER
(*Durnovaria*)

The tribe of the Durotriges put up a considerable resistance to the advance of the Roman army. In the account by Suetonius of the campaigns of Legio II Augusta and its commander, the future emperor Vespasian, it is recorded that thirty battles were fought, two warlike tribes were conquered and twenty oppida were captured.⁷⁷ But since it is also recorded that at times he served directly under Claudius, presumably not all these victories were in the south-west, as is often assumed. However, one of the warlike tribes was almost certainly the Durotriges, and a number of the captured oppida were in their territory, for excavations at Maiden Castle,⁷⁸ Hod Hill,⁷⁹ Spettisbury Rings⁸⁰ and South Cadbury⁸¹ have all produced evidence of successful assaults, sometimes combined with massacres of the defenders. Roman military equipment has also been found at Ham Hill⁸² and we might suggest that it, among many others, should be added to the list.

The defeat of the Durotriges was followed by military occupation and government, with forts placed at intervals throughout their territory. It became as much part of the frontier zone as did that of other tribes in the midlands and south-west. Treatment of individual septs of the tribe, however, varied from place to place. The inhabitants of Hod Hill, for instance, were banished altogether, in spite of having surrendered after only a preliminary bombardment, and a Roman fort was constructed in the north-west corner of the hillfort. By contrast, at Maiden Castle the survivors of the Roman assault were allowed to remain in residence, although the gates were removed and the ramparts were slighted. The way the inhabitants were treated, therefore, was probably dictated more by military requirements

than by a spirit of revenge or punishment.

The Durotriges, although much influenced by Belgic cultures, seem to have retained a good deal of their earlier social structure. This gave rise, as we have seen, to a multiplicity of hillforts scattered over the whole tribal area. The social implications of these many hillforts have never yet been satisfactorily resolved, although a number of suggestions and theories have been put forward.⁸³ Towards the time of the Roman conquest, however, we may suggest that some kind of paramountcy was in being, and that some of the hillforts exercised control over areas containing others. Chief among them probably was Maiden Castle, possibly the *Dunium* of Ptolemy,⁸⁴ for so we may infer from what came after, and possibly also Hengistbury.⁸⁵ That the former also happened to be the largest may be coincidental, although the size and scale of the fortifications indicates control over a large population. Probably the most important factor was that it contained the influential people in tribal politics, acceptable to the Romans and to whom they could dictate terms when the time came for clearing up the aftermath of military conquest. Although the neighbouring hillfort at Poundbury was occupied intermittently during the late Iron Age and is nearer to the site of the Roman town than Maiden Castle, it was long ago pointed out by Wheeler that it would be unlikely to carry equivalent prestige.⁸⁶ It is probably best seen as an outlying bastion of the main fortifications.

The occurrence of military equipment, a handful of pre-Flavian coins, and some samian and imported ware of similar date is probably an indication that a fort may first have occupied the town site at Dorchester. Certainly if precedent was followed, a fort should be sought in the vicinity of Maiden Castle, close to the newly laid road system. The most likely spot would be near a river crossing and the low hill, west of the crossing of the River Frome, would seem to be the strongest candidate, and the south-west quarter of the later town the most probable position.

With a fort in or near Dorchester, the mechanics of town formation would almost certainly have followed the course already discussed in connexion with Cirencester. Inhabitants would have drifted gradually away from Maiden Castle to the greater convenience offered by a vicus outside the fort. Streets and wooden buildings dating to c. 60 could represent the beginnings of this settlement, in an open pasture landscape.⁸⁷ Despite contrary opinions put forward by the Royal Commission, there seems no reason why tribal chiefs should not have been among them, but whether they were or not, their presence in the vicinity must be deemed a necessity if we are to explain the choice of the vicus at Dorchester as the *civitas* capital when military government ceased. Wheeler visualized a ceremonial abandonment of Maiden Castle in favour of the new town on the River Frome, although the sudden migration which he also postulated is probably further from the truth. However, both from Wheeler's evidence from Maiden Castle and from the evidence of the town itself, it would seem that the constitution of the *civitas* and the development of its capital occurred in the first decades of the Flavian period, a feature which it had in common with the four other capitals considered in this chapter.

But the whole *civitas* was not always administered from Dorchester. Two inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall refer to a tribal detachment from the *civitas Durotragum Lendiniensis*.⁸⁸ *Lendiniae*, or *Lindinis* (Ilchester), was the vicus which grew in the valley near the native settlement on Ham Hill. Stevens drew attention to the significance of these inscriptions and the likelihood that the tribe had been divided;⁸⁹ Richmond suggested that the tribe was divided in its administration from the first owing to the hostility with which they had met the Romans.⁹⁰ However, it is possible, as Frere considers, that this division took place at a later date and came about by the promotion of a *pagus* to *civitas* status.⁹¹ This may have been partly caused by the increase in prosperity of the north-western part of the Durotriges in the fourth century, with a remarkable proliferation of

opulent villas in the Ilchester region.⁹² Such a concentration was indicative not only of wealth, but also of political power.

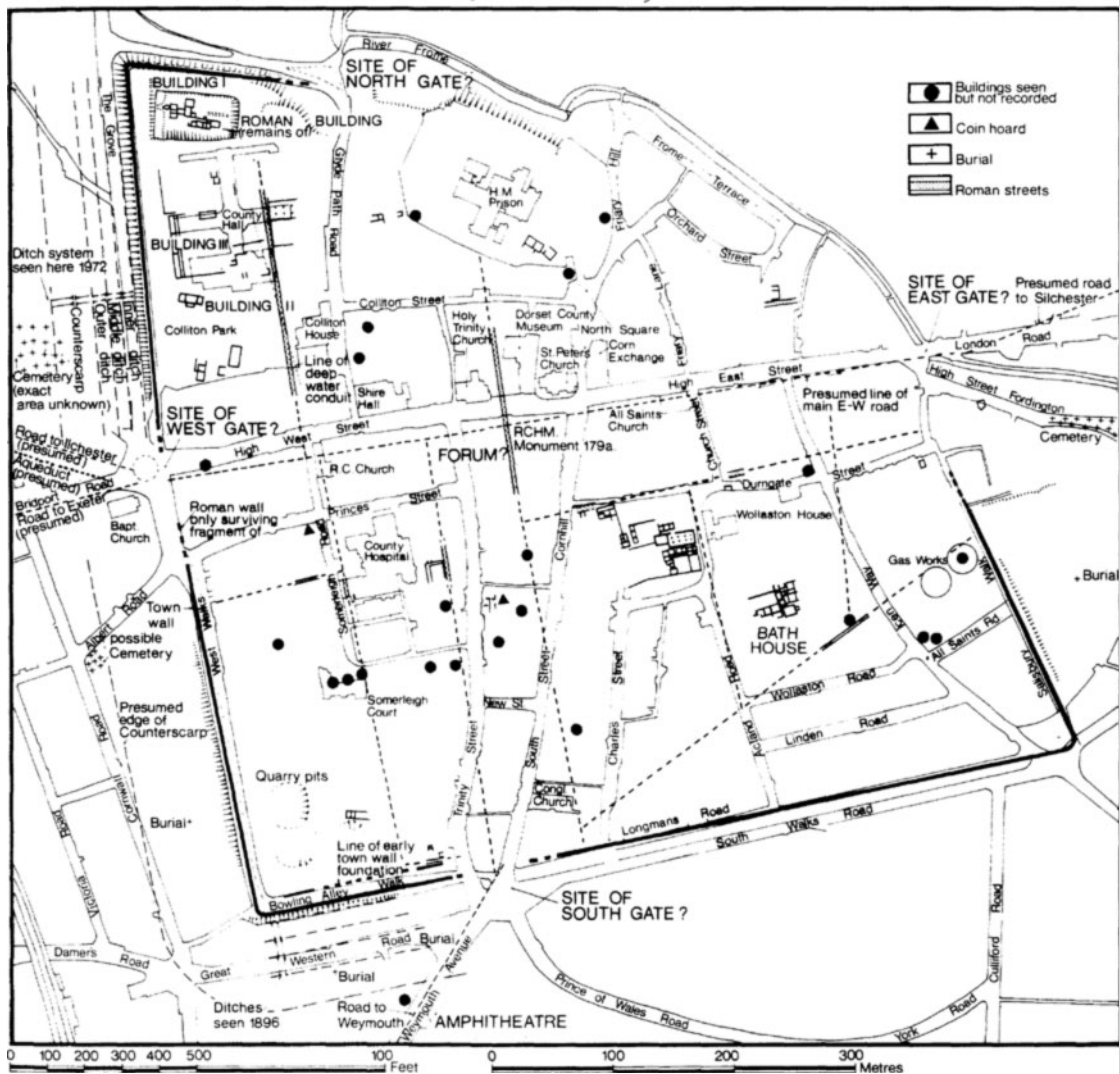
The site on which the town of Durnovaria grew is at the end of a chalk promontory which falls mainly from the west towards the River Frome, flowing past its north and north-east limits. The ground also falls away to the south, so that the main east-west axis forms a spine across the site.

Only in the last few years has there been a consistent excavation policy in the town. Earlier work was somewhat spasmodic; before that most information came from the observation of commercial work.⁹³

Apart from the amphitheatre and bath-house, there is as yet little evidence of public buildings, although the position of the forum may be indicated by walls and a gravelled surface observed to the west of Cornhill. Walls seen under Cornhill were aligned with the street grid, and the gravelled area is thought to have extended at least for 125ft (38m) from east to west. Mid-first-century pottery was found in several places below the floor, and late-fourth-century material was found on it. Such a wide date range is certainly suggestive of a public building, which had been but little altered after its primary construction.⁹⁴

This proposed situation for the forum (fig. 145), while possible, is not usual. It has already been stressed that in Britain the normal position is in one of the angles formed by the intersection of the *decumanus* and *cardo maximi*, and at Dorchester the former is thought to run slightly south of High West Street, while the latter was uncovered in excavations off Trinity Street not far north of the site of the south gate. If the interpretation of Monument No. 179a as a street is correct, this would place the forum one insula distant from the *cardo maximus*. This section of street has been linked with another, north of High West Street, found at an earlier date, to give a continuous line. The difficulty could be resolved by reinterpreting No. 179a as part of the forum courtyard, with the forum cutting across, but not necessarily wholly occupying, two adjacent insulae.

DORCHESTER, DORSET (Durnovaria)



145 Plan of Dorchester (after Wessex Archaeology)

In 1978, a very large bath-house was discovered at Wollaston House, in an insula towards the south-east corner of the town; it measured about 98ft (30m) by 138ft (42m). The main axis lay east-west, possibly with a palaestra on the north side. This bath-house contained the usual selection of hot and cold rooms and plunge baths, but was exceptional in their size and number; one detached, rectangular, heated room, added at a

later date in the south-east corner, measured about 30ft (9m) by 23ft (7m). There was also a circular laconicum, which would imply a date of construction not much after the Flavian-Trajanic period; it has now been suggested that it is Hadrianic. As with most bath-houses, many alterations were made during its life, with a major rebuilding taking place in the early third century; subsequently more additions were made c. 300, but the building

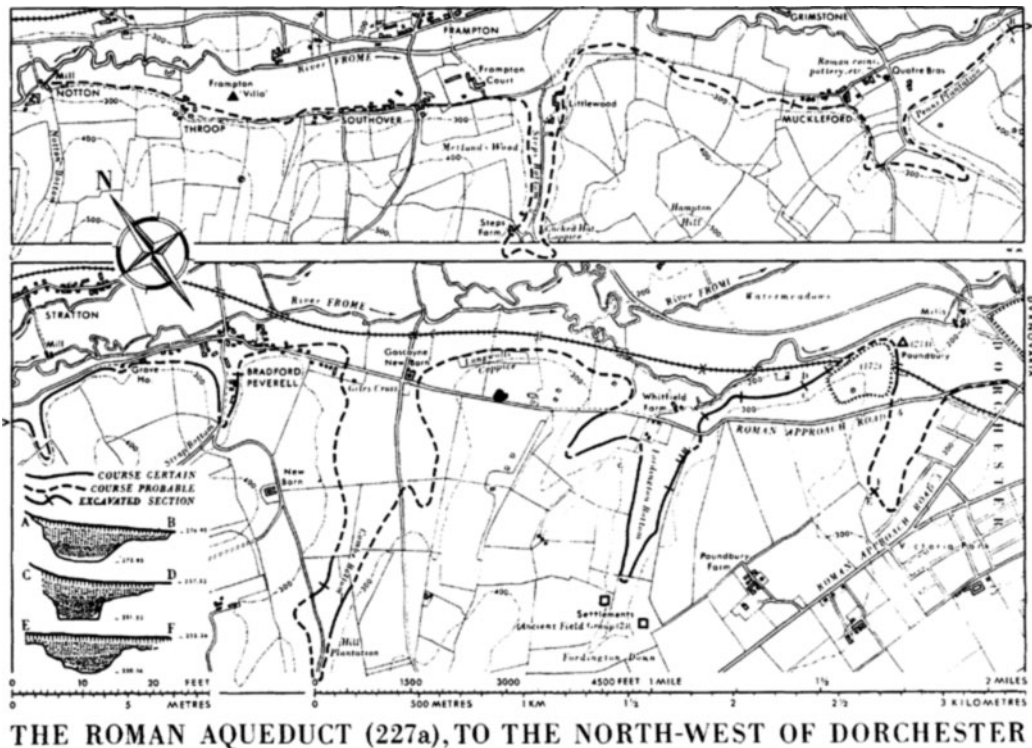
seems not to have been used much beyond the mid fourth century.⁹⁵

The street system is at last beginning to emerge as the result of more recent investigations. Apart from the known position of the main east–west line running slightly south of High East and High West Streets, one other has been identified roughly parallel to it and further south. Three north–south streets, approximately equidistant from one another, have also been encountered, although it is still not possible to say with certainty which ran to the south gate, and indeed such indications as there are do not favour a uniform size of insula. One curious alignment, though, is represented by a street which ran diagonally across the south-east corner of the town;⁹⁶ it may have run from the Dumgate (p. 329) towards the south gate, and is reminiscent of the early street at Winchester which ran from the north gate diagonally towards the river crossing (p. 293). Mr Putnam considers it to be the continuation of the line of Ackling Dyke through the town, which, for some unknown reason, was preserved when the street system was laid out. It has been suggested that streets were remade rather than repaired with successive deposits of metalling. This policy might well account for the shallower sequence of stratified deposits at Dorchester, as it will have prevented the almost continuous rise in ground level observed in other towns (cf. Cirencester, p. 308 above).

The best known public building is the amphitheatre at Maumbury Rings, situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (800m) outside the south gate (see fig. 16). Although long identified as the Roman amphitheatre, excavations carried out by H. St George Gray before the First World War showed that it had been built round a Neolithic henge monument.⁹⁷ The structure is therefore somewhat unusual for an amphitheatre, having a nearly circular external circumference and, at first, only one arena entrance. It measures about 330ft (100m) in diameter externally, and the arena, slightly more elliptical than the exterior, had internal dimensions of 192ft (58m) and 156ft

(47m). The banks, now grassed over, still stand to a height of up to 30ft (9.1m) above the arena floor, which was originally surfaced with gravel. In order to construct the arena, an appropriate area had been excavated to a depth of 10ft (3m) below the surface of the undisturbed chalk, so obliterating the depressions over the internal ditch and shafts of the henge. An enclosed gangway, from 3 to 6ft (0.9 to 1.8m) wide, with wooden walls, was constructed round the circumference of the arena, and so helped to retain the exposed chalk of the walls and the looser material of the seating banks above. Both sides of the gangway were extended into the entrance for short distances. The arena was closed by a gate, 12ft (3.7m) wide, level with the inner wall of the gangway, and it is possible that the seating was carried over the 22ft (6.7m) wide entrance passage on timber staging. Although internal gangways are not unknown in provincial amphitheatres,⁹⁸ other examples have yet to be found in Britain. Lacking at first a second entrance, the gangway was probably required to allow performers to enter the arena from the enclosed end, without having to cross the main floor, as might be required in certain types of shows between opposing combatants or animals. The illusion would have been improved if the passage had been roofed. Opposite the entrance a recessed room, 18ft (5.5m) by $14\frac{1}{2}$ ft (4.5m), had been constructed in the bank at arena level, in the primary phase. It would have served either as a cage for wild animals or possibly as an assembly point for performers, who had entered via the perimeter gangways. In some secondary alterations, an attempt seems to have been made to introduce another entrance into the arena by cutting a steep ramp over the disused southern recess.

Dating the building is difficult. The earliest phase has been assigned by Bradley to the Claudio-Neronian period, and possibly related to an early fort or even a fortress; the latter now seems unlikely. But in support of this suggestion, he made the valid point that the amphitheatre had not been constructed with permanence in mind. It



146 Line of the Dorchester aqueduct (*Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England: Crown Copyright – reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office*)

seems to have been refurbished for the early town, but its use can only have been brief, since by the middle of the second century the southern entrance had become part of a cemetery. The late third and early fourth century saw new activity which cannot be satisfactorily explained, but it could have been employed as an extra-mural market, as happened at Cirencester (p. 322), although the number of coins recovered was not as great as at the latter.⁹⁹

Another public work of considerable interest is the aqueduct. First identified in 1900, sections have been cut across its channel on a number of occasions since, the most recent between 1968 and 1994.¹⁰⁰ The supply is normally considered to have been drawn from the River Frome at Notton Mill, Maiden Newton, although it has never been confirmed, and an alternative source exists at

Steps Farm, Frampton, some distance nearer the town (fig. 146). The channel seems to have been open and largely unlined; it measured from 3 to 5ft (0.9 to 1.5m) across the bottom, although the average is about 5ft (1.5m), with an assumed width of 7–8ft (2.1–2.4m) at the top, where the lips had been weathered. A maximum depth of about 3ft (0.9m) is recorded. Excavations, though, at Poundbury, and possibly also at Bradford Peverell, have shown that the channel may, in places, have had two earlier versions, cut on slightly different lines. It seems likely that some trial and error was needed before the correct flow could be obtained.¹⁰¹ The excavated chalk and other material had been heaped into a bank on the downhill side. It roughly followed, and ran somewhat below, the 300ft (91m) contour, a fall of 25ft (7.6m) in a total length of 11½ miles (18.2km).

But by the time Poundbury was reached this level had been reduced to nearer 250ft (76m). If it had contained 2ft (609mm) of water, the flow is calculated to have been nearly 13 million gallons (6×10^8 litres) per day, which would certainly have supplied most needs of the town, supplemented as they were by wells. The supply entered the town near or at the west gate, and presumably some form of settling and distribution equipment would have been provided. Since this point is higher than any other in the town, a raised *castellum aquae* would not have been necessary. It has been suggested that surplus water was diverted to the river through the conduit found in Colliton Park: 2½ft (762mm) wide between mortared walls and 1½ft (475mm) high, and set at the bottom of a 10½ft (3.2m) deep V-shaped trench, which must have been 10–12ft (3–3.7m) wide at the top before weathering took place. The conduit was probably roofed, and, where it ran for some distance beneath a street, also filled. It was encountered again in 1968 just north of High West Street.¹⁰² It must be admitted that, apart from a capacity almost equal to a quarter of the aqueduct's, it seems a most elaborate way of disposing of surplus water, especially so close to the point of supply. Some slight clues as to the purpose of the conduit are to be found in the buildings at the north end of Colliton Park, towards which point it is aiming. But the majority of structures there are appreciably later than the probable late-first-century date of its construction. However, there are some indications of industrial processes which may have been inherited from earlier buildings, and the outfall pipe set in the concrete floor of room 2 in Building 1 is suggestive of 'wet' processes (p. 329). Although the conduit went out of use during the second half of the second century, the aqueduct continued to function into the fourth century, as was shown by the shells of aquatic snails in the channel. Other evidence for the distribution of water was found beside an east–west street which crossed both South Street and Church Street.¹⁰³

The first fortifications were constructed some

time in the late second century. An earth bank was fronted by one and possibly two ditches, with evidence suggesting a timber tower near the south-west corner. There is, however, an indication of attempts to provide a masonry curtain wall on at least part of the circuit, for, near Bowling Alley Walk, a chalk and flint foundation 10ft (3m) wide has been observed in two places sealed beneath the tail of the later rampart; it was seen again in a sewer trench below Charles Street to the east.¹⁰⁴ This wall would seem never to have been completed, and is additional evidence that work in stone was initially contemplated. A further complication is caused by a possible even earlier bank, but so far only observed at one point on the circuit between Charles Street and Acland Road.¹⁰⁵

About AD 300 the fortifications were at last strengthened by the addition of a stone wall on a revised alignment. A small part of the core of this wall still stands above ground level in Albert Road. The foundations would appear to have been over 10ft (3m) wide. Owing to the abnormal width of the primary earth rampart, which in places was as much as 50ft (15.2m) across, the wall was sometimes inserted into its brow, in contrast to the more normal practice of cutting back the front of the bank.¹⁰⁶ The wall was built of grouted limestone rubble masonry over a foundation of pitched flints. Bonding courses of flat slabs of stone were incorporated at intervals. Facing was probably with limestone ashlar, but none have survived. The rampart was considerably enlarged when the wall was built, extending the width to as much as 80ft (24m). The full extent of the circuit is reasonably certain on the north, west, south and south-east sectors, but the north-east part is mainly conjectural, although its line is approximately dictated by the course of the river beyond.

There is little apart from road alignments to indicate the positions of gates, and no structural evidence has been recorded. The positions of the east, west and south gates can be approximately inferred at the ends of High Street and of South Street respectively, with a probable north gate or postern at the bottom of Glyde Path Hill. A

medieval gate is known at the east end of Durngate Street; it may represent the site of an earlier, Roman gate, and, if so, might explain cemeteries which would otherwise be awkwardly placed near the south-east angle.

Little is known of the early shops and houses. First-century timber-framed buildings have been identified on a number of sites, but whether belonging to a vicus or the early town cannot be distinguished.¹⁰⁷ Most examples of domestic and commercial buildings are later in date, especially those excavated in Colliton Park near the north corner of the town between 1937–9, which provide the only complete plans. The area seems to have remained open ground during the first two centuries, and was only then developed slowly and with little attention to economy, as the buildings were well spread out. Building I (fig. 147) is interesting for its unusual plan and for the presence of mosaics in all the rooms in the main range, which may be identified as the living quarters. An arrangement whereby the floors of four of the rooms were progressively lowered, with communicating drains from each room, is worth noting, as it was undoubtedly intended to ease the washing of the floors. The southern range of this building seems to have been first planned as a separate structure, which was later joined to the main residence. Some of its fittings could be those of a small domestic bath wing, although it lacks certain facilities, such as plunge baths, which were normally considered essential. But the combination of a steam-heated room, rooms with thick concrete floors, one of which was adapted for draining surface water, and a 'drying' room with ovens and hearths, might suggest fulling or dyeing. If so, the well sunk to the north of the range could have replaced water originally supplied by the conduit, perhaps to an earlier structure. The small niche in the wall of room 2 might then be seen as containing the statue of a deity presiding over the activities of the establishment.

Other houses worthy of individual mention are Buildings II and III. The latter contained an

exceptionally long and narrow north-south wing, divided into three main parts and opening on to a courtyard to the east, with some evidence of smaller structures related to it. A number of ovens situated in it might suggest a workshop rather than a dwelling. Building II was little more than a cottage (fig. 148), compact and symmetrical and situated not far from the southern edge of Building III, and possibly represents the domestic quarters of a manager. It contained three rooms in a single rectangular block, with a south-facing portico projecting from the centre.

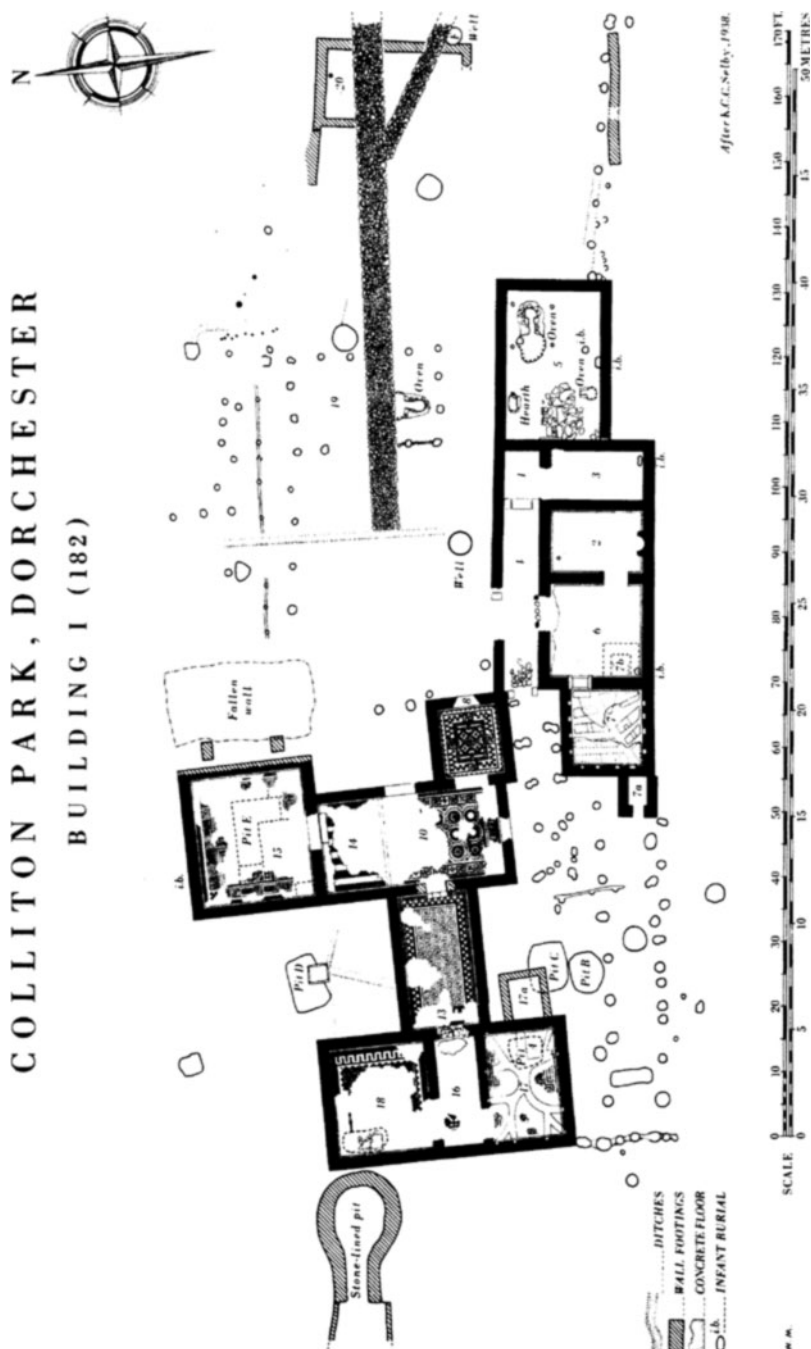
Some rare structural features were observed in these buildings: a collapsed window embrasure in Building I, and the impression of reeds on the reverse side of wall plaster. The latter were presumably used as an alternative for the more conventional wattle backing,¹⁰⁸ but the plaster may equally have come from a ceiling.

Other domestic or commercial buildings have been uncovered more recently in the Greyhound Yard¹⁰⁹ and in the area between Charles Street and Acland Road.¹¹⁰ They tend to confirm the opinion that timber-framed buildings survived through most of the second century to be replaced by masonry late in that century or during the third. In the Greyhound Yard parts of some four town houses were found to have been extensively altered throughout their lives; they had been terraced into the hillside. One late house, an aisled hall, possessed its own water supply contained in a cistern 11ft square (5.3m²) and over 22ft (6.7m) deep; the enclosing walls had been equipped with relieving arches to help withstand the weight and pressure. Between Charles Street and Acland Road part of a large, late building was discovered, which may have combined domestic and commercial premises; there was as well a sequence of very late Roman and sub-Roman levels and structures.

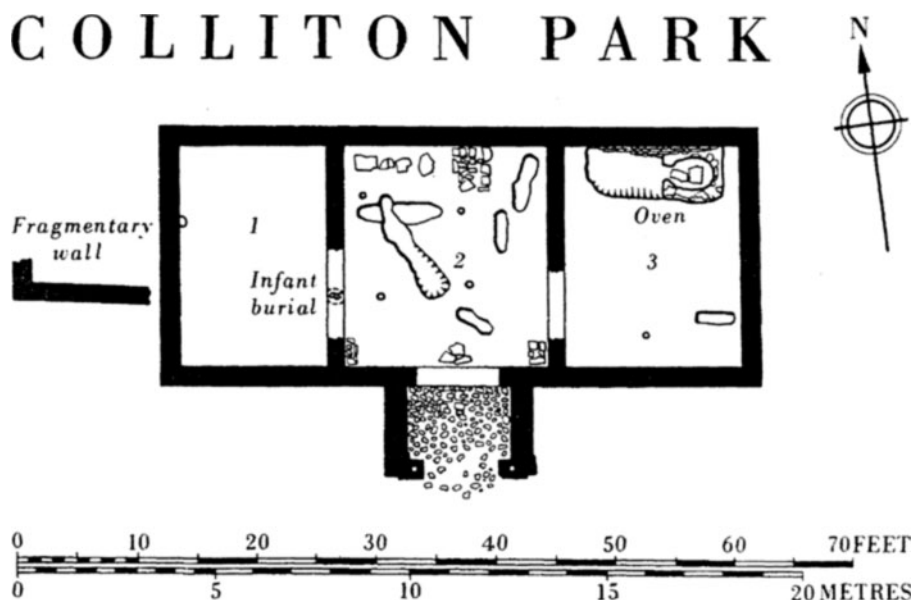
The houses of Dorchester were by no means all the residences of poor people, as is shown by the number of good quality mosaics known in the town. Moreover, we know that they also possessed excellent items of furniture, for at Dorchester use was made of the local Kimmeridge shale in

COLLITON PARK, DORCHESTER

BUILDING I (182)



147 Fourth-century house, Colliton Park (Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England: Crown Copyright – reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office)



148 Small house, Colliton Park (*Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments for England: Crown Copyright – reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office*)

place of perishable wood, and working in shale may be considered a local industry of the region, even if it was not carried on in the town.

Durnovaria, like Corinium, has been considered by D. J. Smith as the centre of operations of a mosaicist's workshop. Here, however, most examples occur in villas in the civitas, and only two from the town have been positively identified as their work.¹¹¹ This may be a point of some significance. Apart from the famous pavements with Christian motifs at Frampton and Hinton St Mary, Smith considers that the Neptune mosaic in the Gloucestershire villa of Withington was also almost certainly the work of the Durnovarian firm. Furthermore, he suggests that they were able to penetrate what was apparently another firm's operational area because that firm had already ceased to function. Moreover, at Withington the Neptune mosaic of the Durnovarian firm is later in date than the Corinian workshop's Orpheus pavement. If therefore the Durnovarian firm was operating at a later date than that at Corinium, the

presence of only two of the firm's pavements among some fifty known from the town might suggest that there had been a decline in the wealth of the inhabitants. But obviously this recession did not equally affect the countryside, although it is perhaps associated with the shift north-westwards towards Ilchester of the tribal centre of gravity.

There is some evidence for other industrial processes carried on in the town. A hearth associated with lead working was found beneath the gravel thought to represent the forum piazza. It may have been used by a plumber for manufacturing or soldering lead sheet during construction work, and is similar to small plumbers' furnaces found in construction levels of the basilica at Cirencester.¹¹² Metal-working was also probably carried on in six furnaces located near the south-west corner. A late blacksmith's forge was found at Colliton Park and is a reminder that low-grade iron ores occur locally.

The nearest source of local pottery was probably at Purbeck, but a local brickworks may

have produced the characteristic antefixes found in and around Dorchester, which are decorated in relief with bearded faces.¹¹³

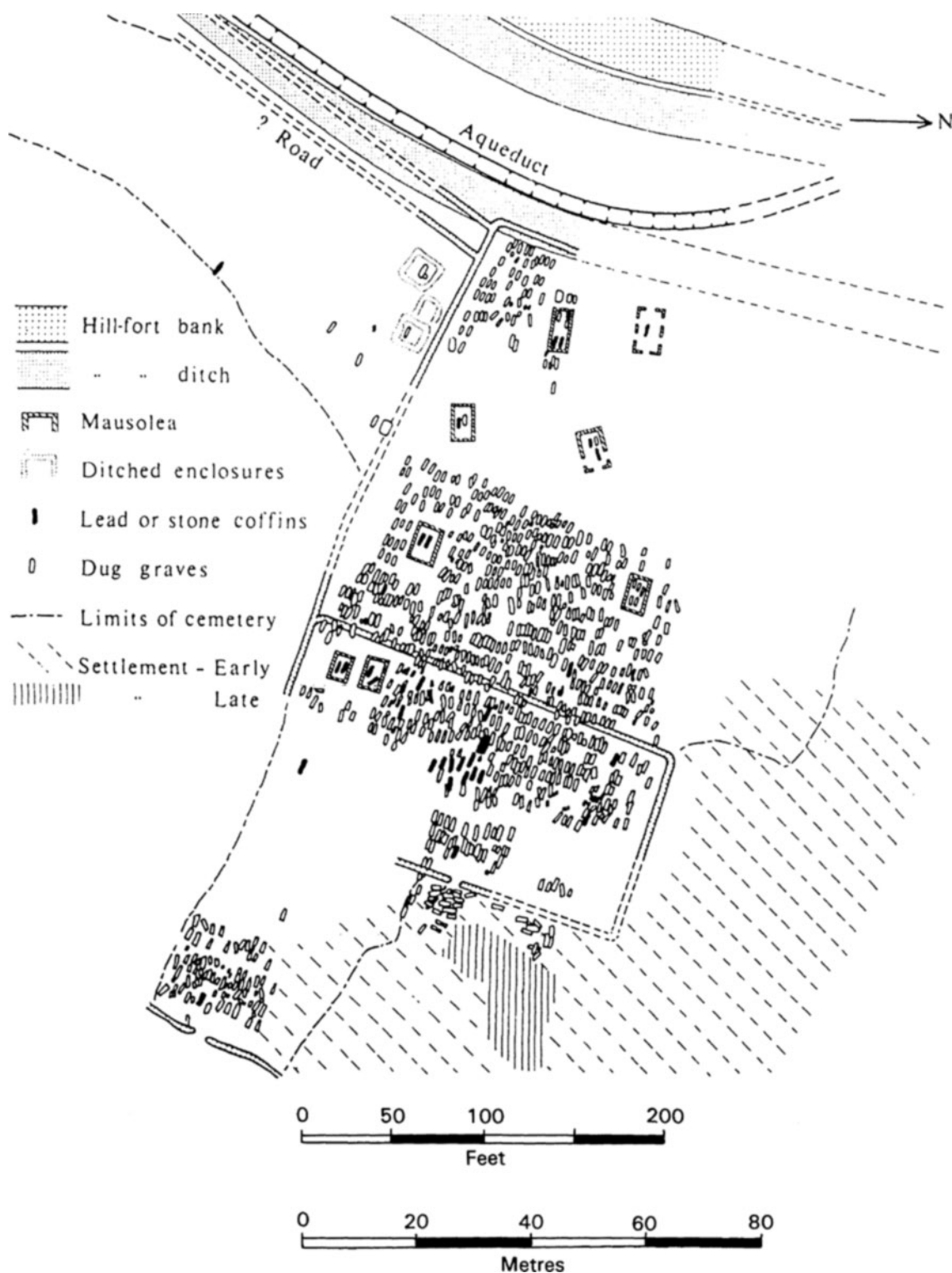
Stone quarries on Purbeck yielded the famed 'marble', which was not only used extensively at Dorchester, but also travelled widely throughout the country. The only tombstone from Dorchester, which was set up in memory of Carinus, is made of it.¹¹⁴ Other quarries on Portland provided stone for building and for architectural features. With such an abundance of local material, it is surprising that stone for both sarcophagi and buildings was brought from Ham Hill near Ilchester.

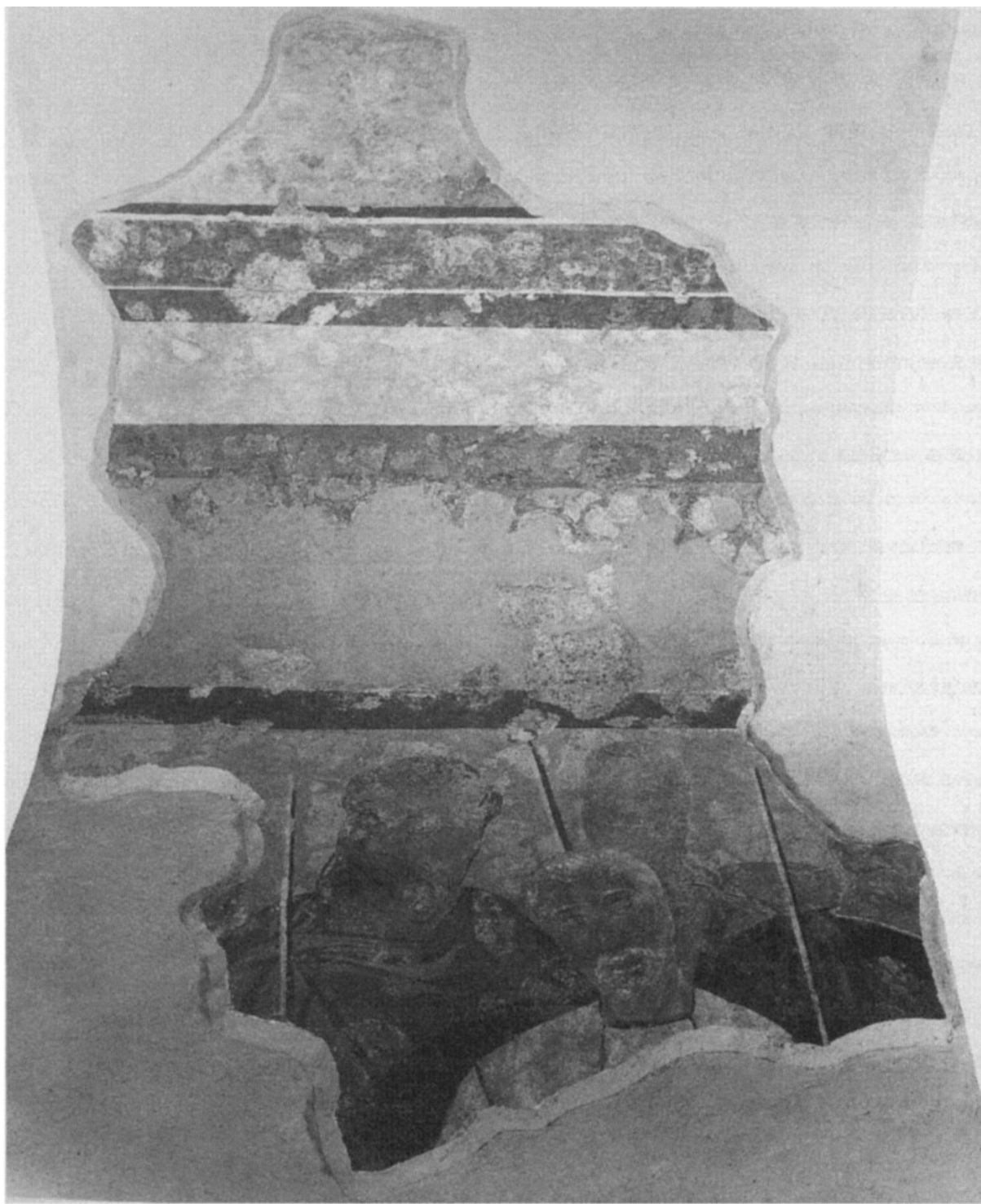
There is very little evidence of religious practices at Dorchester: a bronze statuette of Mercury, a pipeclay figurine of Venus, a lead statuette of Minerva, an inscription to Jupiter, possibly removed at a later date from the town to Godmanstone, and three carved heads reused in the eighteenth century and said to represent Cernunnos. In the absence of specific evidence from the town, it is worth including the late fourth-century Romano-Celtic temple built on the long-deserted Maiden Castle.¹¹⁵ This must have been built at a time when a growing Christian community was being established in the town (below) and was perhaps making life intolerable for adherents of pagan cults. Can we see in this temple, erected in a place which, even three centuries later, must have evoked memories and legends, the general dissatisfaction of part of the population: a reaction perhaps to events which they could not control but only resent? In such circumstances attempts are often made to put the clock back.

More information on burial practices comes, however, from a number of well-furnished cemeteries. Some were obviously alongside main roads, although it should be noted that there were none outside the east gate, where the road crossed marshy ground. Surprisingly, the largest cemetery so far discovered lay between the western defences of the town and Poundbury; another was on Fordington Hill just north of the south-east corner.

Excavations on the Poundbury cemetery (fig. 149) have revealed an interesting situation.¹¹⁶ It has been estimated as covering about 5 acres (2ha) with a rate of interment of about 1000 graves per acre. Parts were contained within ditched enclosures, although not all the boundaries were later respected. Overall the cemetery seems to have expanded from east to west and possibly represents a time span of seventy-five years or so in use. By far the largest number of burials followed a uniform rite: fully extended with head roughly to the west, usually contained in a plain wooden coffin, and normally with no grave goods. Some 'family' groups made up of two adults and one or two children have been identified, with one burial in each group embalmed in gypsum in a lead-lined heavy wooden coffin. A number of rectangular mausolea, two with plastered and painted internal walls and vaulted roofs (fig. 150), contained groups of burials, which were more handsomely interred in lead or stone sarcophagi, often with the body embalmed in gypsum. They seem to be a development of the 'family' group burials noted above. The overall date of the main cemetery would seem to fall mostly within the fourth century. Ramm has pointed out that gypsum burials in Britain probably indicate Christian burial (cf. York, p. 183 above) and at Dorchester this is confirmed by additional features. Nevertheless, earlier second- and third-century cremations and random-orientated inhumations occur, in addition to a few of the post-Roman period. This cemetery seems to represent the development of a considerable Christian community in the town or in nearby rural areas. The existence of such a community is, of course, supported by the Christian symbolism used in some of the mosaics from the Durnovarian workshop.

Another large cemetery south-east of Fordington is further away from the town and may have been more related to a rural community represented by the enclosures, barns (one with a grain-drier) and other structures of a settlement. The burial area seems to have occupied the fringe of a surviving part of a D-shaped enclosure, which was originally of Iron Age date; 110 inhumations





150 Painted wall and roof vault from a mausoleum in the Poundbury cemetery (C. J. S. Green. Crown Copyright – reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office)

were recorded, of which 4 had been decapitated and another, uniquely for Roman Britain, was that of a female dwarf, aged about 25. Another burial, of a child in a lead-lined wooden coffin, had been encased in gypsum in which the impression of a woollen shroud, ornamented with Syrian-purple stripes, was preserved. A road leading from the town to this settlement, and probably beyond, is indicated by metallurgy and by the finding of a milestone of Postumus.¹¹⁷

More evidence, although still scarce, is now accumulating for the end of Durnovaria. There are the late or sub-Roman levels and structures in the Charles Street area (p. 329), and a possible thriving agricultural community, adjacent to the Poundbury cemetery,¹¹⁸ where at least one sunken building has been discovered. Another, somewhat later, settlement seems to have grown at Fordington (p. 332), although there are no detectable traces of continuity from the Roman period. Zoomorphic buckles of the type sometimes associated with the late Roman army might suggest the presence of *laeti* or *gentiles* in the area, while the late Roman coin list is not so very different from towns with attested fifth-century occupation.¹¹⁹ As in most cases, desertion rather than destruction would seem to sum up the closing years.

EXETER

(*Isca Dumnoniorum*)

In the foregoing sections and chapters we have considered towns which had been established in districts associated with primary or secondary Belgic culture, even if it was confined to the ruling classes. Such people, although perhaps hostile to Rome at first, were nevertheless more receptive to Roman ideas and the Roman way of life than those living in parts remote from the south-east, who had never been touched by the earlier culture. In these areas the path to Romanization and consequently urbanization was slower, more difficult and often never fully achieved.

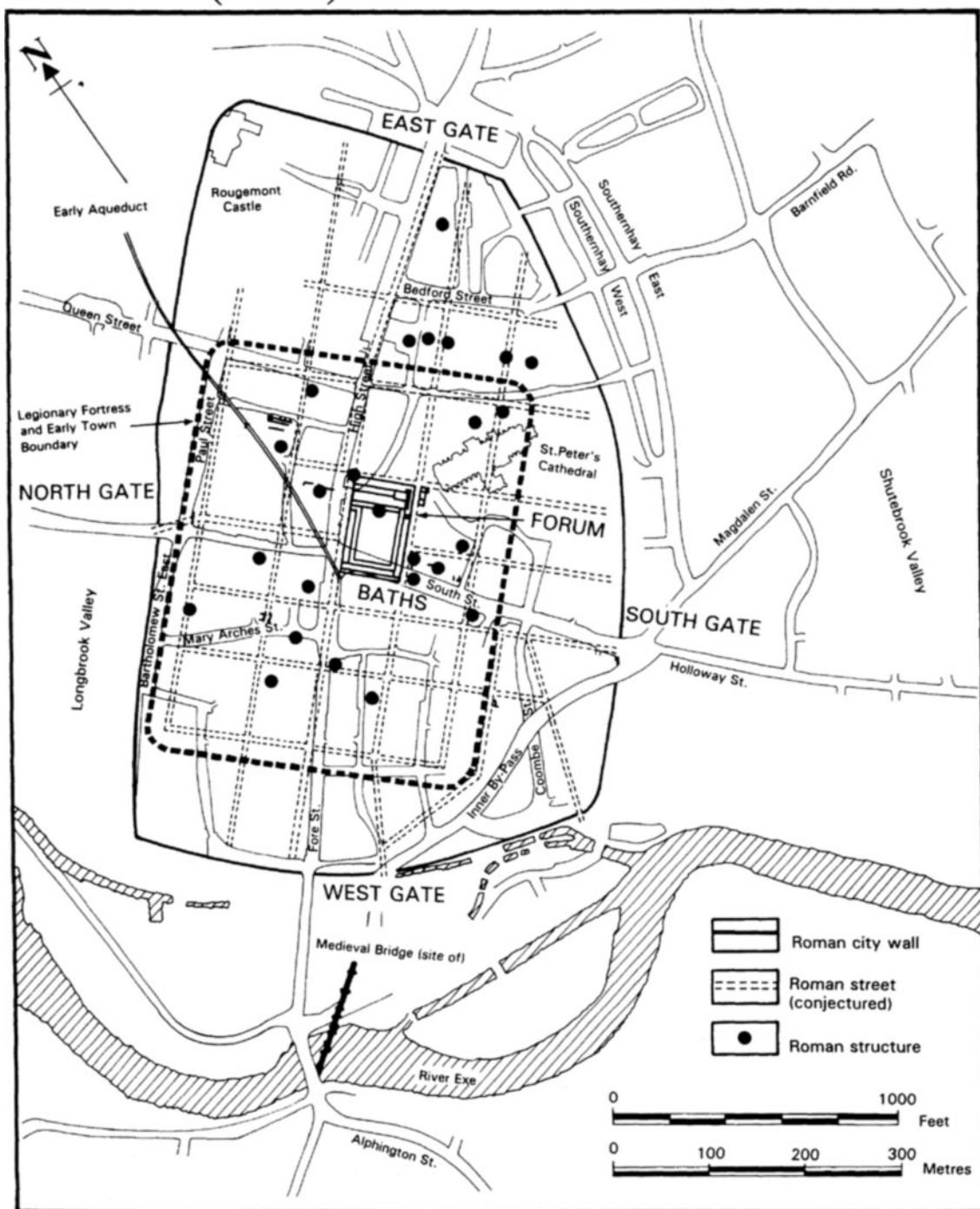
The Dumnonii in the south-west peninsula

were locally infiltrated in the later pre-Roman Iron Age by immigrants from north-west France, who were absorbed into the tribe without causing any noticeable political change. Penetrations by the Durotriges of their south-east border country had more effect. But no unified control was exercised over the whole tribe, except in the loosest way. No coins were ever issued in their territory and up to the time of the Roman conquest they seem to have remained a confederation of smaller units. Trade relations were maintained with both the Durotriges and Dobunni.¹²⁰

The arrival of the Roman army on the borders of Dumnonia, following the conquest of the Durotriges and settlement of the Dobunni, does not seem to have brought about an immediate response. Twenty years ago, little was known of the military movements or positions of the Roman army in the south-west peninsula; now something of a revolution has occurred.¹²¹ Be that as it may, it seems to be generally agreed that serious physical occupation of the area did not begin until nearly a decade after the invasion, when a number of forts were constructed in Dumnonian territory, culminating with the foundation of a legionary fortress for Legio II Augusta at Exeter c. 55. It is possible that, as in Wales, the presence of the Roman army on the frontier acted as an irritant, leading to increased hostilities which could only be satisfactorily resolved by full occupation. Cornwall, for the time being, was not included.

The military occupation at Exeter has been the subject of considerable argument. Excavations by Aileen Fox in the post-war years and again in 1959 found extensive areas of Claudio-Neronian 'settlement', which she interpreted as being part of the early town.¹²² Objections were raised because a town at this date in the south-west would have been an historical improbability, and attempts were made to reinterpret the structures as army buildings. The differences of opinion were partly resolved by the discovery of an early ditch, thought then probably to belong to an auxiliary fort, running beneath the South Gate of the later town.¹²³ It was next believed that this fort was

EXETER (ISCA)



established as a preliminary measure and that it was quite soon replaced by a legionary fortress on a new site further west. The most likely explanation, however, is that this enclosure was a detached annexe to the legionary fortress, and was both occupied and abandoned before the Flavian period. The outlines and some of the internal buildings of this fortress have gradually emerged in the course of excavations in the city. Foremost among them because of its influence on the layout of the later town was the bath-house, built in the *retentura* behind the *principia*, while some of the streets of the fortress also became part of the town.¹²⁴ The fortress was finally abandoned in the late 70s.¹²⁵

The withdrawal of the army and the constitution of the *civitas Dumnoniorum*, as with the other *civitates* described in this chapter, therefore took place *c.* AD 80. However, here for the first time in Britain, the Roman administration perhaps came up against the problem of lack of unity. With no obvious pre-conquest tribal capital, the choice of site for a *civitas* capital would have been even more arbitrary, and we must fall back on a reason already proposed to account for the selection of some others in the Province: that the site chosen represented the greatest concentration of influential natives. We must assume therefore that the fortress at Exeter had acted as a better magnet than an auxiliary fort and had attracted such people from the more widely scattered hill-forts and settlements to the associated *vicus* or *canabae* known to lie outside the north-east gate. The unequal way in which Romanization penetrated the area shows most clearly how little pressure to conform was put upon the ordinary tribesman, once his basic obligations had been carried out. If a freeman went to live in a town, he went there because he wanted to, and not because he was made to by an organization which did not really care where he lived.

The new capital was therefore placed on a spur of land overlooking the lowest, easy-crossing point of the river, from which the town took its name, and first occupied the area of the fortress.

Central among the buildings in the new town were the forum and basilica (see fig. 8). There are five towns in Roman Britain known to have been founded on the sites of legionary fortresses. In two, and most likely three, the fora coincided more or less with the sites of the earlier *principiae*: they were the *coloniae*. The other two, at Exeter and Wroxeter (p. 365), did not achieve colonial status and strangely, for some unknown reason, their fora were sited on the legionary bath-houses.¹²⁶ What caused this distinction? Were the *principiae* retained for some purpose for a short time, perhaps as temporary fora? But a temporary timber basilica has already been identified at Exeter on the site of the forum piazza adjacent to the later masonry basilica,¹²⁷ which would seem to rule this out. Or was an element of military presence, encapsulated in the *principiae*, maintained in the formative years of these towns? It is interesting that both lie on the western edge of urbanized Roman Britain, where pre-conquest Romanizing influence would have been at a minimum; in the circumstances, greater assistance might well have been required in those years. If it came from the army, some kind of command system must have been maintained, as well as accommodation for the men themselves.

The basilica lay on the north-east side of the forum and consisted of a simple hall about 33ft (10m) wide and up to about 164ft (50m) long; it may have been surrounded by a colonnade on three of its sides, with the forum on the fourth. A range of rooms lay behind the hall, with probably the largest (the *curia*?) situated in the eastern corner. Entrance to the hall at the south corner was gained by a flight of steps leading from the forum colonnade to a small portico in the south-west wall (fig. 152). The forum occupied a space about 246ft (75m) by 223ft (68m) and consisted of an internal colonnade fronting ranges of rooms. Although an external colonnade was provided along the south-west side, the other two sides were not so treated. As in many Romano-British towns the forum was too small for its *insula* and the area outside it to the south-west seems to have



152 Steps leading to the basilica from the forum (Robert Turner: Exeter Archaeological Field Unit)

been left as a gravelled open space, perhaps for additional market accommodation. The water-pipes which had previously supplied the bath-house were relaid as part of a new system, presumably to provide a source for public drinking fountains.

Another large public building is known to exist partly under South Street and Deanery Gardens, where a plunge bath measuring 52ft (15.8m) in length and with a depth of 4ft (1.2m) was discovered in 1934. The bath was surrounded by a pavement of sandstone blocks, which in turn supported a colonnade. The proximity of the next street to the north-east would, however, have

prevented the width from being more than half its length. From foundations recorded beneath and beyond South Street, the main part of the baths would appear to lie in that direction, and it may have occupied the whole insula.¹²⁸

The aqueduct for the fortress had entered through the porta decumana and had then run beside the via decumana towards the bath-house, perhaps passing first into a castellum. The source probably lay some distance upstream in the valley of the Longbrook, a tributary of the Exe. For some unknown reason, the course was changed when the first town was laid out c. 100, so that it then ran round the other side of Rougemont to enter across

the still-standing legionary defences almost due north of the forum. It crossed the ditch on a bridge supported by wooden piles, reminiscent of the early aqueduct at Colchester (p. 122); indeed, coincidence can be taken further, for both enjoyed only short lives. Inside the town the first course has been traced running towards the western corner of the forum, but it was probably changed during the early second century.¹²⁹

As already indicated, the early town grew within the confines of the legionary fortress, whose fortifications acted as a boundary, if not a defence. The streets also provided a basic framework for the embryonic layout, although some, notably the *via praetoria*, were readjusted; near the forum it was 50ft (15m) across and thus resembled the extra-wide street at Cirencester which passed to the south-east of the basilica and macellum and which was partly enclosed in the fourth century to provide an extra market-place (p. 314). It would be unusual though, despite the initial model, if all the subsequent streets and *insulae* were as regular as has been claimed.¹³⁰

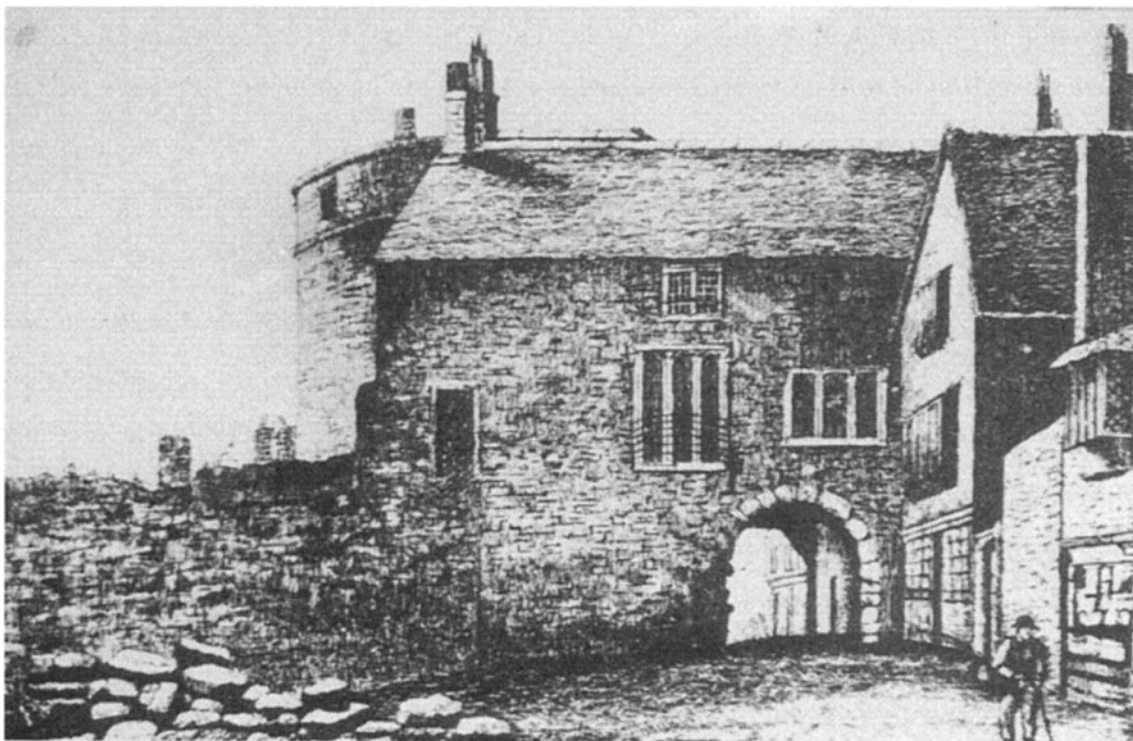
It is not known when the town began to spill over its earlier limits. Nor have the sites of any other public buildings such as an amphitheatre, theatre or temples been identified. Suffice it to say that when the earliest true fortifications were constructed towards the later second century, they enclosed very much larger areas on all but the north-west side, where the ground falls sharply to the Longbrook Valley. The remains of the legionary defences were then systematically demolished, although the outer ditch, despite some silting, had been kept clean up to that time.

The first fortifications to be constructed followed the normal pattern of late-second-century works and were certainly later than AD 160. The rampart, of interlaced layers of clean clay and gravel obtained from the ditch, was 25ft (7.6m) wide at the base. Excavations at South Gate in 1964–5 showed that the masonry gate was possibly contemporary with the earth rampart; however, excavations in 1993 have shown that it was preceded by a timber gate with a single

carriageway flanked by towers, and dated to AD 160–80. It was set back about 25ft (7.5m) from the front line of the defences. A situation akin to Silchester might therefore be envisaged (p. 279).¹³¹ Even so, Exeter could join the handful of towns where preliminary work in stone had been carried out before the linear circuit was completed with masonry. Only a small part of the gate could be excavated in 1964–5, as the remainder lies beneath South Street, and it appeared to be a square or rectangular guardroom probably in the base of a tower, flanking the south-west side of the entrance. A modern wall and basement had unfortunately destroyed the front of the tower, so there was no way of knowing whether it was semi-circular or flat.

The overall width of the gate is now estimated to be 44ft (13.5m) between the wall ends. If allowance is made for a companion tower on that side of the gate, then the gap is reduced to 23ft (7m). Aileen Fox therefore postulated a single main carriageway with flanking foot passages, after the manner of the Silchester Gate at Verulamium (p. 232). A nineteenth-century print shows, on the inside of the medieval gate, a round-headed arch with no keystone (fig. 153), which is almost certainly a Roman survival, and not unlike the Newport Arch at Lincoln (p. 135). The opening portrayed can be little more than 9–10ft (2.7–3m) wide, even if ample allowance is made for the effects of perspective. In 1989 a spina was discovered which appeared to separate the main carriageway from a narrow foot-passage.¹³² But doubt has already been cast on Wheeler's restoration of the Silchester Gate at Verulamium, which was itself based on the incorrect interpretation of the Maas Tor at Xanten (p. 233). On the whole in Britain, twin portal gates are more common than those with three. No records have survived for the other gates.

When these first fortifications were constructed, the street system was, naturally, extended, but evidence now shows that it did not always reach to the full limits. Consequently, open fields can be envisaged round the edges of the



153 Nineteenth-century engraving of the South Gate; the arch was thought to be Roman (*Exeter City Library*)

built-up areas, as in a number of other towns (p. 78).

The construction of the stone wall in front of the existing bank probably took place some time during the third century. Unfortunately more accurate dating is not yet possible. The wall was constructed on an unmortared rubble base, 11ft (3.4m) wide. Above this, from the level of the external chamfered plinth, the method of construction used a grouted rubble core behind large squared ashlar. The inside face was left rough up to the level of the top of the rampart, above which it was faced. Most of the masonry was constructed of Trap, a basalt out-cropping locally on the Rougement hill and used extensively in the Roman period, but sandstone and chert were also used. Three scarcements on the internal face reduced the width of the wall to 6ft 3in (1.9m) at a height of 8ft 6in (2.6m). In places the wall still stands 14ft (4.3m) high.¹³³ A single rectangular

interval tower was recorded behind the wall in Paul Street. It had been inserted into the early bank and was contemporary with the wall. In one place, at Cricklepit Street, where the wall had been built on a steep slope, a collapse had occurred, making a complete reconstruction necessary in the mid-fourth century.¹³⁴

Knowledge of the private houses and shops of Isca is fragmentary, and, as in most cases where a modern town occupies the same site, has, in the past, been derived mainly from observation of commercial excavations. A summary of such finds was first compiled by Goodchild and published in 1952, and has since been updated by Bidwell.¹³⁵ References are normally to lengths of wall and fragments of tessellated floor. The occasional hypocaust was noted. Such controlled excavations as have taken place show that wooden structures continued to be built until the end of the second century, in spite of a plentiful supply of

local stone. One recently found house was very reminiscent of some Antonine houses at Verulamium (p. 230). The frame was of light timber construction, and there were opus signinum floors in two rooms, with an earth floor in a third room possibly intended for a mosaic, as a sackful of tesserae were found with it. Later, and probably not much before the third century, increasing use was made of masonry for private buildings, which, in turn, allowed the incorporation of heating systems; over thirty have now been recorded in the extended town. Even then, however, the general standard was not very good, and the fact that so few tessellated or mosaic pavements have been recorded from Exeter is a measure of either the comparative poverty of the inhabitants or their lack of *aemulatio* and different views of life.¹³⁶ Yet there was some good quality housing in the town, as is shown by an extensive mid-fourth-century dwelling, containing some of the few mosaics, in Insula iv/v. Another building close by possessed a small hypocaust, beside which a tank had been dug, supplied with water by a pipe running in from the street.

There is, however, slight evidence from which some of the industrial life of the town can be made out. In excavations at South Gate, a thick rubbish layer was found below the Roman civil defences and dating from the late first to mid second centuries. Set in this layer was a probable cupellation furnace 2ft 3in (685mm) long and 1ft 6in (457mm) wide. The base and sides had been lined with crushed, calcined animal bones. Another flat hearth was found nearby, while some 30yds (27m) to the south-west the same waste layer was encountered, and these contained fragments of tuyères.¹³⁷ A kiln in Bartholemew Street, manufacturing flagons, and mortaria stamped VITANUS, belonged primarily to the legionary period but also overlapped the early town.¹³⁸ But generally, little pottery seems to have been made in the vicinity and most must have been brought from the larger production centres near Purbeck in Dorset and from Somerset, as well as from further afield. There is a little

evidence to show the manufacture of bone and shale goods, the latter perhaps reaching Exeter in company with the Dorset pottery. Part of a mason's yard possibly existed on a derelict site in Insula x.¹³⁹

Cemeteries and the religious life of Exeter are poorly represented so far by surviving remains. A possible temple site is thought to have existed in Broadgate, and four small bronze statuettes of Apollo, Mars, Mercury and Ceres (or Fortune) were found nearby. The post-war excavations produced a sherd of pottery on which a  monogram had been scratched, indicating perhaps a small but poor Christian community in the mid fourth century.¹⁴⁰

The relationship between the *civitas Dumnoniorum* and its capital town has always excited considerable speculation, some of which was outlined at the beginning of this section.¹⁴¹ It seems clear that the tide of Romanization was weakening by the time it reached the borders and, beyond Exeter, only flowed in the most superficial and ephemeral way. Iron Age settlements continued their existence, with a square 'round' being found at Hayes Farm, outside the town; only the development of the south-western courtyard house characterized the Roman period and the Dark Ages beyond. There is little evidence for the growth of villas, and only one, at Magor Farm, Illogan, is known to exist in the extreme south-west. It is often claimed that an obvious lack of right angles in its layout proclaims its rusticity.¹⁴² For its date in the mid second century, it displays the typical development of a modest winged-corridor villa. Lack of right angles need not distress us, or mislead us, as there are innumerable buildings in more sophisticated areas of Britain which display no better symmetry, and the myth that all Roman buildings were accurately surveyed deserves to be exploded once and for all. Obviously the venture of villa ownership in north-west Cornwall was not entirely a failure, as the original villa was added to, and was not abandoned until the third century. It therefore had a life-span representing at least two and possibly

three generations. Presumably it lay at the centre of a farm; or was it possibly the residence of an early Cornish mining captain? Perhaps the owner was a minor official from elsewhere who decided to start the trend for retirement to the south-west peninsula. But, in fact, there was probably very little difference in terms of material wealth and position on the social scale between him and the owner of a courtyard house at Chysauster. Further east in Britain a man of the latter's class might have built a villa; as it was he was satisfied with a house with no corners, as being far more suited to the climate, but it did not stop him or his like making use of Roman style pottery and metalwork. On the other hand, his neighbour at Illogan preferred a house with (nearly) square corners. Indeed, at the time a villa in this part of the country was probably something of a local curiosity.

It is often assumed also that the reason for the rejection of *romanitas* by the Dumnonii lay in the essentially highland nature of their geography. This may, and probably did, have an effect, but it will not do alone. The Parisi of east Yorkshire occupied country not so very different from Lincolnshire, Norfolk or even parts of Kent. Yet they seem to have rejected urbanization just as firmly, if not more so, as the Dumnonii. There was a kinship, dating back to the period of Iron B immigrants, between the people of the south-west and parts of the lower Severn valley. Yet the latter developed a villa economy which was second to none and cannot be entirely attributed to earlier Belgic, or later immigrant influence, whereas the inhabitants of the south-west rejected such a system even though in parts of their country it was quite feasible. Indeed, the two quite different and contrasting situations outlined above enable the position of the south-west to be classified. In the first place, having largely rejected urbanization, there was no need or incentive to build up a more advanced agricultural system than they already had. Secondly, the situation depended once again on individual inclinations; little compulsion was employed and if the people did not want Romanization it was not necessarily forced

upon them. The opportunities were probably there in equal measure as in other parts of the country; they were not taken.

Extensive alterations were made to the forum and basilica at Exeter in the mid fourth century.¹⁴³ Subsequently a new floor in the basilica, sealing a coin of Valens, would point to continued use until the late fourth century, but the town as a whole has produced comparatively few coins later than Gratian. Finally the whole civic centre was demolished and the debris carted away, after which pits were dug in the area; one contained rubbish from a coppersmith's workshop, showing that industrial activity was continuing. Finally the site seems to have been converted to a cemetery, from which six graves were found, orientated north-west to south-east. Radiocarbon determinations on two of the inhumations indicated a mid-fifth-century date for burial.¹⁴⁴ We need not doubt that by then the old civic standards had completely broken down, to be replaced by a new order; yet clearly there was a small surviving population, which had perhaps been converted to Christianity.

The continued trading connexions in the fifth century between the *civitas*, and especially Exeter, and the Mediterranean have been emphasized by Aileen Fox.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Exeter would have been the first major British centre reached by vessels which had rounded the Iberian peninsula. Was this connexion with the east perhaps responsible for the arrival of an epidemic at Exeter, and the premature decay of the town?

There is a good deal of evidence that the *civitas Dumnoniorum* was being colonized by both Welsh and Irish Celts during the later fourth and fifth centuries, and their memorial stones, using the Ogham script, are widespread over Cornwall and west Devon. There is some evidence also that the centre of gravity of the *civitas* was shifting westwards away from Exeter, and it has been suggested that Castle Dore, near Fowey, became the new centre.¹⁴⁶ Despite these changes, however, the south-west peninsula, including parts of the Dobunni and Durotriges, retained its Mediter-

anean trading links, as is shown by the numbers of imported amphorae which turn up with considerable frequency at Exeter and on other contemporary sites.¹⁴⁷ An off-quoted reference to a cornship arriving from Alexandria in time to relieve a famine and returning with a cargo of tin, could be taken to apply to Exeter, or equally to its early-sixth-century successor.¹⁴⁸ But some form of life, probably far removed from Romano-British customs, may have lingered on in the town until the arrival of the Saxons in the late seventh century. Certainly Britons continued to live peacefully in Exeter with Saxons until the early ninth century,¹⁴⁹ when they were expelled from the town. But this, in itself, is not proof of continuity.

LEICESTER (*Ratae Corieltauorum*)

The Corieltavi, like their south-western neighbours the Dobunni, had come under the control of Belgic people some little time before the Roman conquest. Stretching north-east in a wide belt from the west Midlands to the Lincolnshire coast, they had a very considerable length of common frontier with the Catuvellauni. Although the tribe issued coins, some of which had pairs of names on them,¹⁵⁰ strata of earlier Iron A and B cultures survived up to the time of the conquest.

Two main pre-Roman tribal centres have so far been identified: Old Sleaford, Lincs., where much Belgic pottery has been found with moulds for casting coin flans, and Leicester. Here Miss Kenyon's excavations on the Jewry Wall site produced early levels containing imported Gallo-Belgic and locally produced wares.¹⁵¹ Corieltavian coins from the town and a number of Belgic pots have been rescued from some commercial excavations. More recent excavations in the areas of Bath Lane and St Nicholas Circle have also produced a fragment of a mould¹⁵² for making coin flans, as well as Iron Age pottery dating from the first century BC through to the Roman conquest. There is slight evidence for structures,

which included a round house of the first century BC and pits and gullies dating from then on into the first century AD.¹⁵³ However, the name of the town, *Ratae*, is derived from a Celtic word meaning ramparts, or banks, and it might be thought therefore that the Iron Age site was a defended oppidum, although no evidence is yet forthcoming.¹⁵⁴

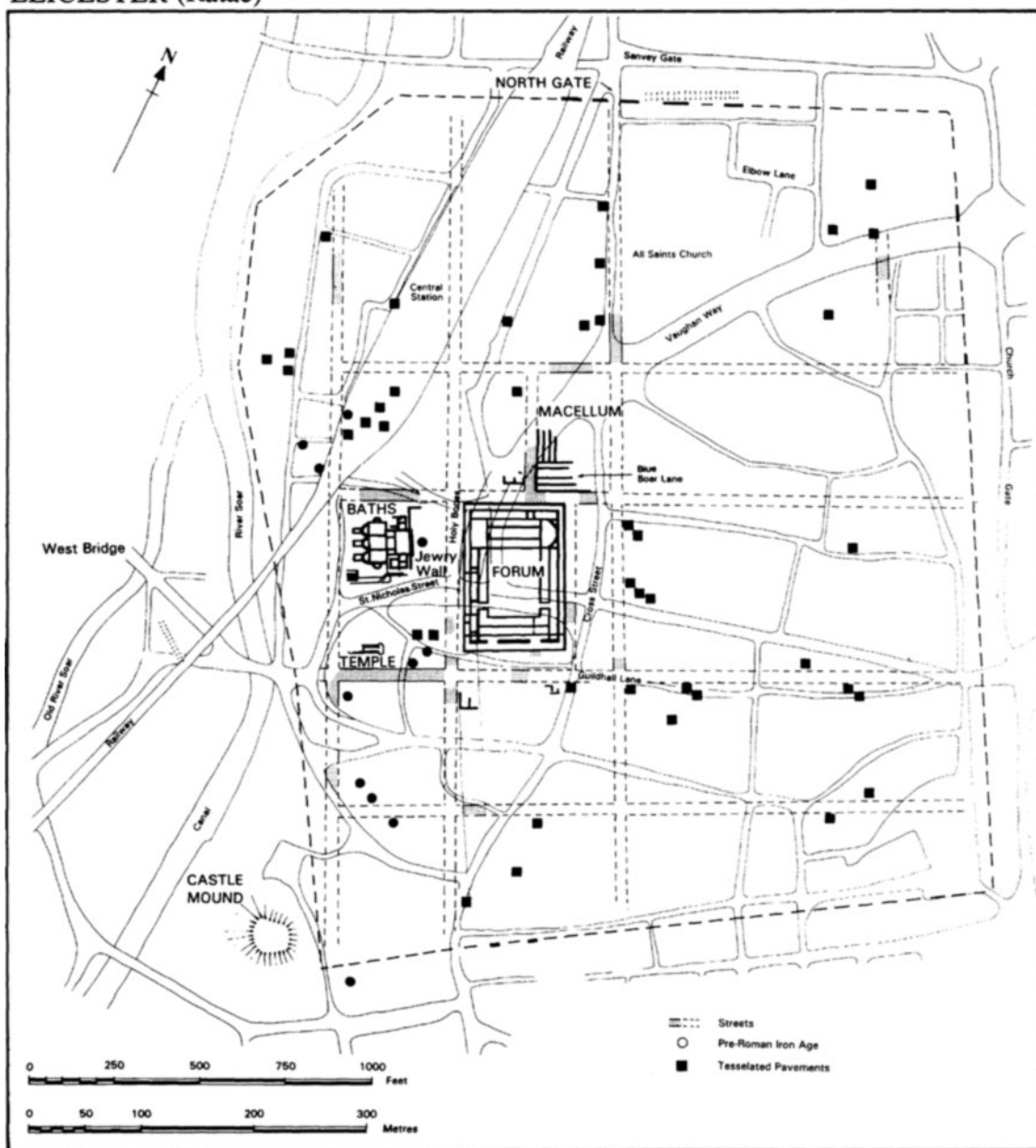
It is not known how the Corieltavi greeted the Romans, but it is possible that their rulers were among those who submitted to Claudius at Camulodunum. Certainly there is no evidence yet that they resisted, and by AD 47 their land had been put into the straitjacket of the new provincial frontier.¹⁵⁵

The form taken by the military occupation of Corieltauian lands is reasonably familiar. Although there is evidence for a fort at Leicester, the other tribal centre at Old Sleaford does not seem to have been garrisoned, perhaps indicating its waning importance. At Leicester a length of military ditch has been found near West Bridge, although no clue was provided to the area enclosed.¹⁵⁶ Early timber buildings have been found below the west central area of the later town.

Although the evidence for the military period at Leicester is scanty and not as clear as it might be, we can detect something of the events which probably took place. It would seem that both the strategic and tactical requirements of the Roman army here coincided with a major native settlement. The nucleus for a vicus was therefore already on the site when a fort was established.¹⁵⁷ The native settlement continued and grew as a vicus. An early street belonging to this period, some 30ft (9m) south of the later street north of the Jewry Wall¹⁵⁸ may represent an attempt at creating a regular layout. Alternatively, it might be the approach road of the fort from the east, and if so, is of some importance when considering the later layout.

It is unlikely that military government of the Corieltavi continued after AD 80, although what happened then is not as easy to perceive as with

LEICESTER (Ratae)



154 Plan of Leicester (after Mellor)

the three civitates already considered in this chapter. What appears certain is that the street system of the new town was not laid out immediately after the withdrawal of the army, but was delayed until c. 100. No immediate provision was made for a forum, but an insula at the centre was left vacant; an open space would have been an adequate temporary market. Neither have any indications been found of a timber forum.¹⁵⁹ What implications these arrangements have for the constitution of the civitas cannot be judged. We cannot say why the Corieltavi took no immediate action to provide themselves with the outward symbols of public life, as a few other tribes then did. It may have been that, at first, they were attributed to the new colonia at Lincoln, which had been founded on their territory, while retaining their own identity. Or the foundation of the colonia and the effective removal of a large part of the civitas to its jurisdiction could have deprived the tribe of much of its collective wealth. Certainly in the later Iron Age, the country around Leicester appears culturally backward and impoverished, when compared with the land to the east. Certainly also, their neighbours to the west, the Cornovii, although constituted as a civitas slightly later, were just as lackadaisical when it came to the provision of public buildings. Yet for both, their ultimate wealth is not in question, if the size of their capitals and the scale of their public and domestic buildings is taken as a measure. Herein lies the paradox.

There is growing evidence that the buildings of the late Flavian town imply a fairly rapid development in the centre. Some of them, which may have been part of the military vicus, were razed and replaced by more regular and spacious ones on different alignments,¹⁶⁰ although timber frames and wattle and daub walls were still used. For instance, a wooden floor had been inserted in the front room of a shop in place of earlier mud floors.¹⁶¹ But an early-second-century inhumation burial beneath the town rampart in the Elbow Lane section¹⁶² would imply a later expansion of the town boundaries. No plans seem to have been

made for a bath-building, and the part of the insula which it was later to occupy was used, unlike the forum insula, for shops and houses.

The beginnings of the town were therefore modest: an open space for a forum and little if anything provided in the way of amenities. It was essentially a commercial centre, and its later wealth might be attributed to the early enterprise and possible frugality of its inhabitants. Nearly two generations were to pass before the fruits of accumulating wealth became outwardly apparent. It showed first as better quality houses and shops were built to replace those which, after twenty to thirty years, were nearing the end of their useful life. Economies were, however, still affected. The early-second-century house in the south-west corner of the insula north of the forum, which replaced Flavian timber buildings, was built on a spacious plan round a large open courtyard, but was constructed of clay blocks, cut to standard size, laid on low masonry walls (see fig. 160).¹⁶³ One of the commoner building stones in Ratae came from the granite outcrops of Charnwood Forest, especially from Groby, and from nearby Enderby; it was a stone which at the time was difficult to work and it lent itself only to the construction of rubble masonry. For better-class work and architectural decoration, a millstone grit from near Melbourne, Derbyshire, about 30 miles (48km) north-west of the town, or a sandstone from Danehills just across the River Soar, was used.

Some time during the late Hadrianic period work was started on the construction of a forum and basilica in the reserved central insula (see fig. 8). It is possible that exhortations made by Hadrian during his visit to Britain were responsible,¹⁶⁴ for the period saw many other municipal works put in hand, such as the fora at Wroxeter and Caistor-by-Norwich, and the return to civilian government of other civitates (Chapter 8).

The reserved insula proved larger than the resources of the civitas. It was reduced on the east by a new street which cut off about a third of the original area, while to the south the street was

extended northwards to the forum walls. Even with these economies the original plan seems to have envisaged a forum and basilica only 387ft (118m) by 298ft (81m) (see fig. 8). This plan provided only for rows of double porticoes in the east, south and west ranges, with the basilica across the north end. The changes of plan during construction saw rooms added to the inner portico of the west range with a new inner portico provided, and to the outer portico of the south range, with the wholly new element of a row of rooms and an outer portico added to the latter, so effectively increasing the overall length of the building to 433ft (132m). Too little work has been done on the east range to be able to say if similar changes took place there, but it was probably made symmetrical with the west. Entrances seem to have been provided in the east wing near its south end, and possibly in the west wing near its north end, with two more arranged symmetrically towards the ends of the south wing. The latter appear to have been supplemented by a single monumental porch added axially to the south wing. A number of columns, bases, parts of stylobate blocks and sections of stone drainage channels have been found from time to time beneath St Nicholas Street, Holy Bones and under nearby buildings. They must have belonged to the forum and were probably part of the colonnades. A restored length of the stylobate with columns in position can be seen outside the Jewry Wall Museum (fig. 155).

The basilica, covering the north end of the forum, appears to have been conventional in plan, although the positions of the tribunals have yet to be accurately established. It was flanked on the north by a row of rooms and an outer portico. Some at least of these rooms opened on to the portico and not towards the hall. An interesting observation was made by Hebditch in this area. A tree had stood in the builders' way on the edge of the street and had been cut down, leaving the stump and roots to rot; they appeared as hollow cavities in the surrounding road metalling.¹⁶⁵

With work on the forum and basilica com-

pleted, or nearing completion, attention seems to have been turned to the provision of a public bath-house in the next insula west. This site embraces the well-known stretch of standing masonry called the Jewry Wall, and the site itself, west of the Jewry Wall, was the subject of excavation by Dr Kathleen Kenyon between 1936–9.¹⁶⁶ Time has not, however, dealt kindly with her interpretations, and it is therefore expedient briefly to recapitulate some of the theories which have been advanced from time to time to explain the building's function.

Dr Kenyon claimed that the first major building on the site, erected during the early part of Hadrian's principate, was the forum and basilica of the town, although the plan was abnormal for such structures. Furthermore, she concluded that the forum was never completed because instabilities in the subsoil would have caused the collapse of the walls in the south range. Her next stage involved the removal of the forum and basilica elsewhere and the construction of a large bath-house on its site during the early Antonine period, with further additions taking place in the fourth century.

Objections to these conclusions arise on two counts: function and date. We have already seen that the forum and basilica have been found in the neighbouring insula since Dr Kenyon's excavations and that they are dated a little later than her first building, which should itself now be dated somewhat later.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, according to her interpretation, there were two main phases of construction, and it is difficult to see how a building, which was provided with such monumental drains as the first, could convincingly be interpreted as a forum, particularly with its irregular and abnormal plan.¹⁶⁸ Also, if the subsoil was unsuitable for a forum it would surely have been equally unsuitable for a bath-building, with its even greater weight of masonry.

Most recent opinions, therefore, have accepted that the building was from the first intended as a bath-house and that work was started about AD 145–50, perhaps to be discontinued for a very



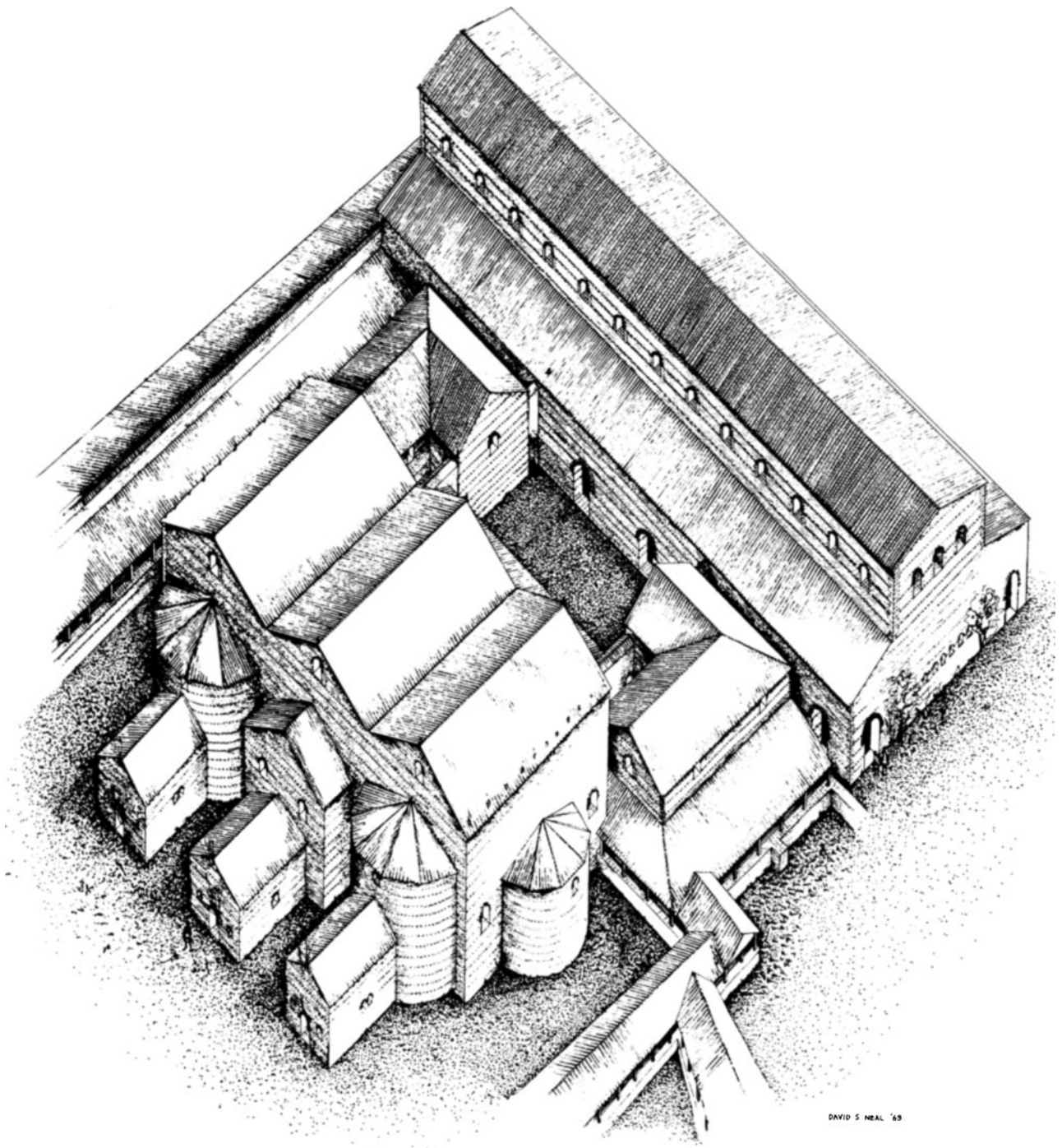
155 Part of the forum stylobate re-erected outside the Jewry Wall Museum (John Thawley)

short space of time either because money temporarily ran out, or because of the unexpected difficulties over the foundations and the need to replan. Ultimately, the building was completed, after some alterations in plan had possibly taken place, about AD 155–60.

East of the main baths, and now partly under St Nicholas' Church, was a palaestra, possibly covered, which extended for some 80ft (24m) to the eastern street. Entrance into the baths was through a pair of doors set asymmetrically in the west wall of the palaestra, which can still be seen in the surviving structure. Blind arches and niches between, and on either side of, the doors probably formed part of the architectural decoration and

may have contained statuary. One may have been occupied by a statue of the goddess Fortuna, who was frequently associated with baths. The apparent asymmetry of this part of the structure might suggest that existing work was freely adapted in the finished building, although another explanation envisages companion doors further south along the wall to balance the effect. Although there would then have been a symmetrical appearance from the palaestra, it would have been difficult to justify the second pair of doors, as they would have led only to the service area, and would have borne little relationship to the rest of the building.

The main bath-house had a plan (fig. 156; and



156 Restoration drawing of the Jewry Wall baths (*David Neal*)

see fig. 10) which was somewhat rare in Britain. Access to rooms was obtained from a central concourse entered directly from the palaestra. It will be apparent from earlier discussion that, in the commoner type of bath-house, each room of greater heat is approached through those of lesser, thus imposing as it were an order in which the bath should be taken. It is probable that, at Leicester, the main concourse acted as a frigidarium and would have been equipped with basins and running cold water. As a bather entered this room, there were on either hand small suites of three rooms each. There is no indication that they were heated, although it must be remembered that little more than wall foundations or robbing trenches had survived post-Roman building works; all these rooms were part of the earliest phase of construction. On his immediate left was probably a latrine, which was perhaps inserted in the later phase, although there is room for doubt, as it would otherwise be difficult to explain a massive drain in the first phase, south of the block and apparently having no useful function. One or more of these rooms probably acted as changing-rooms.

Also facing him as he entered were three heated ante-chambers, probably tepidaria, each leading to another heated room of considerable size (approximately 47ft (14.3m) by 35ft (10.7m)) and arranged side by side. Presumably caldaria, they would have been raised to higher temperatures. The centre room was equipped with a rectangular plunge-bath in the end wall, while the two flanking rooms had semicircular plunge-baths situated beyond both the end and side walls. Each room appears to have had its own stokehole in a rectangular room placed beyond the terminal plunge-bath. Part of one of the iron beams (fig. 157) which supported the boiler over the flue entrance was found during the excavations.¹⁶⁹

The building (see fig. 156) seems to have been enclosed on the north and south sides within porticoes, and it is possible that a row of shops was included on the north side.

The drains which served the baths are worth a

comment, not only for their size, but also because they reflect on the problems of the aqueduct. In the completed building two major drains were probably operative and ran virtually round three sides. That to the north was constructed in the first phase, according to Dr Kenyon, but is apparently cut by the north apse of the caldaria in the second phase. But this point is glossed over in the report, although on Plate xi two superimposed drains show clearly that reconstruction had taken place at some time. Re-excavation enabled this point to be confirmed before the construction of the Jewry Wall Museum.¹⁷⁰ The drain running beneath the frigidarium was said to have flowed from south to north, although its continuation could not be found owing to massive disturbances. The direction of flow is surprising if its southern end is to be interpreted as a latrine, although it must be admitted that this suggestion was not made by Dr Kenyon, who considered the drain to be a channel bringing water to the baths, and possibly connected with an arch which pierced the palaestra wall near it. This seems to be ruled out by the low level of its bed. The drain branched beside the arch, one arm running directly south and the other south by west. It is here that it reaches its most massive proportions, the channel being 2ft (609mm) wide and having sufficient headroom for a man to walk down it. It was roofed with foot-thick (305mm) blocks of millstone grit.

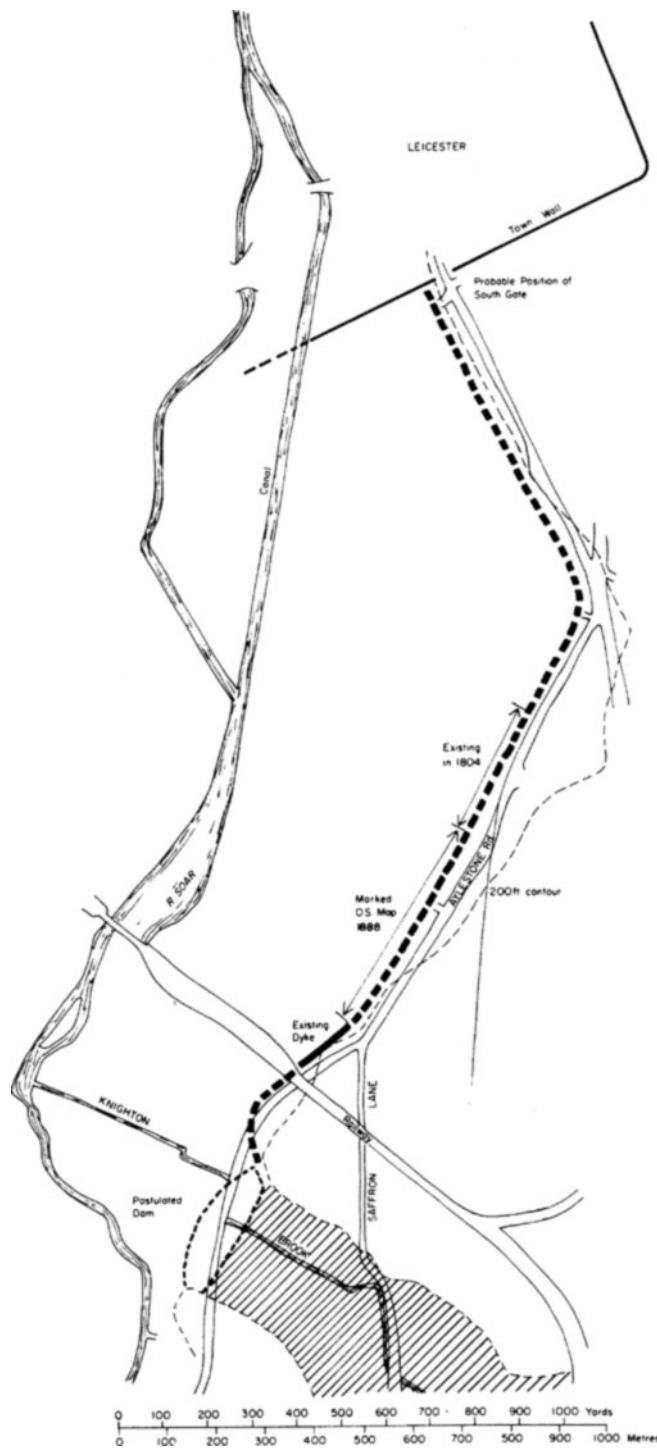
Such a channel, no matter whether it was carrying water to the site, or away from it, was intended for a heavy and continuous flow. Yet we find Dr Kenyon making the suggestion that the Raw Dykes, if the town's aqueduct, was a failure because it was cut at too low a level to serve the baths; thereafter she implied that they had no supply of running water until the fourth century when a water tank was constructed in the south-west corner, the tank being filled by hand from the nearby River Soar. This hardly accords with high capacity drains, not only in respect of their building, but also with their maintenance and with the additions made to the system. Clearly we should assume that a free flow of running water



157 Iron beam from the stokehole of the Jewry Wall baths
(*Marius Cooke*)

was provided for the baths from the beginning. How was this done?

If we turn first to the Raw Dykes, of which a length still survives near the junction of Aylestone Road with Saffron Lane, it can be seen that it appears to consist of two components. The upper was a shallow channel just over 50ft (15m) across and no more than 8ft (2.4m) deep, which was in part formed by the upcast having been tipped on the downhill side. Centrally in the bottom a deeper cut had been made, 13ft (4m) wide at the top, sloping to a flat base only 3ft (0.9m) wide and 5ft (1.5m) deep.¹⁷¹ Originally the dyke was known to have extended as far as the southern limit of the town, but most of its course is today obliterated. It is interesting, though, that the 198ft (60m) contour, on which the surviving section of the dyke lies, also continues as far as the town boundary, which it strikes near the Newarkes. If this contour is traced southwards it meets the Knighton Brook no great distance away. Dr Kenyon indeed suggested that damming the brook would have created a reservoir to supply the aqueduct, which, as we have seen, could carry the water as far as the town. We might elaborate further and suggest that the course of the brook was diverted into the aqueduct, a suggestion which was first made by Mr William Keay and Mr Astley Clarke in 1935. Their proposed scheme is shown in figure 158. It is not a large stream today, and most of its flow could have been contained in the lower part of the dyke which, by concentrating the water in a narrow channel, would have increased the rate of flow. When the water level rose higher, the upper part of the ditch would have ensured that the valley below was not flooded. Once the water had been brought to the town boundary, it was well within the capacity of Roman hydraulic engineers to lift it by means of water-wheels or other devices into a tower, from which it could flow by gravity to sites in the town, including the bath-house. It seems strange that Dr Kenyon herself should have suggested this method for filling from the river the fourth-century water-tank on the bath's site, without



158 Suggested line for the aqueduct (after Keay and Astley Clarke)

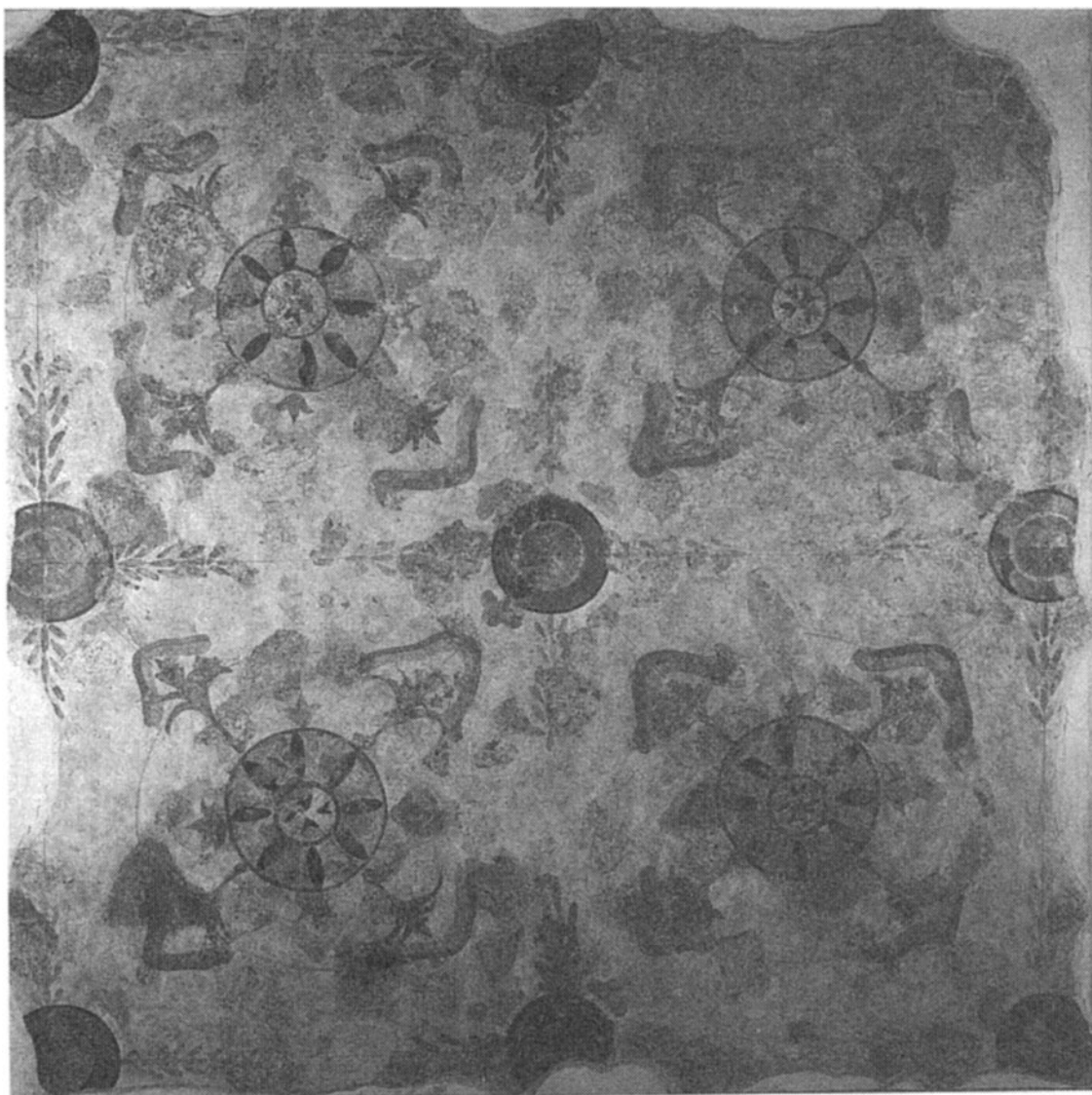
apparently thinking of applying it to the related problem of the Raw Dykes.

Small scraps of evidence support these suggestions. In 1966, within the town and a short distance east of Southgate Street, a ditch was found, 4ft (1.2m) wide and 4ft (1.2m) deep, running northwards away from the approximate point where the Raw Dykes probably reached the southern boundary. A square-cut channel had been dug at the bottom of the ditch, which appeared to date to the second century; a military origin is therefore unlikely.¹⁷² It might be suggested that this channel was dug for a water distribution pipe, either of lead or wood, which was subsequently removed and not replaced. It is not unlike some channels known to have contained such pipes. Another indication of a running water supply is the stone basin drinking-fountain found in 1862 on the site of 52 High Cross Street, where it must originally have been situated beside the main north-south street. Yet another foundation, possibly polygonal in shape, was found on the latest street surface at an intersection lying under Guildhall Lane; it may represent a second fountain and would indicate that the water supply was maintained until the late Roman period.

Only one other certain public building is well known at Leicester, and this dates to a later period than the forum. Towards the end of the second century, or more probably early in the third, a need must have been felt for extra market space. Consequently, a derelict house (p. 355) in the insula north of the forum was levelled and on the site so provided a large market hall of basilican plan (see fig. 27) was built. Its long axis lay east-west, but it does not seem to have extended for the full width of the insula, which was itself only about half the normal size. Its overall length, suggested by a north-south wall seen under High Cross Street, was about 180ft (55m) and its width was 96ft (29m). Fragmentary columns, one 5ft 8½in (1.75m) in diameter, carved impost mouldings and other architectural pieces found below Blue Boar Lane and High Cross Street would appear to have come from the east end of the

building. A wing projected northwards from the hall's west end and is likely to have been matched by a companion wing at the east end. They seem to have contained rows of shops or offices set between colonnades, with an open court enclosed in the middle between them. Some of these rooms had plastered and painted ceilings (fig. 159). The plan is therefore markedly similar to a forum and basilica complex and, indeed, was so called when first discovered.¹⁷³ But its secondary date and small size, when coupled with the lack of tribunals in the hall, would imply that it was never intended to serve as the principal administrative forum in the town, whose functions were always retained by the earlier and larger building in the next insula south. It must therefore have been built to increase the market area of the town, and so had a purely commercial purpose. Its provision shows how trade had grown and also indicates how, despite the seeming lack of villas, the surrounding countryside had increased its productive capacity.

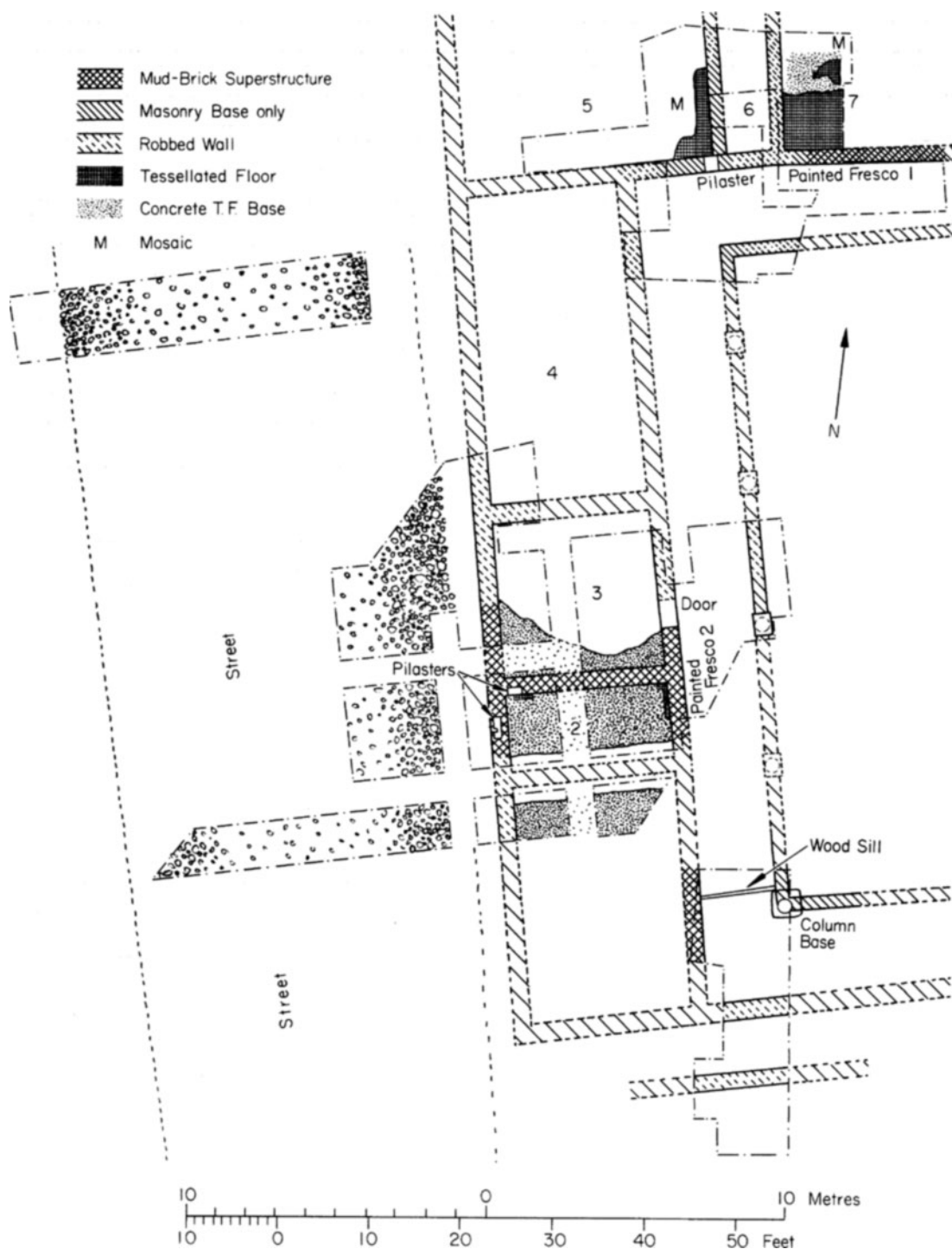
This prosperity was mirrored in the private houses. The most spectacular dwelling to be found so far is the second-century house in the insula north of the basilica already mentioned on p. 345 in connexion with the early development of the town. The house, built originally in the early second century, was extensively renovated towards the middle of the century. It had been constructed some distance back from the street to the south and its rooms had been ranged round the sides of a peristyled courtyard (fig. 160). Parts of the north and west wings were excavated,¹⁷⁴ and at least seven rooms identified. The mid-second-century renovation had resulted in tessellated floors being laid in all the rooms examined, while at least two, and probably more, had mosaics. The walls had been replastered and painted with new designs, of which that decorating the interior wall of the peristyle was the most impressive. Here a continuous frieze, incorporating perspective drawings of architectural features such as niches and alcoves, was interspersed with areas of red fresco. The arched niches seemed to have been flanked by columns and displayed



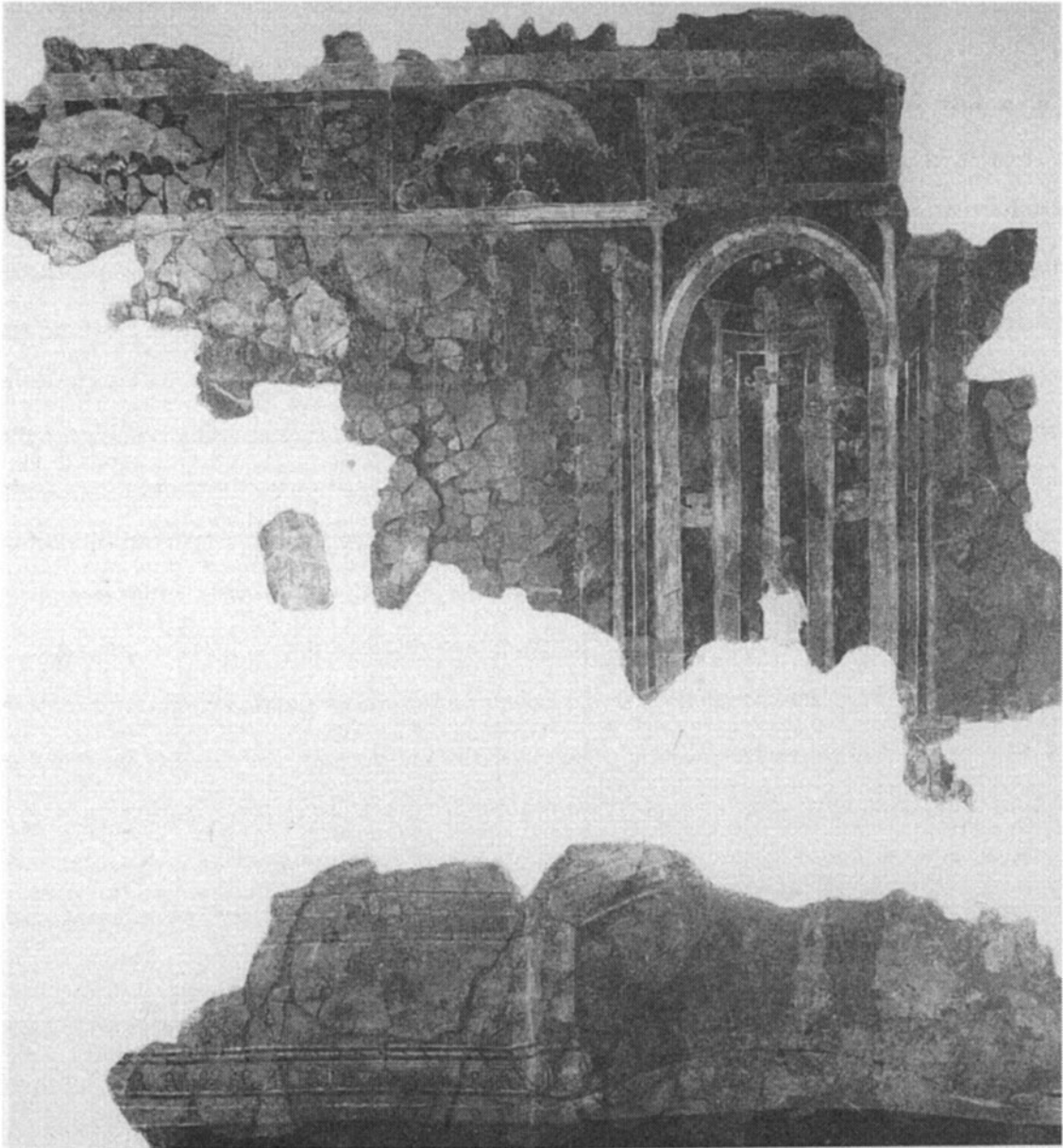
159 Painted ceiling from the market hall (*Crown Copyright – reproduced with the permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office*)

coffered soffits, while entwined foliage grew up the centres, with dovelike birds and winged cupids sitting on the branches. Above one niche there seems to have been an elaborate architectural façade surmounted by a panel containing a tragic theatrical mask.¹⁷⁵ The red fresco was decorated with candelabra connected by swags and garlands of flowers, on which pheasant-like birds were

perched, and which also incorporated human figures. Top and bottom of the walls were defined by a continuous scroll and a dado respectively (figs 161–2). The wall plaster recovered from inside the rooms tended to be plainer, with only geometrical and imitation marble patterns, but nevertheless indicated the positions of some structural features such as windows and doors.



160 Second-century house in the insula north of the forum



161 Painted fresco from the west wall of the courtyard of a house in the insula north of the forum (*Marius Cooke*)

The luxuriousness of the house clearly proclaims it to be the residence of a wealthy family, who probably provided decurions or magistrates for the civitas. We can read in the development of the house their rise to power over a matter of little more than a generation. Their fall seems to have

been equally rapid, for, by the end of the second century the house was ruinous with its roof removed. An early example of clogs to clogs in three generations! People were scrawling obscene epithets and other remarks on the painted walls of the peristyle¹⁷⁶ while parts of the building were

converted to industrial use. In most rooms the mosaics and tessellated floors had been hacked out and the stones salvaged, and on the concrete base so exposed in one room a number of cows' heads had been tipped. A deep pit had been dug in the north-west corner of the courtyard and a gully running into it was presumably to feed it with water. It would seem that a tannery or, perhaps more likely, a factory for making horn had taken over.¹⁷⁷ Ultimately, as we have seen, the site was requisitioned for a public market, presumably under a regulation that required buildings which had been pulled down, or were ruinous, to be replaced within a given time. Failure to do so may have meant forfeiture of the land to public ownership.

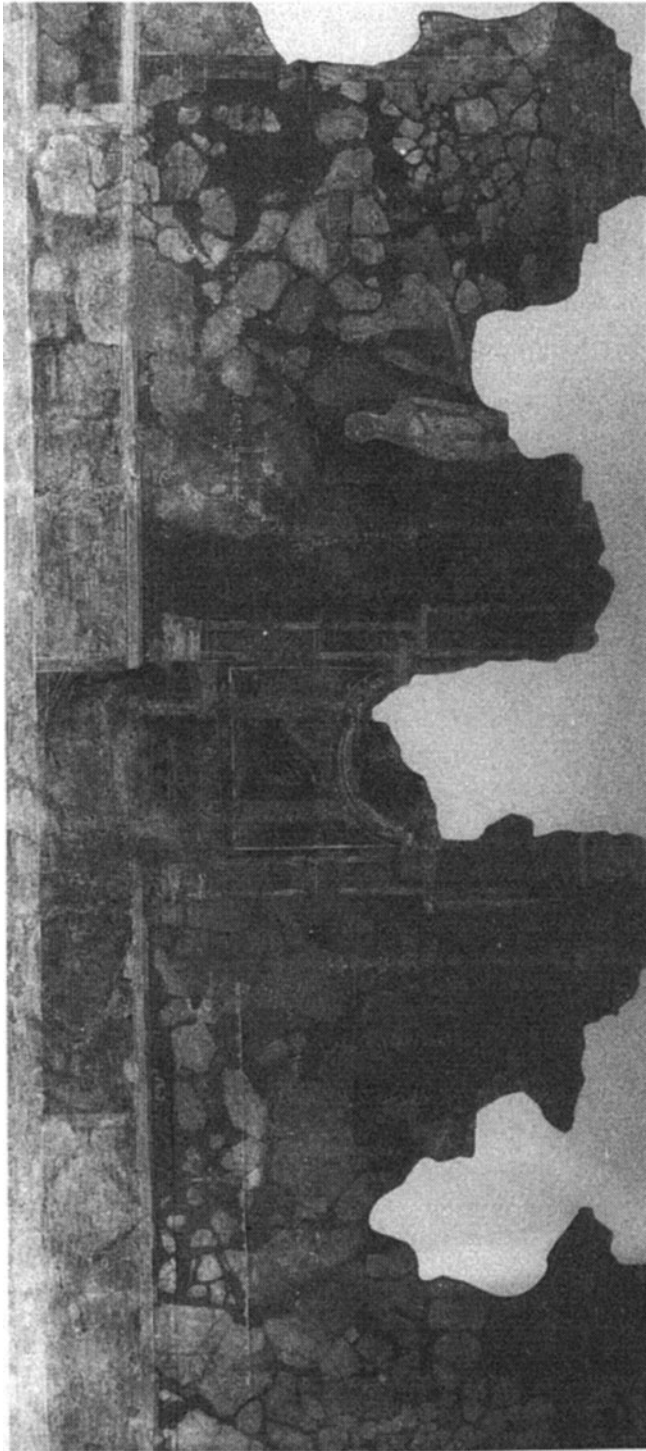
Other private houses representative of equal wealth are indicated by the number of mosaics which are known from the town. Two in particular deserve mention: the Peacock pavement from a house in the same *insula* as, and south of, the public baths, and the pavement found beneath the central station, lying in the *insula* north of the baths.¹⁷⁸ Both the pavements were large and almost entirely made up of panels of conventional floral and geometric patterns. However, the central panel of one pavement contained a peacock, with tail spread, and with the eyes in the tail picked out with blue glass tesserae: hence the modern name of the mosaic. It was probably mid-second-century in date. Very few pavements made use of extensive pictorial scenes, although one small panel depicting Cyparissus and his Stag was found near All Saints' Church at the north end of the town.

Another house, or possibly a shop near Southgate Street, possessed a deep cellar with walls still surviving to a height of 6ft (1.8m). Two walls had windows with splayed jambs and sloping sills, probably designed to admit light from an 'area' outside. Entrance was by a single doorway at the foot probably of some wooden steps, and niches, possibly for lamps, had been provided in each wall. The walls had been plastered and whitewashed and a simple decora-

tion of red and blue lines painted over it.¹⁷⁹

A suggestion has already been made that the second-century town boundary perhaps enclosed a smaller area on the east than was later walled.¹⁸⁰ Certainly burials and a pottery kiln have been found inside that part of the circuit of the later wall, although this is not decisive. Pottery kilns have been found at Canterbury and Gloucester apparently within the town, while occasional burials, as the result of foul play, could also have taken place inside the boundaries. This conclusion, however, conflicts with foundations of timber buildings found beneath the east rampart in Churchgate, and with the information provided by the Thurmaston milestone.¹⁸¹ According to its inscription, the town boundary should have lain further out during the Hadrianic period if indeed the distance of 2 Roman miles had been measured from the boundary and not from the centre. It is possible, however, that the milestone was not in position when found in 1771.

Leicester appears to have been one of the towns in Britain which was not fortified first with earthworks although their existence on a hitherto unexpected alignment cannot be entirely ruled out. Perhaps a hint of what might be expected was found below the town wall footings on the south side near Southgate Street, where there was a palisade or fence, with post-holes 1½ft (456mm) in diameter and 3ft (914mm) apart, which, coupled with a slight bank recorded on the eastern circuit, might represent an earlier fortification.¹⁸² The earliest defences therefore seem to have been the stone wall with contemporary bank and ditch system, which was erected round the town in the third century; more accurate dating is not at present possible. It is unfortunate that this wall has still not been located on the west side, while on the north, east and south sides it everywhere coincided with the medieval walls, which were severely damaged in the early Middle Ages and subsequently robbed to foundation level and below. So little has survived, and so shallow were the foundations, that it has often been difficult to ascertain its line. Nevertheless, the rampart still



162 Painted fresco from the north wall of the courtyard of a house in the insula north of the forum (*Marius Cooke*)

stands in most places to some height behind the line of the wall, while the ditches, recut in the Middle Ages, also help to mark its course. As far as can be seen from the slight remains, the wall had a foundation about 9–10ft (2.7–3m) wide, but the trench was shallow, hardly penetrating the undisturbed subsoil.

Excavations have established the line of the defences on the north, east and south sides.¹⁸³ That on the west has long been open to speculation. Early theories dispense with a wall on this side allowing the River Soar to be an adequate defence. But Haverfield and others have cast doubt on such an arrangement.¹⁸⁴ Recent excavations have made it appear likely that the river has meandered since the Roman period, possibly sufficient to destroy the western fortifications. Certainly the town once extended beyond the present river course, as a north–south street has been found at West Bridge,¹⁸⁵ but it is not yet known if this part was excluded when fortifications were constructed. It is possible, though, that the slope down to the river was terraced. A length of very long wall, parallel to it, has been found in Bath Lane and could be part of a retaining wall. Alternatively, certain undated walls found in that area could represent the town wall.¹⁸⁶

No gate structures have yet been positively identified, although a mass of heavy masonry, recorded from below the Cumberland Inn, may be part of the north gate, which carried a minor road to the Charnwood area; recent investigations on this site have confirmed the position of the town wall, but not the gate. This road was relatively unimportant except that it led to the main stone quarries. Undoubtedly the two most important gates were those carrying the Fosse Way through the east and west sides respectively, but it is not yet at all clear where these gates stood. Some have claimed that they were on the same sites as the medieval gates and so at either end of the street running past the south end of the forum.¹⁸⁷ But it is not impossible for the next street north to have served as the *decumanus maximus*, and the existence of an early predecessor, belonging to

the likely period of military occupation, on nearly the same alignment suggests that there is some substance in this claim. Similar doubt arises over the position of the south gate. It may not coincide with the medieval gate at the end of Southgate Street; a street has now been observed running towards it, but does not necessarily confirm its position. Through this gate ran the Gartree Road to Medbourne and beyond. It is worth mentioning that another road, leaving by the west gate, acted as a short route to Mancetter.¹⁸⁸

There is much varied evidence for the commercial and industrial life of the town. Some shops have already been mentioned. Other blocks are known in the *insulae* both north and south of the forum. References have also been made to the manufacture of pottery and either horn objects or leather. Metal-working was being carried on as early as the middle of the first century, and crucibles and a fine stone mould for thin ornamental bronze plates have been found in Friar's Causeway.¹⁸⁹

Other metal-working, albeit of a more unusual nature, was carried on in the late fourth century in the outer west colonnade of the market. A small circular hearth had been used for a preliminary process in the recovery of silver from late base coinage. Nearby was found a cake of metal, weighing 5lb (2.3kg) which was composed of 15 per cent copper, 55 per cent lead and a trace of silver, and which had probably come from a cupellation furnace. Such activities were illegal if carried out by private individuals and punishable by the death penalty,¹⁹⁰ so it is an interesting commentary on the state of law enforcement that such operations were allowed to be carried out openly in a public building. Considerable amounts of once-molten glass, mainly in the form of droplets and threads, probably imply that glass vessels were made in the same furnace. Leicester had the usual trading contacts with other parts of the province, as is witnessed by the fragment of carved shale table leg, probably from Dorset, found in the nearby villa at Rothley. An early lime-kiln was excavated in Bath Lane while

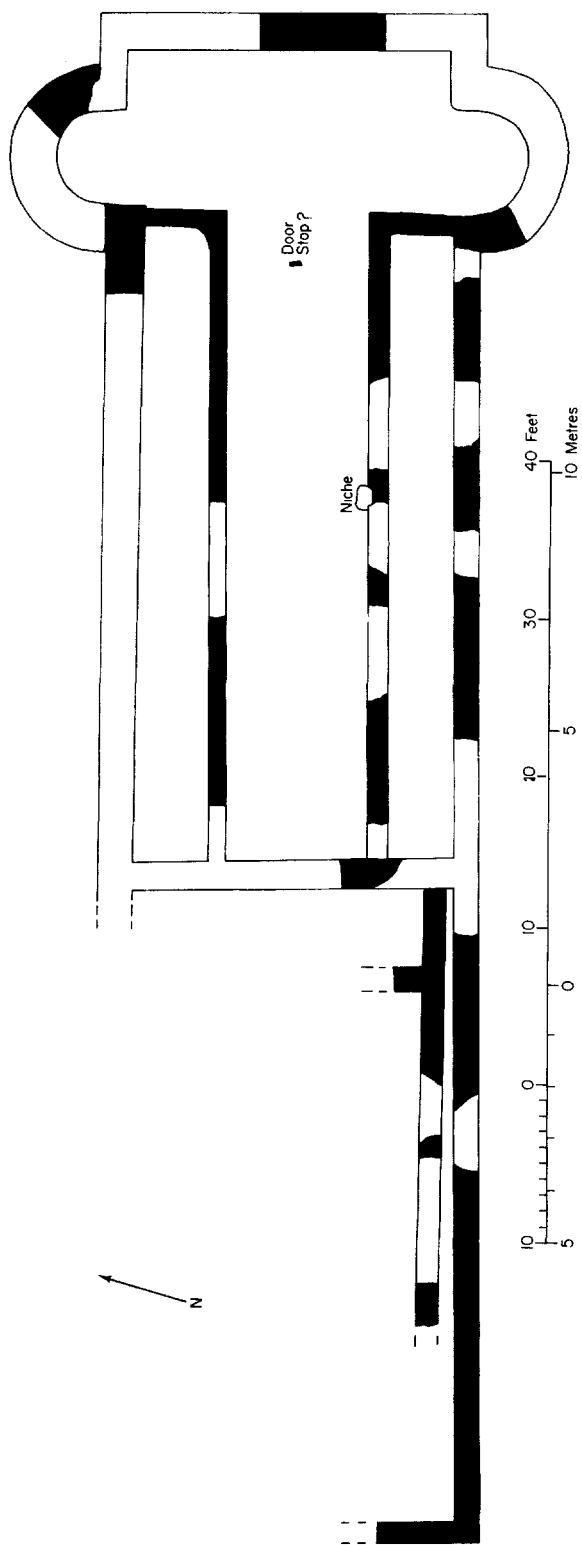
pottery was being made in limited quantities west of the town in the late first century; wasters from the High Street area would suggest a somewhat broader span dating from the Neronian period to the early or mid second century.¹⁹¹

Less is known about the religious life of the inhabitants. A temple is perhaps indicated in the narrow insula east of the forum, where columns standing on a stylobate and part of a triptych, carved in stone and depicting the upper half of a male figure, have been found.¹⁹² Another, more certainly a temple (fig. 163), has been excavated in St Nicholas' Circle, beneath the modern Holiday Inn,¹⁹³ and therefore lying in the same insula as, but south of, the public baths. It was an aisled building 20ft (6.1m) wide with a nave 50ft (15.2m) long, and it was aligned east–west with the entrance to the west. The floor level of the aisles was higher than that of the nave and at the east end were two transepts which cut short the aisles and terminated in apses. At the west end there was an anteroom, or possibly a courtyard at least 40ft (12.2m) long and the same width as the building. A carved stone male torso and two small column bases were found in the building, as well as incense burners and beakers, and a fragment of a pottery vessel made in the form of a male figure, supported by a goat or ram.¹⁹⁴ It appears to have been built in the late second century, and a scatter of coins on the latest floor suggest a declining use after c. AD 360. Immediately south of the building was a well, which had been filled during the third century. The temple, for so it would seem to be, has been provisionally identified as a Mithraeum, but it should be remembered that basilican-plan buildings were by no means confined to temples of this cult. It also lacks some of the features that might be expected of a Mithraeum. Just east of the market hall, and probably in the same insula, an altar depicting a bearded river or sea god may be associated with an earlier discovery of a frieze or pediment ornamented with sea-serpents.

Cemeteries, which have never been properly investigated, are known outside the four principal gates and also beyond the north-east corner.

Three lead coffins came from those to the south, while ten late inhumations have been recovered from the western cemetery; one was buried in a surviving wooden coffin.¹⁹⁵ The same cemetery has also produced so far the only piece of a tombstone; unfortunately the name is not decipherable,¹⁹⁶ so, little is yet known of the people of the town. One, however, was Adcobrovatus, whose son M. Ulpius Novanticus was serving in the Roman army in AD 106. Novanticus presumably enlisted either very soon after the town had been founded as the civitas capital or even while it was still a military vicus.¹⁹⁷ He gained his Roman citizenship during his service with Coh. I. Brittonum and was serving at *Porolissum* (Dacia), where his discharge certificate was found. Because his *origo* is quoted as *Ratae* and not *civis Corieltavus* the rank of *municipium* has been claimed for Leicester.¹⁹⁸ But from the unusual nature of this particular diploma and from what we now know of the early development of the town, it would seem extremely unlikely.¹⁹⁹ Two other people possibly associated with the town are known from their names scratched on a piece of Italian red-ware pottery: *Verecunda*, who may have been an actress, and *Lucius*, a gladiator.²⁰⁰ The rarity of such pottery in Britain might make this piece suspect, but, if genuine, it probably means that they were only visitors to the town in their capacities as entertainers. Their presence would imply that Leicester had an amphitheatre and possibly a theatre as well. No evidence for any such building has yet come to light. But at least someone in the town was probably wealthy enough to be able to stage gladiatorial shows, and a fragment of a fairly common type of moulded glass beaker, displaying gladiatorial combats and the names of the performers, is additional evidence of an interest in such contests.²⁰¹ Another citizen, C. Pal. *Gracilis*, is known from an unfinished stone-cut die,²⁰² while *Primus*, a labourer in a tile factory somewhere in the civitas, recorded in a fit of pride or boredom that he had made ten tiles.²⁰³

Suburbs have been identified outside the



163 Plan of a temple, possibly a Mithraeum, in the insula south of the baths (*after Mellor*)



164 South-west internal corner of the market hall (wall in foreground) showing: (1) scaffolding post-hole; and in the section (2) burnt roof; (3) fallen wall debris; (4) thick layer of brown silt (*not* Dark Earth) accumulation above. The silt is divided horizontally by a cobbled floor (*Wacher*)

northern walls, where timber-framed buildings, probably shops or workshops, and yard surfaces have been excavated. Pride of place, though, among extra-mural buildings must go to the suburban villa found in Norfolk Street to the west of the River Soar, which was built in the middle of the second century on the site of several farm buildings. It possessed the unusual feature of a cellar with plastered and painted walls, implying

that it was not necessarily used for storage. At a later date, some high-quality mosaics were laid, one of which depicted a dolphin.²⁰⁴

What was the later history of Ratae? Private shops were being rebuilt in stone in the early fourth century, so we can assume that the town was as busy as before, despite the fact that it may no longer have been at the centre of so large a civitas (p. 21).²⁰⁵ In the late fourth century, a

detachment of the Roman army was probably stationed in the town, although there is only very slight evidence to show that the defences had been strengthened with external towers.²⁰⁶ Some time during the last quarter of the century a serious fire swept through the centre of the town, burning the forum, basilica and the market hall.²⁰⁷ We do not know if it was started intentionally or by accident, but no attempt was made to rebuild afterwards. What happened then is shown best by conditions observed in a corner of the west wing of the market.²⁰⁸ Here the burnt and collapsed roof timbers and tiles were found as they had fallen. On top was a layer of small, rubbly building stone and mortar, derived perhaps from weathering of the exposed wall tops. A stage of equilibrium was then reached, when only fine gritty soil had built up over the fallen masonry, the product of weed growth, wind and rain: similar layers formed in the open cellars of houses bombed during the last war. It should be noted that this was not Dark Earth, and was totally different from it (fig. 164). But at one point in time the process had been halted by a rough pebble floor, on which were a few scattered nails, but no pottery, coins or other finds. Someone had made a rough shelter in a corner of the ruins, so the site cannot have been entirely deserted, even though past glories had long since fled. The street system was also decaying; the important north-south road, located in Red Cross Street, had pits and gullies dug through the upper surface.²⁰⁹ Early Saxon burials are known from some of the cemeteries,²¹⁰ and it would seem that perhaps Leicester, like Caistor-by-Norwich and some other eastern towns, slid rapidly from Roman Britain to Saxon England.

WROXETER

(*Viroconium Cornoviorum*)

The tribal territory of the Cornovii lay in an area which was not immediately occupied by the Roman army when the first frontier was laid out. It is possible, however, that they made their peace

with Claudius, and would therefore have early allowed troop movements within their boundaries; yet there is some evidence of hostility from hillforts in the Marches. This situation did not last long, and by the time of the governorship of Ostorius Scapula the frontier zone had been extended to the Welsh border to cope with the continued hostility of the Ordovices and Silures. The need to control the valleys of the Rivers Severn and Dee, which form natural routes into the heart of Wales, was justification enough for this occupation.

When they submitted to occupation by Roman forces, the Cornovii seem to have been at about the same stage of cultural advancement as the Dumnonii. No breath of Belgic culture had touched them and their society was based on a multiplicity of hillforts, which occur wherever there is suitable terrain. However, we can probably no longer claim with the confidence of Richmond²¹¹ that, in the west midland plain of Staffordshire and Cheshire, settlement was thin. Recent surveys have tended to show that river valleys, especially on the gravels, were just as thickly settled in prehistoric times, as they were in later periods.

The first military occupation at Wroxeter was probably by a cohort of Thracians,²¹² placed in a fort about a quarter of a mile south of the later town.²¹³ But knowledge of a number of marching-camps in the vicinity would suggest a high level of military activity from time to time, as campaigns were mounted against Welsh tribes. Later, a fortress for Legio XIV was established to replace the auxiliary fort on a new site just east of a southward turn in the course of the River Severn. So far three phases of timber buildings have been discovered within an area bounded by a double-ditched fortification.²¹⁴ The earliest of the phases dates to *c.* AD 60, possibly slightly earlier, while the third probably extended to *c.* 90. The first two periods of occupation can be explained with comparative ease; the rebuilding in the second phase probably took place when Legio XX replaced Legio XIV in *c.* 67. The third phase has

caused a conflict of opinion. Webster, following his excavations under the macellum of the later town (p. 369), has concluded that the barrack blocks of the second phase were replaced by a large warehouse and that the fortress was converted to a stores depot when Legio XX departed for Scotland in the late 70s. This depot was then demolished c. 90,²¹⁵ and the new town began to be developed within its area, of which the unfinished bath-house under the Hadrianic forum (p. 365) was a part. Frere, in contrast, argues persuasively that the third phase of building was put in hand following Legio XX's return from Scotland to its old quarters, c. 87. But its stay was short, moving to Chester only a year or two later;²¹⁶ hence the unfinished bath-house, albeit extra-mural, which had been recognized long ago as of legionary pattern.²¹⁷

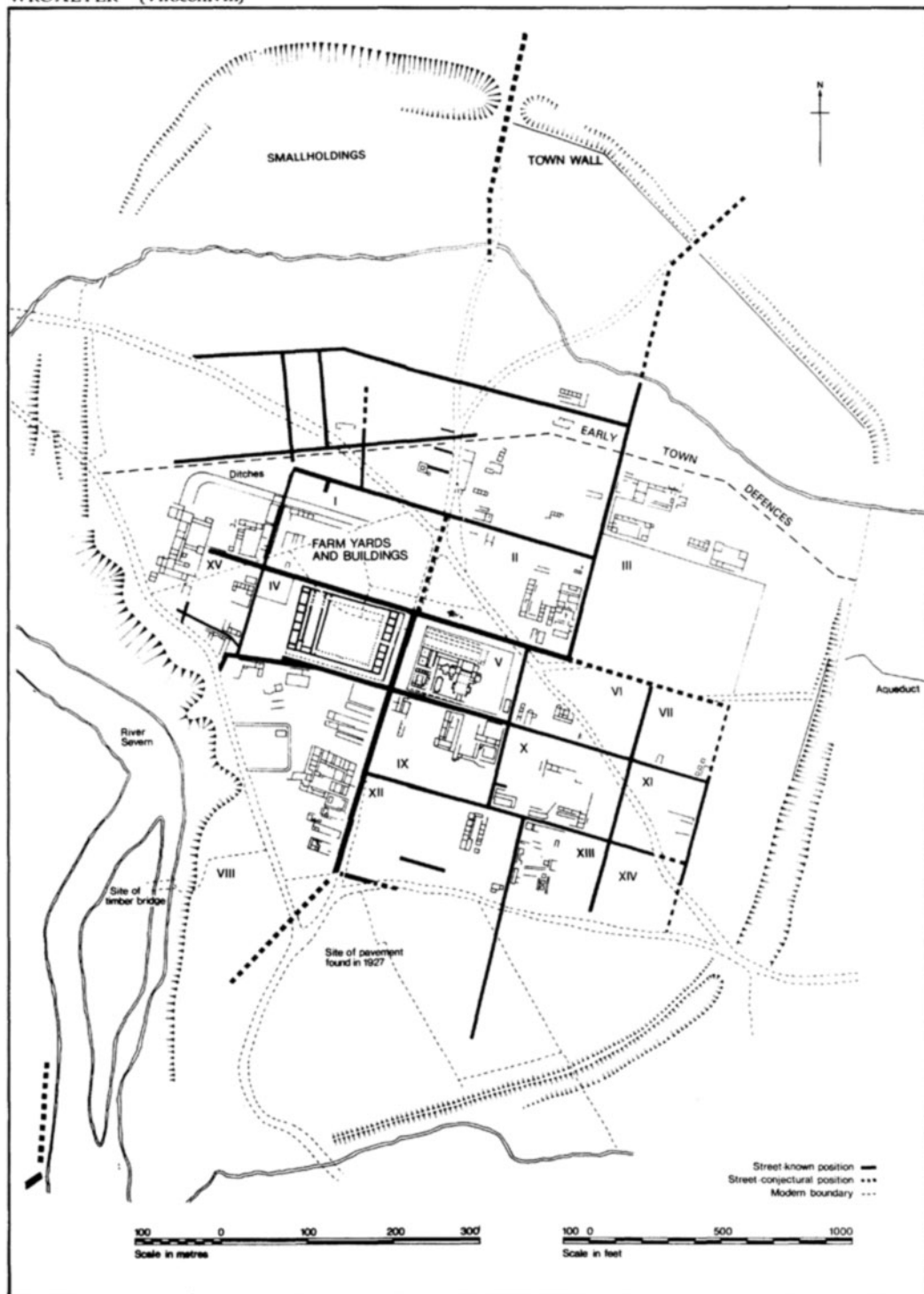
The abandonment of the legionary fortress in the 90s, over which there is no disagreement, led to the constitution of the *civitas Cornoviorum*, and the foundation of its capital at Wroxeter, to fill the void. Thus, although a somewhat late arrival on the Flavian constitutional scene, it nevertheless belongs to that time rather than to the next bout of civic activity during the Hadrianic period, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Yet Frere's solution for the unfinished bath-house presents difficulties, if the conclusions of earlier excavators are to be taken at their face value. Atkinson considered that the bath-house was constructed after the street grid was laid out,²¹⁸ although he reached this conclusion by a consideration of general levels rather than by a meticulous study of stratification, and it might be unwise to place too much reliance on it. But if we accept that the streets belonged to the early town, so too must the bath-house. A way out of this difficulty can, however, be found if the principal town streets perpetuated the alignments of those of the fortress, as seems to be the case.²¹⁹ Then there are the open-fronted timber buildings which Bushe-Fox found lining the west side of the street, running south from between the two unfinished masonry buildings, and which he dated to the

period AD 75–85.²²⁰ He inferred that the occupation was considerable, from the amount of pottery and other articles found, and considered that a certain amount of rebuilding had taken place. In a civilian context these buildings would probably have been shops, but in a military context such as Frere envisaged they could have been extra-mural stores buildings perhaps situated in an annexe. However, the intensity of occupation postulated by Bushe-Fox is hardly in accord with an unfinished fortress, although the buildings might alternatively be interpreted as shops in a *canabae* outside. Bushe-Fox, however, also records that, early in the second century, reconstruction took place in a more readily recognizable way. Long houses with open fronts and porticoes were constructed on the site, and he is clearly describing shops which belonged to the initial layout of the town. It is probably best therefore to assign his earlier structures to the military period in spite of the intensity of occupation, and to associate the shops with the first town plan. Webster has now found similar buildings beneath the macellum, which are later than the demolition of the fortress but earlier than the Hadrianic layout.²²¹

Nevertheless it is as well to interpret these early developments cautiously until more precise information is available. Frere's view, that it is difficult to explain the failure to complete the baths if they were civilian in character because the impetus to urbanization in *civitas* capitals was provided by government policy, needs modification.²²² So it may have been in general terms. But there is no evidence that an impoverished community was immediately bailed out with a grant to enable it to do so.²²³ We have already seen that some *civitates* were exceptionally slow to provide outward displays of civic authority. If it was government policy, it seems not always to have been pressed and much must have depended on the energy and inclinations of individual governors and citizens. It is probably true to say that baths were seldom built before a forum, but both could have been started together in a wave of zeal. So the possibility that the baths, and the basilica

WROXETER (Viroconium)



165 Plan of Wroxeter (after Webster and Barker)

opposite, represent failed civic building programmes must linger for the present.²²⁴

Although Wroxeter was close to one of the most imposing Cornovian hillforts on the Wrekin, there is nothing to indicate that the latter exercised any paramountcy over the tribe.²²⁵ The situation is closely akin to that of the Dumnonii, where a legionary fortress also provided an additional attraction to the tribesmen and gave them the incentive to settle within its neighbourhood. The legionary fortress would undoubtedly have attracted more and richer traders than an auxiliary fort would have done, not only from within the tribe, but also from other parts of the province, if not from other provinces as well. The legionary *canabae*, probably situated north of the fortress, gave the town a fair start, as at Exeter.

It is at this point that we come up against the main paradox of Wroxeter. Many writers have taken pains to point out that, with at least 180 acres (63ha) enclosed within its defences, it is one of the largest towns in the province; not as large as Cirencester or Verulamium, but certainly larger than Canterbury and other *civitas* capitals. It was on the very fringe of the civilized areas of the province, although neither Caerwent nor Aldborough can be compared with it. An important point here is whether it is wise always to equate prosperity with size, as measured by the area enclosed by fortifications. But at Wroxeter, much of the northern end seems to have been devoid of major buildings and its enclosure within the defences must have been for other reasons. A safer guide to prosperity is perhaps to be found in the size of the forum (see fig. 8); it is worth noting that the piazza, measuring 242ft (74m) by 225ft (69m) is very nearly twice the size of that at Silchester, though considerably smaller than the one at Cirencester. There is probably therefore some justification in claiming that Wroxeter was a rich town. Richmond suggested that the reason for this concentration lay in the unsettled conditions obtaining in the *civitas*, much of which was subject to continuous military occupation.²²⁶ Certainly villas are few and far between, so that

tribal landowners may have left their estates in the care of bailiffs to seek not only power and entertainment but also the protection of the town. But we might also argue that continued military occupation of much of the territory, which included a legionary fortress at Chester, would have reduced the area of the *civitas* under civilian control and hence its revenue.

How and when did the town become rich? It was not an immediate process, for there was a delay of some twenty-five years before funds and inclinations were sufficient for a forum, and, as at Leicester, its construction may have followed Hadrian's visit to Britain. The prosperity may have grown from the fact that the town lay astride one of the main natural routes into Wales. In this sense it early became a major frontier town, probably enjoying benefits from trade not only with civilians, but also with army personnel stationed in the region. In later years in Britain both Corbridge and Carlisle possessed similar advantages, and analogies are common on other frontiers.

We have arrived, therefore, at a point where we can see that the town developed from the nucleus of the legionary *canabae* in the closing years of the first century. The central part of the street grid, following that of the fortress, had been laid out around the unfinished baths and forum, while private enterprise was responsible for the erection of shops and houses in *insulae* further south.

Some time during the 120s work must have started on the new town on a much greater scale. It is difficult to explain why the *insula* containing the unfinished bath-house should have been chosen for the forum. Any attempt at forward planning by the local authority should have envisaged a public bath-house for the town, and the most sensible arrangement would have been to utilize the unfinished foundations, with their part-completed services, which would have had little meaning in the context of a forum. The *insula* which was ultimately used for the bath-house may have been vacant at the time, although not all of it has been investigated, and certainly it was not

inferior in size. It seems most likely, therefore, that the insula containing the unfinished bath-house was the only one in the centre which was immediately vacant and contained no private buildings.²²⁷

The forum and the unfinished bath-house beneath it were excavated by Professor Donald Atkinson from 1923 to 1927.²²⁸ The original layout (fig. 8) resembled the contemporary forum and basilica at Leicester. The basilica occupied the west end of the forum: the nave was 38ft (11.6m) wide and the aisles 15ft (4.6m) each. The floor level of the nave was slightly below that of the aisles. A raised tribunal with an open platform in front was identified at the south end of the nave and another should be inferred at the north end, making the length of the nave about 170ft (52m). Atkinson considered that various changes in the plan had been incorporated in this end of the structure before it was completed. The west wall of the nave was reduced in width south of the tribunal platform, and the west aisle was also terminated on the same line, suggesting that an inner office led off from the tribunal. The back range, 30ft (9.1m) wide, contained six identified rooms; Atkinson restored seven on his plan so as to make it symmetrical about the central room, which had a wide opening on to the west aisle, and it is to be supposed that it formed a shrine. The most interesting room in the range was that at the north end, which could only be entered from the adjacent room to the south. When the basilica was burnt in the middle of the second century, the contents of the room perished with it and were never recovered by the owners. They included iron locks and fittings from cupboards or chests, styli, a samian inkwell, six bone counters, some glass jars or bottles, three Trajanic coins, and part of the discharge certificate, dated 14 April AD 135, of an auxiliary infantryman, whose name was probably Mansuetus.²²⁹ Whether or not he was the last occupant of the room before the fire, as Atkinson suggests, it was clearly the office of a clerk and possibly where records of the *civitas* were kept.

Entrance to the basilica was gained at either end of its east aisle, through doorways opening from the inner portico of the forum and Atkinson considered that there had also been a central entrance from the piazza. The latter was surrounded on the north, east and south sides by a colonnaded portico about 18ft (5.5m) wide; no rooms lay behind the portico on the north and south sides, but, on the latter, an external portico was provided which extended across both the forum and the basilica beyond. Two subsidiary entrances into the forum were situated at either end of this portico. On the east side a range of eight rooms, 35ft (10.7m) wide and penetrated by a central entrance passage, lay between the inner and an outer portico. The main entrance was 18ft (5.5m) wide, and coincided with a similar space in the colonnade of the outer portico. It was from outside the latter that 169 fragments of an inscription were found where they had fallen in a fire. The inscription, measuring 11ft 9in (3.5m) by 3ft 9in (1.1m), had originally been set over the main entrance to the east portico and recorded the dedication, and therefore presumably the completion, of the forum between 10 December AD 129 and 9 December AD 130, during Hadrian's principate.²³⁰ As it is unlikely that major building works could have been carried on in the depths of winter, when frosting of mortar would have been a very real hazard, the date of completion is more likely to have taken place in the summer of AD 130 than in the previous year. The inscription also tells us that the *civitas Cornoviorum* was the dedicating authority; the standard of lettering is remarkably high and almost certainly the product of a skilled mason imported for the purpose.

Two parallel walls, 18ft (5.5m) apart and running north-south, apparently divided the piazza into two approximately equal halves, and Atkinson supposed that they formed a cross colonnade which helped to remedy lack of covered accommodation in the north and south ranges. The west wall of this colonnade certainly belonged to the earlier bath period, and, on reading the excavation report, one is left with the

strong impression that its fellow did too. It is difficult to believe in the existence of this colonnade when (a) the piazza gutter runs through it and not along it; removal of water run-off would seem just as essential for the cross portico as for those surrounding the piazza: (b) two column bases, which Atkinson discovered as continuing the line of the south colonnade through the cross portico, would not only have been superfluous in the circumstances which he envisaged, but were also placed asymmetrically with respect to the latter. Nevertheless a single cross-wall on the line of that to the east may have existed as a screen wall, in the same way as that which crossed the piazza at Cirencester at a later date (p. 314). Re-excitation is required to settle the point, but the modifications of the second period certainly made use of a wall on this line. It seems probable that the ragged end of wall which was discovered projecting westwards from the north-west corner of the basilica was likewise a survival from the baths, as were also the large drains north-west and south-west of the block. Their projected capacity was clearly unrelated to the removal of surface water from the forum buildings and piazza, for they were obviously designed with greater flows in mind. Moreover, the unfinished south-west drain, although in keeping with the general incomplete state of the baths, would have been quite adequate, even as it was left, as a soakaway for the forum gutter.

Two masonry foundations were situated in the piazza, some 20ft (6.1m) out from the east wall of the basilica and seemingly arranged symmetrically about its entrance. Presumably they carried statues, and fragments of cast bronze decoration were scattered over the surface in the area.

Some time during the decades AD 165–85 the forum was destroyed by a fire, which also spread to shops and houses in the next insula south,²³¹ but not apparently to the baths opposite. It is not clear what caused the fire, but the limited area affected would suggest an accident followed by inadequate control. However, it must have occurred in the daytime when stalls were set up,

and gives us an instantaneous picture of the uses to which the open spaces in a forum were put. Moreover, they cannot, as is sometimes claimed, have been isolated occurrences; the traders had not been brought in as extras on a film-set for a day's shooting while the forum was burnt around them, and then dispersed! In the panic following the outbreak, some stalls in the outer east portico were overturned and their wares fell into the external gutter. The south end of the portico seems to have been occupied by hardware merchants. At the very end, a stall holder had been selling mortaria made by Sennius, a manufacturer working at Mancetter.²³² Farther up the portico and nearer the entrance were stalls of samian merchants who were offering for sale a variety of different vessels made both at the Central Gaulish potteries of Lezoux and the East Gaulish centre at Rheinzarbern. The preponderance of no one potter among 210 vessels recovered suggests the presence of a middleman who had for convenience sake put together similar bowls from different factories. Atkinson reckoned²³³ that the bowls, stacked neatly in piles one inside the other on shelves or benches, had slid gently into the sand filling the gutter. This is hardly in accord with fire and panic; the sudden upheaval of a bench or table on which such piles of bowls were set, and their fall several feet to the ground below, would have led to a much wider scattering than actually happened. We might infer therefore that the nests had been either contained in rough boxes or tied together in some manner. As a side line one merchant also had a crate of whetstones for sale. The number present (about a hundred), and the way in which they fell, make it appear as though the box had been nearly full, so that few can have been sold, from which we might infer that the fire started early in the day. The stone from which the whetstones had been fashioned came either from near Stony Stratford, Bucks., or, less likely, from the Craven Arms district south of Wroxeter.

When the forum was rebuilt after the fire, certain modifications seem to have been put in hand. Two foundations, which sprang from the

eastern wall crossing the piazza, curved inwards towards the main entrance, but were not traced further than the line of columns forming the east internal portico. Atkinson considered that these were constructed to increase the proportion of covered space, a suggestion which has little to commend it when it is seen that as much, if not more, was lost from the north and south porticoes as was gained in the north-east and south-east corners of the piazza enclosed by the new foundations. Indeed, it is difficult to see the purpose behind the alterations, as they seem to change nothing but the appearance of the building.

The public baths (fig. 11) in the insula east of the forum present a much more complicated structural history than the forum and basilica. It is possible that the building was started at about the same time as the forum, but that, with delays of one kind or another, it was not fully operative until some thirty years later.²³⁴ It seems most likely that the final delay was caused by the need to rebuild the forum, which would have been a prime necessity. An earlier stone building, as well as timber-framed buildings of the early town, have been identified on the site of the baths, but are only imperfectly known; the masonry, which was massive, may have been part of the early forum. Some of the construction trenches remained unused or only part-used.

The main building was made up of a long aisled hall measuring 240ft (73m) by 65ft (19.8m) on the north side, which served as a covered palaestra, not unlike that already discussed for Leicester (p. 347). It may, however, have had a secondary use as a market hall, as Wright found a number of weights of different sizes; moreover, Webster commented on the large dump of animal bones found outside the south-east corner. The main entrances seem to have been at the west end, and a changing-room was situated at the opposite end. An external portico ran down the north side between the hall and the street. Two wings projected southwards from each end of the hall. That to the west contained two large, approximately

square rooms, with central square pedestals; pairs of wide openings in each room gave on to the street to the west, and a corridor passed to their rear. The rooms do not seem to be part of the main baths, although they are attached, and their appearance would suggest large shops rented to manufacturers or merchants by the *ordo* of the *civitas*. Indeed Wright's excavations in 1836 showed that the south room had possibly been used by a metal worker or enameller (p. 371). Behind the corridor was a large public lavatory almost certainly not connected with the rooms just considered, but entered at its north end from the palaestra. The eastern wing contained the main bathing establishment, consisting of three very large rooms which acted as frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium respectively. The cold and hottest rooms were provided with their own plunge baths of equivalent heat and separate laconica were originally provided each side of the tepidarium. The main entrance from the palaestra to the frigidarium still survives as a piece of standing masonry, normally referred to as the Old Work. Attempts at a restoration on paper have been carried out by Webster and Woodfield,²³⁵ basing their account on the excavations of Wright,²³⁶ Fox,²³⁷ and Kenyon²³⁸ and on Webster's own more recent work.²³⁹ They postulated a double central entrance through the wall leading from the palaestra, flanked by blind arches, which were embellished with architectural detail. The whole scheme was not dissimilar to that at the nearly contemporary public baths at Leicester (p. 346). The frigidarium is one of the few buildings in Britain which had part of its wall covered with mosaic.²⁴⁰ A secondary set of hot rooms, incorporating the west laconicum, was later built to open off the tepidarium, extending almost as far as the latrine, while to their south lay a large piscina or open air pool, which is a most unusual feature in a Romano-British bath-house.

The excavation of the bath-house is not yet complete; it is clear that even now not all has been uncovered and by no means all is known of its history. Large though it was it did not occupy the

whole insula, and one other building excavated initially by Wright near the south-west corner may have been a small market or a collection of guild offices (see fig. 26). This building has now been completely uncovered by Webster.²⁴¹ It was almost square, 82ft (25m) by 75ft (23m), and contained twelve rooms all arranged around the north, east and south sides; one larger room in the south-east corner was a latrine, discharging into a major sewer beneath. A smaller room in the north range probably acted as a lobby for its neighbour in the north-east corner, which would otherwise have had no visible access. A peristyled courtyard occupied the centre of the building and entry from the colonnade along the street to the west was gained by two flights of steps, situated at each end of the peristyle. Although a good deal smaller, this building belongs in the same building tradition as the markets at Verulamium (p. 224), Cirencester (p. 306) and Leicester (p. 352).

In the centre of the town the streets were laid out in a reasonably regular manner, although there is some variation in the size of insulae, and this part of the town plan is undoubtedly the earliest (see fig. 165). But there are some inconsistencies. For instance, the main north-south street, which separates the baths from the forum, does not appear to extend northwards between Insulae I and II,²⁴² while Watling Street, entering the town from the north-east seems to turn towards the south to link with the street which formed the eastern boundary of Insulae XVI and II. This line was not, however, continued beyond the southern boundary of Insula II. The behaviour of these streets may have been conditioned by the siting of early military roads in the area and possibly also by an existing religious site, represented by a small Romano-Celtic temple, which shows on aerial photographs (fig. 166). The temple enclosure may have caused the re-routing of Watling Street into the heart of the town, in the same way that a similar enclosure caused a change in alignment of the main road system at Silchester's east gate (p. 276). The initial street layout seems to have extended north as far as the Bell Brook,

which bisects the north part of the town from east to west; but the system was not fully completed, and it is possible that the stream represents the northern extent of the Hadrianic expansion.²⁴³ It is linked on the west to another system of streets on a different alignment, which are almost certainly later in date, and which were possibly influenced by the boundaries of the temple compound in the centre. There seems no reason why this change in alignment should be associated with an earlier line of fortifications. Nevertheless there is a possibility that the first boundary did not cross the Bell Brook; a large bank and ditch south of the stream may be no more than an earlier water course, or perhaps attempts to canalize the flow.²⁴⁴ Neither does a defensive alignment here help in explaining the change in the street plan in the north-west quarter. Outside the central area both to south and west, the street system is equally confusing and seems to represent piecemeal development. The road line out of the town to the south-west is marked by the site of the bridge, of timber on stone piers, which crossed the River Severn.²⁴⁵

The Wroxeter aqueduct has fortunately been identified over much of its course, and it was similar to that at Dorchester (p. 327). Water, drawn from the Bell Brook about three-quarters of a mile east of the town, was conveyed in an open channel which followed the contour of the ground as a series of short, straight lengths, to a point on the highest ground inside the town north of the baths. The channel was 3ft (0.9m) deep and originally appears to have been about 8ft (2.4m) wide across the top, narrowing to 2ft (0.6m) at the base. The excavated material had been heaped as a bank on the downhill side and there was slight evidence to show that the sides had been lined with clay. With a foot of water in the channel, it has been calculated that nearly 2 million gallons (9×10^6 litres) of water could have been delivered daily to the town.²⁴⁶ Presumably the channel was constructed long before the defences were erected, and it is not yet known how they were adapted to accommodate it. However, we might



166 Aerial photograph of the central area of the town, north of the forum, showing a possible Romano-Celtic temple and a large square foundation beside it (*Arnold Baker*)

postulate a distribution tank in the area north of the baths, which we have already seen was partly occupied by a temple and its enclosure. The temple itself seems, in aerial photographs,²⁴⁷ to have a massive square foundation situated close to its south-east corner with a fainter line approaching it from the east (see fig. 166). We might suggest that this arrangement represents a temple inside a sacred enclosure associated with the aqueduct head. The sanctifying of an aqueduct source or head is not unknown elsewhere.²⁴⁸

From the distribution-point pipes must have led to the baths, to public fountains and to private users. Atkinson discovered a considerable length

of a timber pipeline running along the edge of the street south of the forum and a shorter length of lead pipe near the north-west corner. He considered that both belonged to the later forum period, dating to the late second or third century. The lead pipe had burst at no less than six places in the length uncovered, and it had clearly not been buried deep enough to escape frost damage.²⁴⁹ Both pipes were presumably fed from a water main running south along the east side of the main street between forum and baths. This main must also have fed the channel which Bushe-Fox found on the west side of the same street beside *Insula* viii.²⁵⁰ Side channels from it carried water into the

buildings flanking the street and control of water entering them was managed in two ways. First the floor level of the side channels was higher than that of the main channel, so that if the water level in the latter fell below 7in (178mm) the supply to the houses was cut off. But by inserting a sluice gate across the main, just below the outfall to a house, the whole flow could for a time be diverted to it (fig. 167). Such a system closely follows the equitable arrangements suggested by Vitruvius and other engineers,²⁵¹ so that we can see in use at Wroxeter a developed system of water distribution, such as we can only suspect in most other towns, where control was exercised over private users who would have had to pay a tax to the local authority for water consumed.

The fortifications of the town seem to have followed the normal pattern. An earth rampart with two ditches was first created towards the end of the second century, to be followed by a stone wall at a later date, possibly during the third century, or perhaps a good deal later. As at Dorchester, the stone wall seems to have been built more on top of the existing rampart than at its front. The ditch system was at some stage reduced to a single wide ditch, and it is possible that this was associated with the construction of external towers.²⁵² No gate structures have been identified, although the positions of at least four can be suggested with reasonable confidence. Investigations are also required at the points where the Bell Brook entered and left the town, to see if water gates were provided.

Apart from the row of buildings explored by Bushe-Fox, and some remarkably clear and detailed aerial photographs, only little is known of the town's private houses and shops. Those excavated by Bushe-Fox in 1912–14 were on the west side of the main north–south street and south of the forum. For the main part they consisted of strip-like buildings set behind a continuous portico with their long axes at right angles to the street; they were open at the front and had one or more rooms at the rear of the premises. They therefore conform closely to the

general pattern of Romano-British shops and workshops. As already recorded, they first appeared on the site early in the second century, only to be burnt in the same fire which destroyed the forum. There were indications that rebuilding after the fire did not always follow the same plan. On one site a temple had been built, and immediately north of it, several shops had been amalgamated into a single block. The latter is presumably an instance, similar to that already cited for Cirencester (p. 318), where a shopkeeper enlarged his premises by buying out his neighbours. As a result he was able to extend his domestic premises across the rear of all three shops to make a comfortable-sized house, which, for a time, even had its own small bath-suite and latrine, flushed by water from the aqueduct. An interesting common feature in almost all these shops was the number of ovens and furnaces which they contained and the liberal traces of metal-working. Evidence was obtained for casting: bronze brooches, and small bronze busts were made by the lost-wax process and silver objects were also manufactured. A fragment from a piece of cast bronze showed that, exceptionally, two runners had been used in some moulds to allow air to escape when the metal was poured. There was also evidence for cupellation furnaces by which silver was extracted from lead alloys.²⁵³

The shop west of the baths, which was possibly used by another metal-worker, also contained some interesting features when found by Wright.²⁵⁴ Nearly half the floor at the back of the shop was covered to some depth with very fine sand, which may have been used for making moulds for casting objects. Near the north door was a small furnace situated on top of a beehive-shaped block of clay, which had been heavily vitrified, while beside it was a column base which may have supported a small anvil. A quantity of powdered granite and fragments of glass might suggest enamelling processes, while pieces of dross and slag clearly indicate metal-working on some scale. In the disturbed soil outside the east forum entrance was found a massive block of iron,



167 Water distribution. A junction of the main and branch channels on Site vi (*Society of Antiquaries of London*)

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in (285mm) long, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in (82mm) wide and $\frac{9}{16}$ in (14mm) thick. On both flat faces designs were embossed which had been used as matrices for producing patterns on thin bronze plates.²⁵⁵ It is possible that this die came originally from the workshop on the opposite side of the street.

The metal-working processes which were extensively carried on in the town probably made use of local deposits of copper and silver. Although lead and silver mines were at first usually controlled by the army, later control was often vested in the local curiales. Can one glimpse here perhaps the basis of Viroconian prosperity?

Another minor industry is indicated by three soapstone palettes, again found near the baths by Wright, which were probably used for grinding pigments in preparation for fresco painting. Also represented are glass-making, and in the later years tanning seems to have taken place in the baths basilica.²⁵⁶ In the fourth century there was also a pottery manufacturer whose kilns were situated about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile (1.2km) north-west of the town,²⁵⁷ and no doubt other kilns have yet to be found. Three roof tiles stamped LCH, and found in the debris of the destroyed forum, indicate a local tileworks, and one has been traced at Ismore Coppice, not far from the pottery kilns.²⁵⁸

Two temple sites have been identified in the town. One, known only from aerial photographs, has already been discussed in connexion with the aqueduct. The other was excavated by Bushe-Fox in Insula viii. It has been built over the burnt remains of earlier shops and therefore probably dates to the later second century.²⁵⁹ The temple consisted of a rectangular podium 30ft (9.1m) wide and 24ft (7.3m) deep contained in a temenos 98ft (29.9m) by 56ft (17.1m). The cella appears to have been somewhat shallow and lay behind a portico. Another portico of six columns, which was probably part of a continuous colonnade down the side of the street, provided access to the temenos. Pedestals were situated slightly forward, and to one side, of the two front corners of the temple portico, while a pair of gutters drained surface water from the temenos into the 'aqueduct'

beside the street.²⁶⁰ Two uninscribed altars and many fragments of sculptured stone were found, including parts of human figures. The temple is definitely of Italian type; the columns in front of the cella were about 20ft (6.1m) high and were surmounted by an elaborately decorated façade. Despite the sculptures, which included a relief of naked figures and part of a life-size horse's head, as well as other 'horsey' attributes, the correct dedication is not known; it might have been to Epona. It was clear, however, that the building was derelict by the early fourth century.

Lewis has suggested that another building, visible in aerial photographs, in an insula south-east of the baths is a temple of classical pattern,²⁶¹ but there would seem to be some doubt over this interpretation. Two other areas inside the town walls are worth considering as temple enclosures. The south-west corner of Insula iii, although apparently devoid of buildings, is surrounded by a stone wall, enclosing an area approximately 550ft (168m) by 500ft (152m). It also covers the highest part of the town, which might be thought a suitable site for a shrine. North of the Bell Brook is a considerable tract of land within the northern defences which shows no sign of major houses. Richmond, seeking a reason for the inclusion of this area, suggested that it may have been the site of a sacred grove or precinct.²⁶² However, a more prosaic suggestion for its use is considered above.

An insight into domestic religious practices was provided by a later first-century deposit below the house north of the temple in Insula viii. Two fragments from an aedicula, or household shrine, with an arched niche to contain a statue, were found there, and it may have been set up in one of the early shops. Similar provisions were made in a shop in Insula xiv at Verulamium (p. 240). Several fragments of pipeclay figurines, including a Dea Nutrix, have also been found in the town and these would most likely have come from aediculae.

It is often claimed that there are more large private houses at Wroxeter, representing residences of decurions, than there are in many other



168 Aerial photograph of the north-west part of the town, showing the outlines of a large house and the darker lines of military ditches beneath it and to the left (*Arnold Baker*)

towns. Yet a careful examination of aerial photographs seems to reveal no more than a dozen or so of such quality, which is not all that different from the situation elsewhere. Certainly it seems an unsound base for the conclusions normally drawn, that insecurity in the *civitas* forced the landowners to take up residence in the town.²⁶³ Certainly also few top-quality mosaics have been found in private houses at Wroxeter, although public buildings were not thus deficient. One house is very large, measuring nearly 300ft (91m) from end to end. It lies near the west defences in *Insula* xvi, and shows clearly in aerial photographs (fig. 168). It is interesting, because, apart from its size, it seems to stand astride two *insulae* and its front portico lies at the end of the street which runs past the north side of the baths and forum. In this position it resembles the so-called *mansio* at Silchester (p. 277), and the Wroxeter building may

have been similarly used. An alternative suggestion may, however, be made. If it was a private house, it was certainly one of the largest and most imposing in the town. The plan, moreover, resembles that of a winged corridor villa, and we may repeat the suggestion already made for Silchester and Cirencester, that it is possible to have a farm inside a town.²⁶⁴ This in turn might explain the apparently vacant area at the north end which appears to be covered by a rectilinear pattern of narrow ditches, looking not unlike modern allotment gardens and perhaps used for horticulture.²⁶⁵ Some towns seem to have had a farm closely attached to them, as at Cirencester, Dorchester, Leicester and Verulamium. In those parts of the country the major part of the farm could be left outside the defences, but cattle rustling, or its equivalent, from the hills and border country of Wales may well have made it

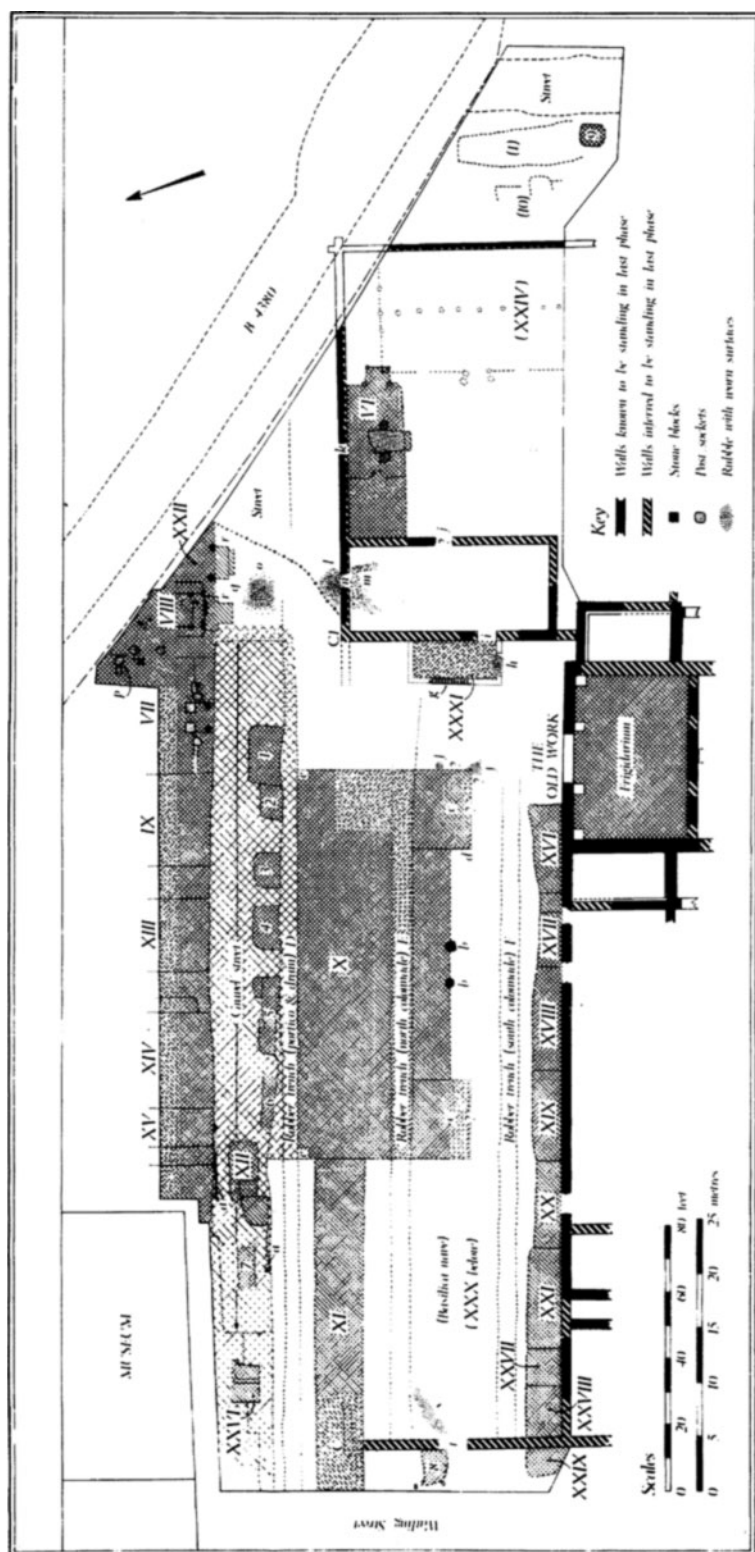
more politic for a considerable part of the farm to be enclosed at Wroxeter. In turn this could explain the inflated size of the area within the defences (see also p. 373).

No extensive provision seems to have been made for amusements in the town. A 'gladiators' cup, engraved with names, of a type already described under Colchester and Leicester, bespeaks an interest in such shows, but there does not seem to have been an amphitheatre for their performance.²⁶⁶ There was, however, an unusual enclosure behind the temple in *Insula VIII* (see fig. 17). It consisted of a pair of concentric walls, 12ft (3.7m) apart, and was rectangular in shape with rounded corners. A double entrance was situated in the outer wall at the north-east corner, and there was an alcove in the same wall, placed centrally in the shorter side. Another expansion in this wall occurred a short distance west of the entrance. Bushe-Fox put forward²⁶⁷ the explanation that the structure carried tiers of seats between the walls for spectators attending amphitheatrical shows; he also decided that the building had been largely destroyed by the mid second century, as a drain from the house to the east cut through the walls. Webster rejected the latter argument and proposed that the building was associated with the nearby temple and was used for the enactment of religious ceremonies and dramas.²⁶⁸ Indeed, we might go further in view of the association of the nearby temple (p. 373) with horses. Is it, in fact, the only known circus in Britain, used for horse or chariot racing as part of the celebrations connected with the cult?

In the almost complete absence of civilian tombstones and the scientific investigation of cemeteries, there is little that can be said about the inhabitants. One tombstone records the burial of Placida, aged 55, and probably her son Deuccus, aged 15. Neither would seem to have held Roman citizenship.²⁶⁹ A circular ophthalmic stamp carried the name of Tiberius Claudius M(essor). According to Haverfield, he may have been the same man who lost a stamp near Valenciennes, in northern France.²⁷⁰ Another, in

the same line of business, was Q. Lucillianus.²⁷¹ Wright records a burial, possibly of a surgeon, north of the town; it was apparently associated with a case of surgical instruments which included a lancet.²⁷²

The picture described by Wright of fire and slaughter as Wroxeter disappeared before the Saxon onslaught must now be recognized as a piece of Victorian romanticism. As Richmond pointed out, the Cornovii had probably for long been used to raising their own militia, some parts of which had, by the fourth century, been absorbed into the regular army as *Coh. I Cornoviorum*.²⁷³ This ability to protect themselves and their town must have been a great asset in the closing years of the fourth century and beyond, as units of the regular army were withdrawn from Wales and the borders. Recent finds of *plumbata*, or lead-weighted javelins, suggest that detachments of the regular army were passing through Wroxeter in the very late fourth or early fifth century. But by then the town had for some time been deprived of its forum, basilica and bath-house. Atkinson reckoned that they had been destroyed in the barbarian invasion of AD 296, and certainly the datable evidence does not take it much later. However, it is probably best, in view of the limited nature of the destruction, no longer to associate it with enemy action. Although the forum was not rebuilt, the site continued to be used and we might ask how the commercial life and administration of the town was continued. The only real loss sustained was the basilica; the forum had never provided a great deal of permanent covered accommodation, so that its loss would have been less seriously felt. As in the town's beginning, so at the end, an open space would have served adequately as a market. There is a contrast here with many other towns; at Wroxeter shopkeepers seem to have preferred to build their own private premises, rather than to use rented accommodation in public buildings. Moreover, the town already possessed an alternative basilica attached to the baths, which had been unaffected by the destruction and it would have



169 The baths basilica in the fifth century (P. Barker)

been usable until it was finally divided up by a number of wooden partitions.

Indeed, in the final stages, parts of the bath-house seems to have been converted to a granary, and others into domestic accommodation. Might we suspect that the administrative business of the *civitas* was henceforward carried on for a time in this basilica? It might be objected that the palaestra of a bath-house was no place for the law courts to sit. But magistrates' courts were not always the quietly ordered scenes that we expect today.²⁷⁴ Even as recently as the Victorian period, Dickens vividly described a remarkable magistrates' court scene in *Great Expectations*.

Recent excavations by Barker on the site of the same building have shown that it was carefully dismantled leaving the shell still standing,²⁷⁵ until that too was demolished, apparently leaving little more than the south wall in existence. In the area so created, as well as along the street to the north, a whole series of timber-framed buildings – some quite substantial – were constructed (fig. 169). Moreover, other similar buildings have been encountered elsewhere in the town, one at least lying on a main street and reminiscent of Canterbury (p. 202). In the basilica, the first structures date to a period after 367, but they were succeeded by at least two more phases of construction, with a date going beyond 388. An end to this activity is implied by a burial, which can only have taken place after the site had been deserted; a date in the early seventh century has been suggested on the basis of a radiocarbon determination. A comparable situation with timber partitions being built in the ruins of the market-hall at Leicester, has already been described (p. 362), although only a very small area could be excavated (see fig. 164). It is not yet

possible to say what the Wroxeter buildings were, but they show a continuation of life in the town, if not of town life, long after the stage had been reached when the last Roman buildings were falling down. Sometime during this period an Irish chieftain, Cunorix, son of Maqqos-Colini, visited Wroxeter and met his death. He was apparently buried just outside the town wall on the north-eastern side. His tombstone (see fig. 185) has been dated by Jackson to the second half of the fifth century,²⁷⁶ and his death at Wroxeter would imply the presence of a band of *foederati*, presumably called in to provide protection. The overall picture obtained is not dissimilar to that at Cirencester during the closing years, where it has been postulated that a small band of survivors had withdrawn to the safety of the amphitheatre (p. 322). In the Gloucestershire region we find Celtic overlords assuming control. The analogy can be taken further. In Shropshire, as in parts of Wales and the south-west, there was a return to abandoned hill-forts in the late fourth or early fifth centuries.²⁷⁷ Near Wroxeter the Breidin was refortified and it is possible that the hilltop on which Shrewsbury stands was treated as a similar refuge. A picture, therefore, is beginning to emerge in the west, of small bands of refugees, usually only a fraction of the original population, seeking safety in the nearest easily fortified place. There were no doubt Romano-Britons among them, but there were probably also Irish and Saxon *foederati* or immigrants. Although many questions remain to be answered, it is just possible to detect the glimmerings of a common pattern, which will explain the abandonment, albeit sometimes temporary, of the Romano-British towns, and which is developed more fully in the final chapter.



HADRIANIC STIMULATION

CAERWENT, CARMARTHEN, BROUGH AND ALDBOROUGH

The four towns considered in this chapter represent the last major extension of the truly civilian areas of the British province. Thereafter, further limited expansion of civilian government took place only in areas which continued to be occupied by the army. Moreover, some subsequent contraction probably occurred in certain districts of the Brigantes.

Hadrian's visit to Britain in AD 121 or 122 came early in his protracted tour of the Provinces. His appearance in Britain seems to have restored confidence and stimulated renewed building activity in towns; the impetus from the Agricolan encouragement had by then been largely exhausted, and confidence undermined by a series of military reverses in the north. We might suspect that Hadrian, in view of his interest in construction, contributed financially.¹ He was also responsible for a complete reassessment of the military occupation, which resulted in the creation of a permanent linear frontier in the north. The greatly increased troop concentration required by the new frontier work was only achieved by withdrawing units from forts in Wales and Brigantia. As earlier, under the governor Agricola, it could only be done if suitable civilian adminis-

trations could be established to replace military government. In taking this action, Hadrian to some extent gambled on continued peacefulness, after military control had been removed from potentially troublesome areas. It proved a gamble which did not entirely succeed.

The areas in question, which were now thought ripe for local self-government and formal constitution, were in south Wales, the *civitas Silurum* and the *civitas Demetarum*, and in north England, east of the Pennines, the *civitas Parisorum* and the *civitas Brigantum*.

CAERWENT (*Venta Silurum*)

For many years the Silures had showed an implacable hostility to Rome, which sometimes vented itself in aggressive attacks on the Roman army.² At first allied with Caratacus, later on their own, they resisted fiercely all attempts to subdue them,³ and it was not until the mid 70s, when the governor Julius Frontinus had defeated them, that a permanent occupation could be imposed.⁴ In a classic passage, Richmond has summed up the way in which they were broken, first by attrition and encroachment, finally by pitched battle.⁵

Military occupation ensued, which pivoted round the new fortress of Legio II Augusta at Caerleon. A network of roads linking a number of

auxiliary forts put the tribal territory into an effective straitjacket. It is unlikely, therefore, that the years of Frontinus' and Agricola's governorships will have seen the emergence of a properly constituted *civitas* with its capital, controlling its own affairs. In consequence, Nash-Williams' claim, that the fortified town of Caerwent was founded in the Flavian period, must be reconsidered.⁶ Yet there is Flavian pottery from the area of the town as Hartley has pointed out,⁷ and it is best explained as coming from a vicus associated with a nearby fort. The early settlement seems at first to have been confined to linear development along the main road eastwards from Caerleon, although it may have been sufficiently important to have warranted a bath-house. Nash-Williams considered that this building was the first town baths, which was almost completely demolished and rebuilt in the early second century. But it must be admitted that his published dating evidence for both early periods is scanty and it is not entirely certain that the first building even was a bath-house.⁸

The nearest military presence seems to have been an irregular establishment of the Roman army in the nearby Iron Age hillfort at Sudbrook, situated on the north shore of the River Severn.⁹ This was probably the terminal for a ferry across the river in the Iron Age, which may help to explain the foundation of the earliest civil settlement at Caerwent. Beyond that, it is difficult to see why this particular site should have been chosen. The situation among the Silures before the conquest must have been similar to that already described among the *Dumnonii* (p. 335) and the *Cornovii* (p. 362), where there were no obvious main tribal centres. Yet the name of *Venta* for Caerwent would indicate some kind of tribal meeting place, possibly for a market connected with river trade.¹⁰ But this is still no adequate reason why a concentration of potentially influential and romanizing Silurians – the future curial class – should have gathered here, when evidence from the *Dumnonii* and *Cornovii* shows that the legionary fortress at Caerleon would have been a

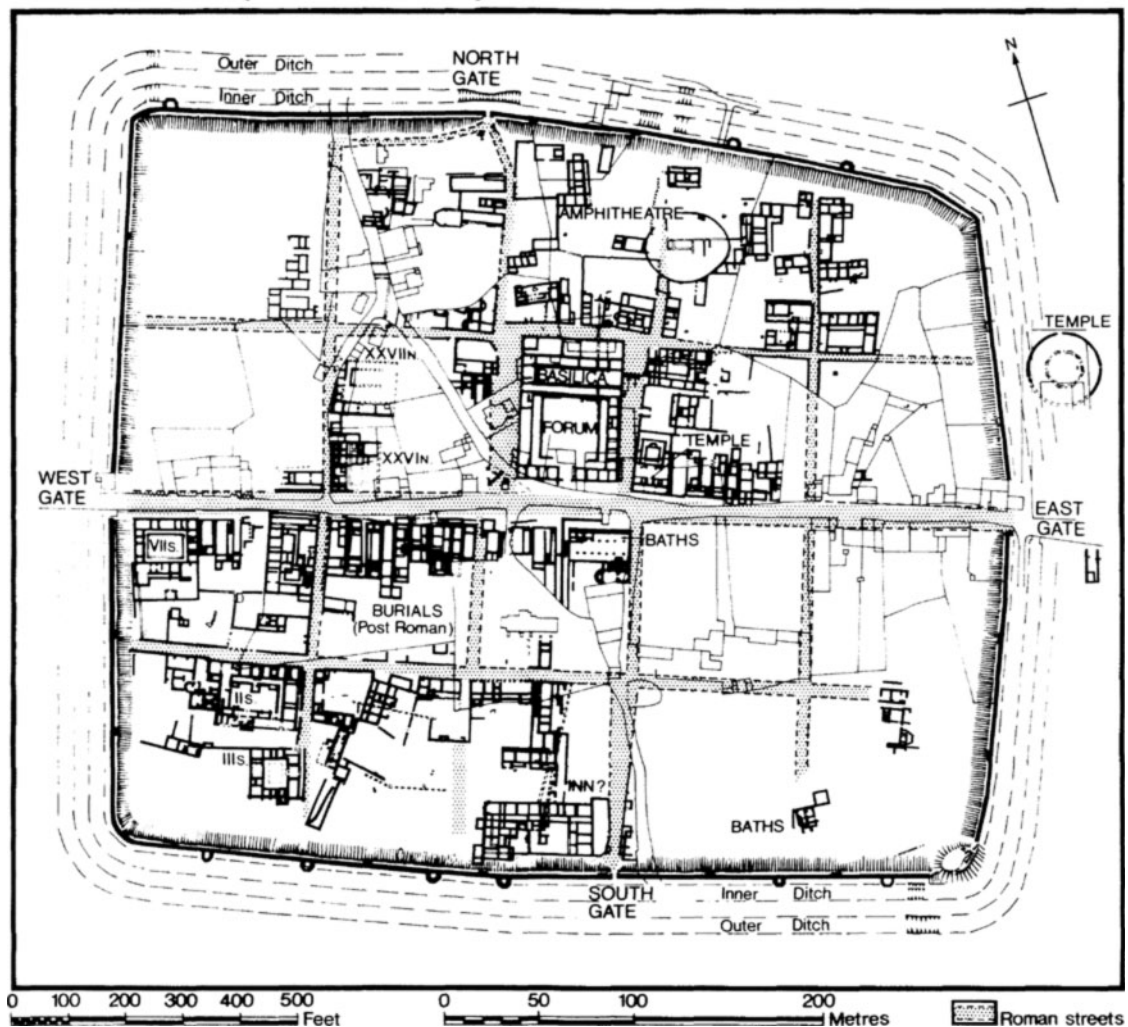
much greater attraction. Was that, indeed, what happened? And was the transfer from Caerleon, either compulsorily or voluntarily, effected only at a later date, and if so have we at Caerwent evidence for an artificial foundation akin to Chelmsford (p. 208)? Or was it simply a gradual drifting away from the fortress? There are many puzzling features here, which, when taken with some curious peculiarities of the town itself, still need to be solved.

The probable circumstances under which part of the tribal territory was returned to civilian administration have already been discussed in the opening paragraphs to this chapter. How much of it was left under military control we do not know, but certainly the legionary *territorium* of Caerleon must have covered a considerable area. A boundary stone washed out from below the modern seawall near Goldcliff Priory, Mon., about 3 miles (4.8km) south-south-east of the fortress, may partly indicate its delimitation.¹¹

Although much of the town has been excavated (fig. 170), so that, as at Silchester, a reasonably complete plan is known, it is unfortunate that most of the discoveries were made before strict archaeological records were kept. Consequently the history of many of the buildings is imperfectly known. Nash-Williams, on the evidence of the coin sequence from the forum, and presumably influenced by his own views on the date of foundation of the town, ascribed a late-first-century date to its construction, which must now be revised. Fortunately, more recent excavations, mainly carried out by Brewer, have provided a chronological framework for some of the major buildings. They have also shown that the street system in its entirety was not finished until the late second century.¹²

The forum occupied a whole central *insula*, north of the main east–west street. This *insula* was somewhat smaller than the rest although the streets to east and west of it were broader. The baths lay at the north-east corner of the *insula* opposite. As befitted a tribe which must have been impoverished by long years of fighting against

CAERWENT (Venta Silvrvvm)



170 Plan of Caerwent (after Brewer)

Rome, the forum and basilica were built on a modest scale, the piazza measuring only 107ft (33m) by 101ft (31m). In this respect the tribe resembled the Iceni, who had become emasculated through the Boudiccan rebellion, and there is a remarkable similarity in the development of their capitals.

The forum piazza at Caerwent (see fig. 8) was enclosed on three sides by colonnaded porticoes, floored with concrete, behind which were the

normal ranges of rooms. In the east range there were probably six shops with wide doorways giving on to the portico while another room, subdivided by a cross wall to provide two small ante-rooms at the front, may have been an office. The south wing was divided by a central entrance, nearly 16ft (4.9m) wide, which coincided with a gap in the inner colonnade. There appear to have been four shops each side of the entrance, all of which opened to the south on to an outer portico.

The west wing, although confused by later alterations, seems to have contained a single long hall at the south end, with one other room between it and the basilica. The original floor of the piazza had been surfaced with sandstone paving stones, some of which had been relaid in later years; a gutter, cut in the surface of stone blocks, ran round all four sides, and discharged into a large drain that carried the flow underneath the basilica and the north street beyond.

The basilica, with an open colonnaded façade, on the south side could be approached either by a flight of three steps from the piazza, or by doors set at each end of the south aisle which gave on to the adjacent streets. The basilica measured 126ft (38.3m) by 62ft (18.9m) internally and was raised above the forum level. Enough architectural fragments were recovered to show that the nave was ornamented in the Corinthian style and the columns had probably risen to a height of about 30ft (9.1m). Both ends of the nave were separated from the main body of the hall by screens, which were also extended across the north aisle. Although Nash-Williams implied that only the room to the east was used as a tribunal, there seems no reason why both should not have served. But the eastern tribunal had a raised floor, later heated from a small hypocaust flue in the south aisle, reminiscent of the small heated block in the first basilica at Caistor-by-Norwich. The floor may have been tessellated and the walls were decorated with formal patterns of painted plaster. The back range behind the hall was made up of a central shrine flanked by three offices on the east and a large room on the west which was probably the curia; a raised platform and wooden benches were provided at the east end, presumably for the officer presiding over meetings of the council.¹³ The latter could only be entered from the room at the west end of the north aisle and from a small ante-room beyond. In the extreme north-west corner of the block was another room, entered from the same ante-room, which may have served as a records' office or treasury. The curia was ultimately the best-furnished room, with a mosaic

panel set in a concrete floor, an unusual arrangement suggestive of economies, and painted walls embodying architectural perspectives.¹⁴

Although Nash-Williams dated the forum to the very late first century, supposedly based on a coin of Nerva, it is far more likely to have been built under Hadrian as implied from the coins from the present excavation. Moreover, the Corinthian style used in the nave of the basilica has been broadly dated by Brewer, on Rhineland analogies, to the middle of the second century; thus it is on a par with the basilica at Silchester (p. 277).¹⁵

The bath-house, the second of the four main public buildings known in the town, was equally modest in scale (see fig. 11). Unfortunately only the northern part, consisting of a covered hall, or palaestra, a frigidarium and cold plunge, a large cistern and a small block of later hot rooms have been excavated,¹⁶ and the remainder is covered by farm buildings. Both north and west sides had external covered porticoes. It is interesting to compare the palaestra with the roughly contemporary buildings at Wroxeter and Leicester. The replacement of an open, peristyled courtyard, of the type that can be seen in the first-century baths at Silchester, by a covered hall of basilican plan was a sensible acknowledgement of the British climate. The hall was nearly 110ft (34m) long and just under 40ft (12.2m) wide. Two lines of heavy stone pedestals marked the positions of the internal columns, while the outside frontage was decorated with engaged columns on masonry plinths. The latter can hardly have played any structural part in the building as their positions did not coincide with those of the internal columns. The main entrance seems to have lain between the second and third external columns from the east. Two probable changing-rooms and a small latrine were situated in the north-west corner of the hall.

The floor of the cistern was 7ft (2.1m) below the general level and it presumably held the water for filling the boilers. Although no aqueduct is known, one may be assumed, for a wooden pipeline was discovered running southwards through the north gate and was again picked up outside the

north wall of the basilica, with a branch down the street to its east. The latter may have served the baths, and a cement-lined conduit crossed the palaestra from the north towards the bath wing. A narrow street, about 10ft (3.1m) wide, separated the baths from the neighbouring buildings to the west, and the main drain lay between the portico and the street. At one point, approximately level with the frigidarium, a lead pipe discharged into the drain. The extension of this drain can probably be seen in the next insula south, which it crosses to lead towards the mansio. Thereafter it most likely discharged through the culvert beneath the south gate.

Various structural alterations took place in the bath-house during the third and fourth centuries. Coins recovered from the site imply a continued use into the fifth century, followed by a rapid dissolution.

The house which has sometimes been interpreted as a mansio lay immediately on the left of anyone entering the south gate, but it should be noted that some other buildings might be thought to have equal claims. It was excavated in 1904 and little is known of its history, although some can be inferred from its close proximity to the defences.¹⁷ Nash-Williams' published section through the latter,¹⁸ despite the fact that the place is not precisely known, shows the wall of a house level with the tail of the rampart and obviously later than both phases of fortification. That being so we should assume that part of the building at least belongs to the fourth century. But that need not apply to all of it, as the line taken by the fortifications seems to make a southward detour before reaching the building so that the latter occupies a slight bulge, suggesting that they had to be aligned to take an existing building into account. The building was arranged round three sides of a courtyard; the fourth side, although enclosed by a wall, was against the town rampart. A large forecourt stretched across the front of the building, and a number of rooms were equipped with hypocausts. A fine mosaic was discovered in the large room at the north-west corner. Apart

from its size, and it is almost the largest house in Caerwent, there is nothing to confirm its identification.

The administration of the tribe and its capital by the *ordo* of the *civitas* Silurum is specifically attested in an inscription, carved on a pedestal for a statue (fig. 171), which was erected in the town in honour of Ti. Claudius Paulinus, sometime legate of Legio II Augusta, proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, *propraetorian* legate of Gallia Lugdunensis, and later of Britannia Inferior. The latter post, not mentioned on the pedestal, was held by Paulinus in AD 220, so that the inscription dates to a year or so before.¹⁹ The stone was found incorporated in a heavy plinth below the village green, not far from the forum, and was said not to have been in its original position.²⁰ It had, no doubt, been erected originally in honour of a man who had probably been made a patron of the *civitas*, or who had in some way aided them when he commanded Legio II Augusta. In this respect it demonstrates a continuing relationship between the army and a neighbouring civilian authority. Most important, however, it shows both the administrative organization of a *civitas* at work issuing decrees, and the ascendancy of *civitas* over town in local government affairs (p. 20).

However, Bogaers has argued that this particular inscription is of no help in determining the relative importance of *civitas* and town, because it is dated to the period after Roman citizenship had been granted by Caracalla to all free men and women of the Empire (AD 212). He goes on to claim that, following this move, the distinction between genuine chartered towns and tribal *civitates* disappeared and that the name *civitas* was preferred for urban centres.²¹ This will not do in this case, for it overlooks the evidence of name survival, and it would also have been a gradual change, brought about by usage and not by litigation. Rivet has drawn attention²² to the essential difference in this respect between Britain and Gaul: in the former it is the town name which most often survives in modern language, while in the latter it is the tribal name. Hence, working back

The town's fortifications as far as is known followed the normal pattern. An earth rampart, with a ditch in front, was erected not earlier than AD 130, and probably belonged to the late second century. The stone wall was added to the front of this rampart sometime in the early fourth century, but on the north and east sides there is evidence to show that the wall was built more over the ditch.²³ Lengths of the wall have survived to a considerable height, especially on the south side (fig. 172), where they form one of the most impressive sights in Roman Britain. The southern defences were investigated by Nash-Williams in 1925, while earlier excavations took place on other sectors between 1899 and 1913, which were later summarized by Ward.²⁴ The area enclosed within the fortifications was about 44 acres (18ha), which is not so different from that of Caistor-by-Norwich within its second defences.

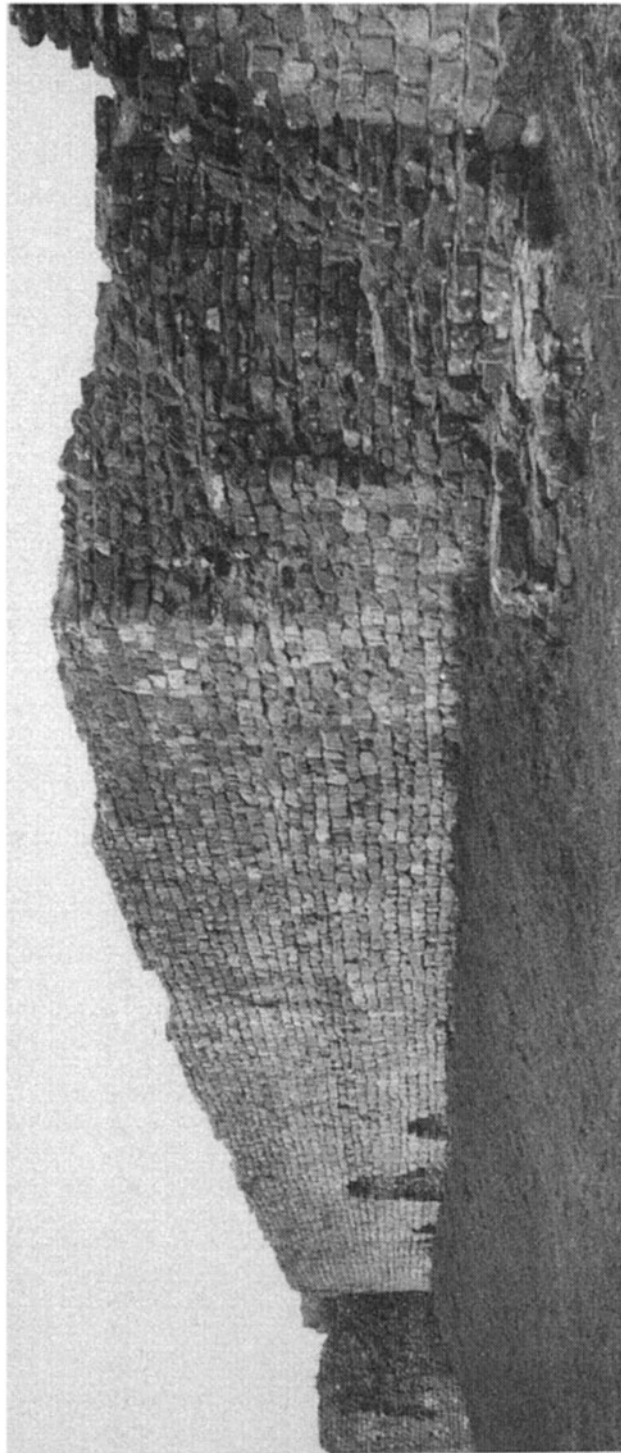
The width of the early bank is not known, but it exceeded 34ft (10.4m) in places, and had survived to a height of 6ft (1.8m). The stone wall averaged 10ft (3.1m) thick at the base but was reduced by internal scarcements to 6ft (1.8m). In places it still rises to a height of 17ft (5.2m). On the south side, it is clear that the wall was built in sections with straight joints between each although the joints were masked by the front skin of facing stones. Behind the wall, at various intervals, were so-called counterforts, in which the superstructure had been carried up at its full basal width. They may have provided supports for stairs leading to the wall walk (Silchester, p. 280). There were ultimately two ditches in front of the wall of varying size and spacing, the outer ditch probably being added c. 350.

Four gates are known. The largest were the east and west gates, placed nearly centrally in the respective walls, on the line of the most important road through the town. The only parts that survive of these structures are fragments of the square, south gate-towers of both gates, which projected forward from the front face of the town wall. The width and number of the carriageways is

not known, but it is interesting to observe that the town wall abuts the masonry of both gates with straight joints, and in the west gate at least the tower seems to be an addition to the original plan, with its foundations oversailing those of the wall.²⁵

The south and north gates (see fig. 32) were both single-arched openings in the town wall. The south gate lies at the end of the street to the east of the public baths. The gap in the wall measured 15½ft (4.7m) wide and it contained a passageway 9ft (2.7m) wide, and 16ft long (4.9m), which was formed by walls projecting 4ft (1.2m) in front of the town wall and 2ft (0.6m) behind it. The gate structure was therefore about 16ft (4.9m) square and may have supported a single tower over the entrance. Nash-Williams noted that, at this gate, the town wall had been built later, and it is possible that the gate was originally built at the same time as the earthworks. The front of the gate was partly dismantled when the gate was blocked, but the inner arch still stands for seven stones above the springers, where it was kept in place by the later blocking. A drain emerges through the gate below the level of the sill.²⁶

The north gate, excavated in 1901–3 and more recently restored by Welsh Historic Monuments, was placed somewhat west of its street, which lay on the west side of the forum, so that the street had to be bent towards it. It was joined at the gate by another street running westwards away from the gate along the back of the rampart. It is difficult to see why this arrangement was necessary, or for that matter why both north and south gates were not placed in opposing positions. However, their staggered placing was probably due to buildings having earlier been constructed across the north end of the street to the east of the forum and the south end of that to the west. Presumably these rights of way had been extinguished before the fortifications were constructed. The plan of the north gate is similar to that of the south, except that there is no forward projection, but only one of 5ft (1.5m) to the rear.



172 South wall, looking west from the south gate (Wacher)

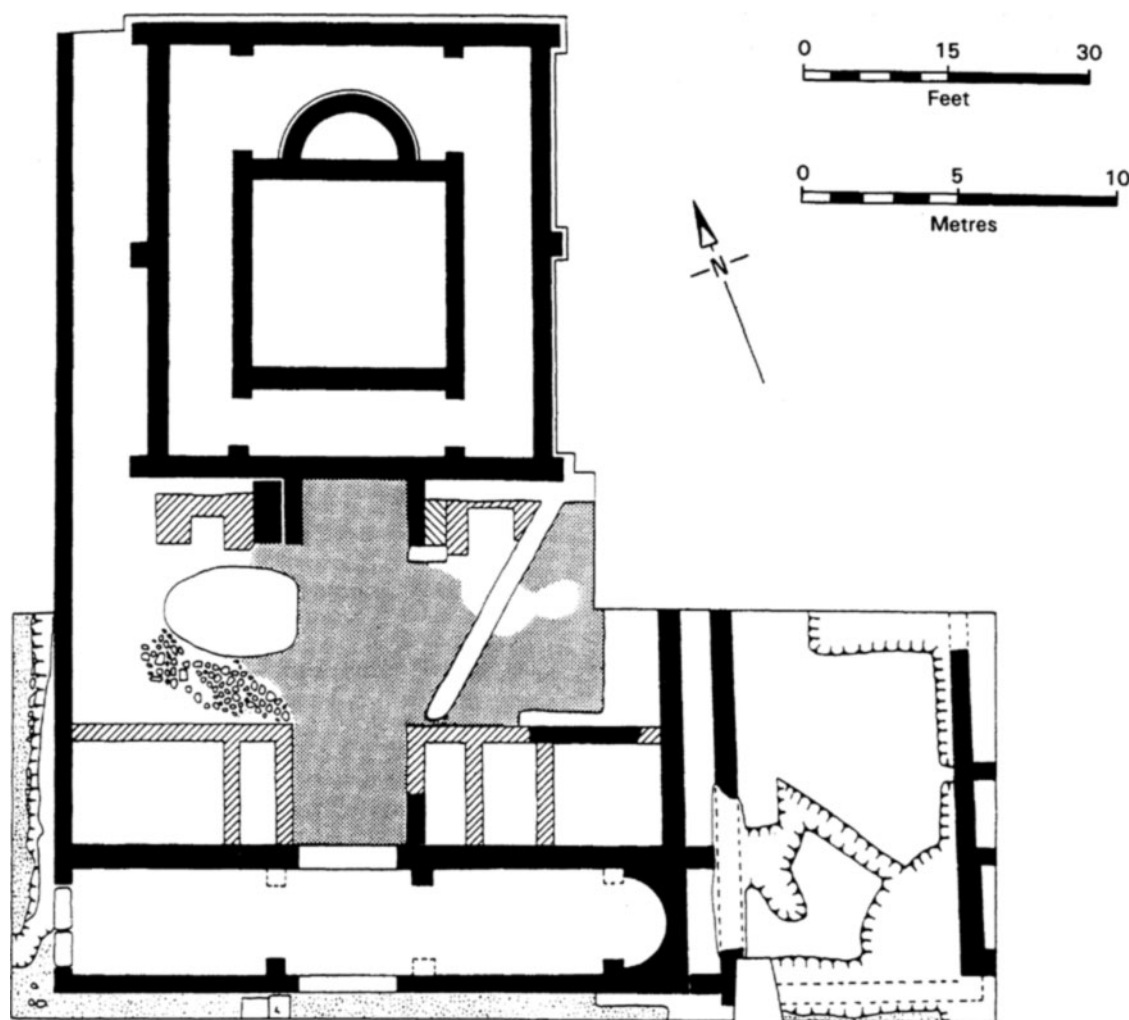
The pivot stones for the double doors are still in position, level with the outer arch, which is better preserved than at the south gate.²⁷

Caerwent is richly endowed with evidence of the religious practices of the inhabitants. On the south-west corner of the insula east of the forum was a Romano-Celtic temple within a trapezoidal enclosure (fig. 173). It was first excavated in 1908²⁸ and left open and subject to increasing deterioration, until taken into guardianship by Welsh Historic Monuments. Recent excavations, before renewed consolidation for display, have revealed much that was unseen by the earlier excavators,²⁹ notably with regard to preceding buildings. The latter included an early-second-century timber-framed house with attached workshop. It was replaced by a succession of yards connected to typical strip buildings, the last of which contained a small hypocaust. The temple itself was not constructed before c. 330, when the neighbouring workshop was also rebuilt. The street west of the temple was then almost blocked, leaving only a comparatively narrow lane between it and the forum. The temple was entered from the south through a doorway leading into a long, narrow entrance-hall or ante-chamber, with an apsidal east end and tessellated floor. Beyond the south hall lay the precinct proper, with the temple placed symmetrically within it. The temple was of normal form, with an apse projecting from its north side across the rear portico. Behind the temple was a house set in its own courtyard, with an entrance portico opening from the street to the west. A series of buildings, east of the temple and fronting the north side of the main east-west street, are best interpreted as shops. The whole complex may have been enclosed with a boundary wall, and it has been suggested that it resembles the *tempelbezirk* of the continent,³⁰ with temple, priest's house and attendant shops. However, the shops seem in part to have been vested in different owners and there may have been no connexion. Finds within the temple included the broken head end of a bronze serpent and a fragmentary bird's head carving of bone, both of

which are normally considered attributes of Celtic deities. Some major alterations were later made to the temple and its associated buildings, but it still seems to have been functioning in the late fourth century.

A statue base and an altar found within the town may provide a clue to the dedication of the temple. The statue base found in House xi s, where it had been incorporated in later building work, was dedicated to the god Mars Lenus, 'otherwise Ocelus Vellaunus' by M. Nonius Romanus on 23 August AD 152.³¹ The altar had been set up in House xxvi s; it was dedicated to Mars Ocelus by an *optio*, Aelius Augustinus.³² Mars Ocelus is probably a variant of Mars Lenus, and was a particularly British, or even Silurian, deity. The only other dedication comes from Carlisle.³³ These inscriptions have led to suggestions that the principal religious site at Caerwent, next to the forum, was dedicated to Mars Ocelus/Lenus, although one of the other temples might equally claim the title. One of the most interesting points about the first inscription is the condition under which the dedication was made, on the occasion of an immunity being granted to the guild. We do not know what guild was intended, but it shows that, within twenty to thirty years of the town's foundation Roman institutions of this kind had been introduced, and that Roman citizens, possibly from other provinces, had settled there. The dedication of the *optio*, a junior non-commissioned officer in the army, shows again not only the connexion between military and civilian, but also a connexion with the Rhineland, where Lenus Mars was particularly revered in the *civitas* Treverorum and where there was a major sanctuary at Trier, on the opposite bank of the River Mosel to the town.³⁴

Another temple had either been excluded from the town when the defences were built, or else constructed later. It lay to the east, and was so close to the wall that there was no space for the outer ditch. A geophysical survey by Welsh Historic Monuments has shown that the outer ditch was seemingly never dug on the east side of



173 Temple and enclosure east of the forum (after Ravenhill and Brewer)

the town. The plan was unusual: the temple was a regular octagon surrounded by a circular wall.³⁵ The overall diameter was 130ft (69.6m) and the north side of the circle contained an entrance 8½ft (2.6m) wide. Subsidiary doors lay to the east and west. The most likely arrangement is the conclusion of Lewis,³⁶ that the portico and cella were both octagonal, with a circular temenos surrounding it. It would then resemble the temples at Pagan's Hill and Chelmsford (p. 212).

Two other finds of religious significance are the

stone carvings depicting a man's(?) head and a seated Mother Goddess. The treatment of both faces is so crude, yet so alike, that we must conclude that both were the product of the same untutored craftsman, working in local sandstone. There might almost be a connexion here with the series of rough plaques and statuettes of the neighbouring Dobunni (p. 320).

Evidence for fourth-century Christianity is provided by a Chi-R scratched on the underside of a pewter bowl from House VII N.³⁷

Attempts have sometimes been made to link the so-called amphitheatre with the temple precinct east of the forum. This building (see fig. 17), roughly elliptical in shape, with the long axis orientated east–west and with diameters of approximately 145ft (44m) by 121ft (37m), is something of an enigma. It was constructed at a late stage in the town's development, for it overlay foundations of earlier buildings and also interrupted the line of a street. But it is not possible to say on present evidence how many of the surrounding houses still stood when it was built. If it was intended for use as an amphitheatre, it is difficult to see where spectators would have sat; however, a short length of outer wall, 25ft (7.6m) away from the inner, is recorded on the south-west part of the circuit, with a short spur wall projecting inwards from its end. Only one entrance has so far been discovered on the east side; it was 8ft 6in (2.6m) wide with a door socket still in place.³⁸ It is worth noting that the main dimensions almost exactly coincide with the arena measurements at Cirencester. If an amphitheatre, it was of slightly unusual form, or perhaps it was even left unfinished; moreover it would have been the only amphitheatre in Britain to have been included within a town's fortifications, probably because they were erected first. Alternatively it may have acted as a livestock market.

Although seven of the twenty insulae in the town have hardly been touched by excavation, the general impression gained from the town plan is that not only are the insulae smaller than in many other towns, but they are also more closely packed with buildings. There are open spaces and it is possible to detect walled gardens, or perhaps orchards, attached to many of the larger houses; these are usually situated in the central parts of insulae. But street frontages are altogether more densely used. Almost the full extent of both frontages of the main east–west street, except where they are taken up by public buildings and one or two private houses, seem to have been owned by shopkeepers, for their narrow-fronted buildings jostle one another for space. Some,

judging by the way in which the shops had been extended to the rear, were more prosperous than their neighbours, but in general there seem to have been fewer instances of corporate enterprises being built by the merging of premises. Greater individuality seems to have survived, as is indicated by the number of narrow alleys separating shops. As already explained in the section on Verulamium (p. 230), these alleys were used for gutters catching the eavesdrip from roofs, which must have extended along each building at right angles to the main street.

Apart from a possible oyster bar in the east wing of the forum, there is little indication of trades carried on in individual shops, but we might expect the normal ones. A selection of carpenters' and masons' tools are not unexpected, while a shoe-last can only have come from a cobbler's shop. A fragment of a bone carding-comb is a reminder that this Venta has been considered as a candidate for the site of the imperial weaving mill mentioned in the *Notitia* (p. 298). The large number of agricultural implements which have been found scattered about the town emphasizes the point already made for Silchester, that not only did outlying farms often depend on towns and villages for essential services, but also that farms might exist within the town's boundary. In this connexion a blacksmith's shop has been identified on the south-west corner of the next insula west of the forum, and Forest of Dean iron was probably readily available.

About seventeen houses in the town can be identified as being probable residences of the curial class, so that Caerwent, despite its small size, does not lag far behind in the number to be found in other, larger towns. Some of the houses are perhaps slightly smaller, but the general standard does not fall far short of the norm. One or two are of the compact, peristyled form, a type already noted at Colchester and Gloucester, but somewhat rarer in civitas capitals. It is possible to detect here a Mediterranean influence, perhaps derived from, or introduced by, traders. M. Nonius Romanus, although probably from around Trier

and not from the Mediterranean, may have been influenced by such considerations. Certainly the houses here have so far produced more mosaics than are known from Wroxeter. Indeed, there is an impression about Caerwent, despite its small size and the obvious presence of native Silurians, that is more Roman than British. This contrasts oddly with the initial hostility of the Silures. Although often compared with Caistor-by-Norwich, the character of the town is totally different. The respective forums are not dissimilar but at Caerwent there were the refinements of good classically based architecture in stone. At Caerwent there is better evidence for a more comprehensive system for the distribution of water, and there are certainly more domestic buildings of a higher quality; Caistor does not exactly equate with poverty, but at Caerwent there can be no doubt that there was money freely available. Is it also total coincidence that Caerwent is so far the only town in Britain to have produced an example of that highly Romanized practice of displaying a *cursus honorum*?

But when compared with the roughly contemporary development of the *civitas* capital of the *Parisi* at Brough-on-Humber there are even greater distinctions. It can be argued (p. 399) that the *Parisi* virtually rejected urbanization; yet they have been considered as reasonably friendly towards Rome. Were the hostile Silures, in contrast, so quickly converted to the agreeable vices of urban life?³⁹ It hardly seems likely and it is probably better to see in the development of Caerwent a distinct 'foreign' (non-Silurian) element.

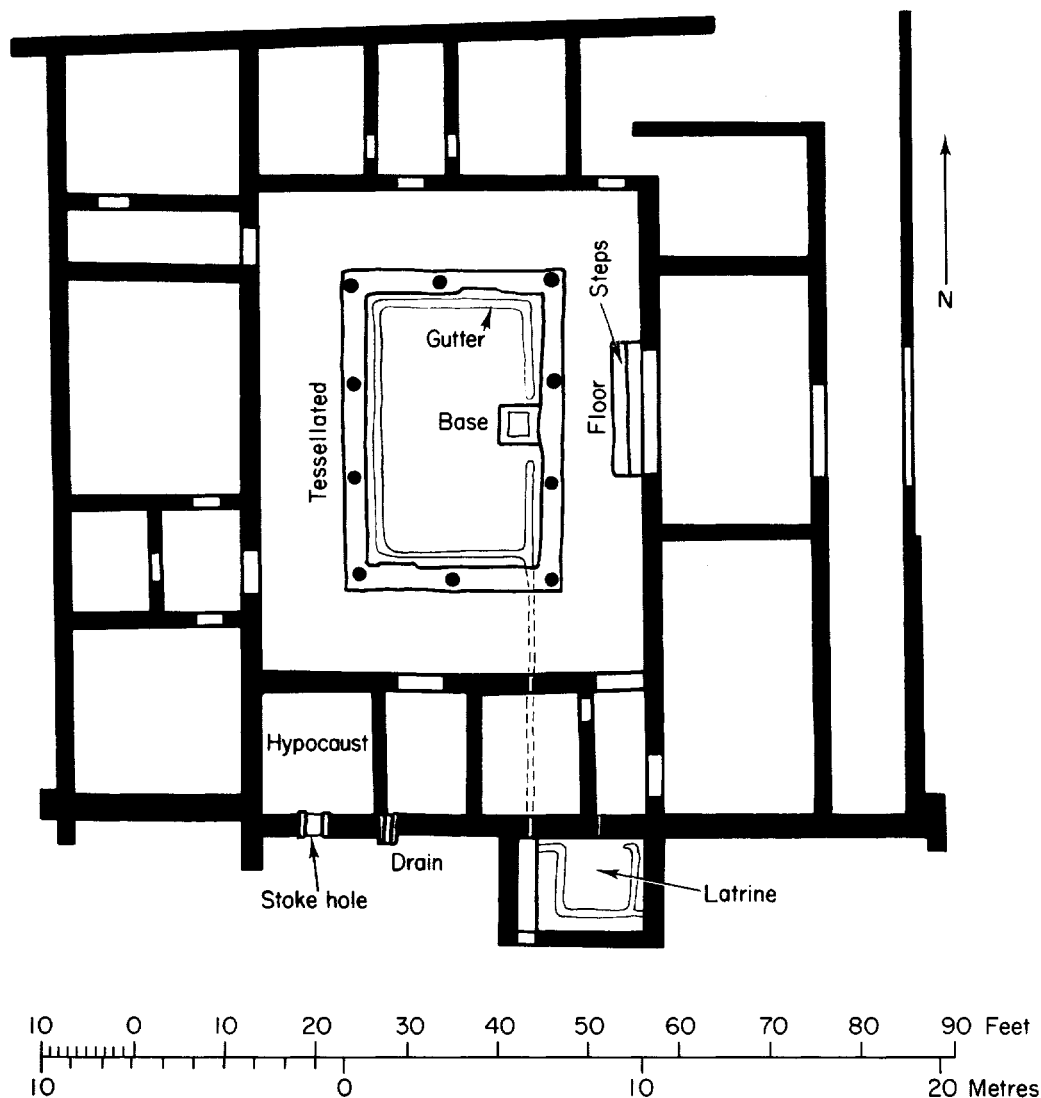
Most typical of these houses is III s (fig. 174). It formed a compact block around a courtyard, with the peristyle supported on columns. The courtyard probably served as a garden and contained a statue-base opposite the main entrance in the east wing, and a drain round all four sides to catch water from the roof. The water collected was used to flush a latrine outside the south wall. A wooden waterpipe had brought a supply of water through the main entrance and sections of lead pipe

indicated its distribution. It is possible that the overflow from the pipe ran into the courtyard drain. The floor of the colonnade was tessellated, but the rooms seem only to have had concrete floors.⁴⁰

Two other houses in the same *insula*, although slightly more spreading, produce the same impression. House II s had a bath-suite attached on the west and a number of mosaics in rooms in the north range. As in the case of III s a water supply was indicated by a section of lead pipe.⁴¹ House VII s was similar and had two fine mosaics in the principal rooms of the south-west corner.⁴² Another, more recently excavated by Brewer in the hitherto unexplored *Insula* I, displays the same characteristics, although in this case it may have been an urban farmhouse.⁴³

The middle of the fourth century saw the strengthening of the defences by the construction of six external towers on the south,⁴⁴ and at least five on the north, walls; it is possible that the east and west gates were rebuilt at the same time with their projecting towers. The towers on the walls were heptagonal in shape, probably similar to those constructed at about the same time at Cirencester. Their spacing, however, was by no means regular, and neither east nor west walls were so equipped. As their foundations in part overlay the inner lip of the inner ditch, steps must have been taken to strengthen them, as at Cirencester, although the published account of their excavation does not make it clear how this was done. The tower at the west end of the south wall had a sally-port in its base. However, the practice in many other towns, of recutting the ditch system, does not seem to have been followed. Caerwent was in some ways fortunate in lying in the shadow of the late fort at Cardiff, which, with its sea patrols, would have helped to fend off raiders from Ireland approaching up the Bristol Channel.

As in other towns in the west, life of a sort lingered on in Caerwent during the fifth century. The basilica was mainly dismantled by the later fourth century and one of the rooms and nave had



174 Plan of House III s (after Ashby and Hudd)

been used for industrial purposes, although it is possible that the aedes remained in being. Certainly activity of some sort or another continued into the late fourth century.⁴⁵ Rough graffiti scratched on the walls of the curia would seem to belong to the period of demolition. However, the forum remained in use for some time longer than the basilica. Both the north and south gates were blocked with rough masonry, although the need

was still felt for adequate drainage, as the drains running through the gates were rebuilt through the new masonry at higher levels, which could imply the continued functioning of the bath-house. A sally-port was provided at the north gate. Later still, long after use of the bath-house had ceased, and the shell of the building had fallen down, another structure was erected partly over the west end of the palaestra, and partly across the

passage to the west and the main street to the north.

Nash-Williams, who excavated the building, considered that it was a part of a Christian church, with flattened apse at the end of a presbytery. He also considered that the plan indicated a lingering survival of Romano-British building methods, but he was inclined to associate the 'church' with the sixth-century settlement founded at Caerwent by the Irish St Tathan.⁴⁶ This is highly improbable and severe doubts have been cast on his interpretation; it has been suggested that foundations of the 'church' are, in fact, those of a post-medieval cottage. Nash-Williams found two bodies lying beside the main street in front of House xxiv s,⁴⁷ on a level with the top of a dismantled boundary wall. He assumed that they had been properly buried, with an orientation to the east, and that they were therefore related to his nearby Christian church.

CARMARTHEN

(Moridunum Demetarum)

The nature of the Roman site at Carmarthen has been under discussion for a long time. It has been identified with the Muridunum of the Antonine Itinerary,⁴⁸ and with Ptolemy's Moridounon,⁴⁹ and Professor Jackson has shown that the correct name, as derived from the Celtic, should be Moridunum.⁵⁰ Although earlier this century the site was more often than not considered to be a fort, Haverfield, acting largely on guesswork, suggested that it might be a town.⁵¹ St Joseph more recently referred to the 'platform' as the likely site of a fort measuring 600ft (182m) by 400ft (122m) approximately, with a probable vicus to the south-west.⁵²

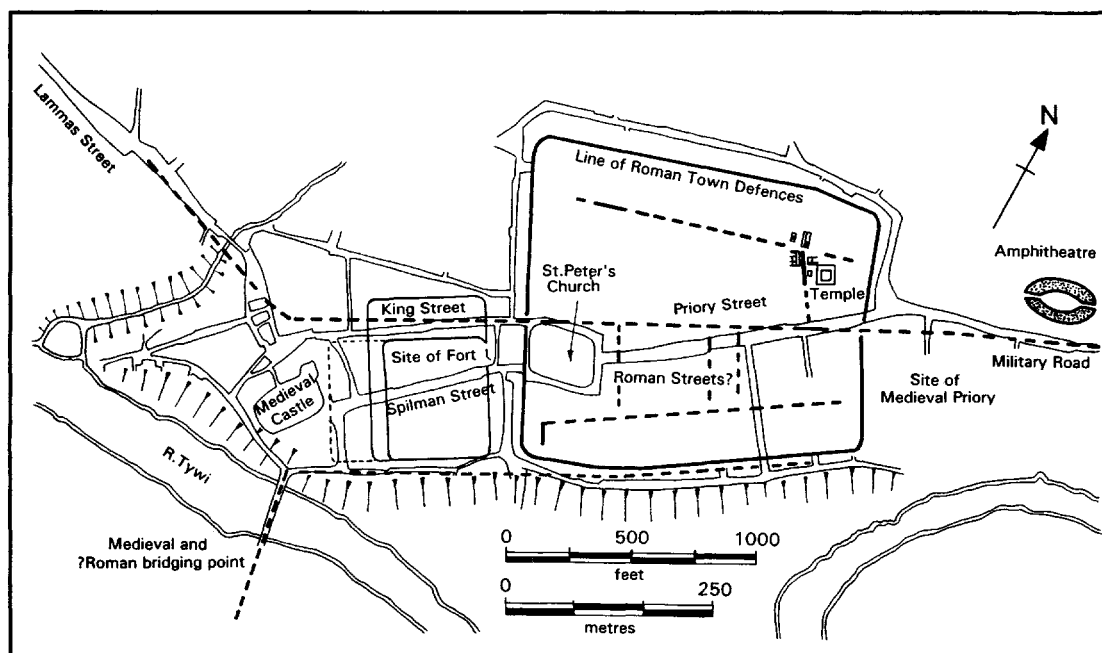
However, a series of investigations begun in 1968 by Barri Jones and continued by J. H. Little showed that the 'platform' site referred to by St Joseph appeared mostly to be occupied by a town then thought to be of some 14 to 15 acres (5.7 to 6.1ha). That being so, it is probably correct to identify it as the civitas capital of the Demetae,

who covered Pembrokeshire and most of Carmarthenshire. This tribe seem never to have been intensively garrisoned by the Roman army,⁵³ except along their eastern border, which may have been more to protect them from their hostile neighbours, the Silures, than to impose a full military regime.

Since 1975 almost continuous excavation has taken place, with the result that not only is much more known about the town, but also the position of the fort has been established.⁵⁴ It lay in the area of King Street and Spilman Street, west of the later town, so as to take advantage of the estuary of the River Tywi at a suitable crossing point; the earliest occupation dates to c. 75. A secondary reason for siting the fort here may have been the hillfort at Merlin's Hill, 3 miles (about 5km) to the east, which, enclosing some 10 acres (4ha), is large for the area and may have acted as some form of tribal centre.⁵⁵ The fort was occupied until the early years of the second century, and certainly no later than c. 120;⁵⁶ during its life a vicus might be expected to have grown beside it. So far, though, only vestigial traces, consisting principally of post-holes, pits and gullies, probably forming a series of fenced enclosures, have been found mainly east of the fort and dating to the same period,⁵⁷ but these could equally have been part of an annexe to the fort.

It was anticipated in the opening of this chapter that the emergence of a self-governing civitas, in an area under military government, would normally take place when that government was withdrawn. The apparent peacefulness of the Demetae, under the army, provides sufficient justification to propose the joint withdrawal of military control both from their territory and from that of their more hostile neighbours, the Silures. It might be claimed that a general remoteness, or backwardness, of the Demetae caused a delay in the grant of self-government. But neither the Silures nor the Dumnonii seem to have been better placed in either respect. Both civitates, therefore, probably returned to civilian government at the same time, when the Roman army's

CARMARTHEN (Moridunum)



175 Plan of Carmarthen (after H. James)

commitments in Wales were drastically reduced in Hadrian's principate. It is difficult to envisage a fort at Carmarthen after this date, and, with only a fortlet left in Demetian territory military government could no longer have continued.⁵⁸

It is now known that the defences of the town enclosed some 32 acres (13ha), almost twice the area originally proposed. The identified streets, which can hardly be earlier than c. 120 – although they could be later – formed a reasonably regular grid, with one exception running roughly parallel to the north-western defences, and obliquely to the remainder. The presence of a worn coin of Marcus Aurelius in its primary levels might imply, though, that it was a later addition to the system.⁵⁹ Owing to the presence of modern buildings, it is unlikely that any of the central insulae, possibly containing a forum, can ever be comprehensively explored. But a bath-house was encountered in 1897 near the Esplanade, below what is now thought to be the line of the south-

eastern fortifications; that being so, it is more likely to have been associated with the fort.⁶⁰ Another large masonry building excavated south-west of the bath-house and just north of the south-eastern defences may be part of a mansio.⁶¹

The only other public building so far known is the amphitheatre (see fig. 16) which lay outside the eastern town and which was first recognized for what it was in 1936; a trial excavation in 1968 showed the arena measured 150ft (45m) by 90ft (27m). It had been constructed by cutting back into the hillside, and using the excavated soil and rock to form the outer seating bank, probably in much the same way as had been done in the first stage of the amphitheatre at Cirencester (p. 307). The overall dimensions were 300ft (91m) by 220ft (67m), which, when associated with a town of this size, poses some problems, as it could have provided accommodation for the population of a town as large as, if not larger, than Cirencester. It must, therefore, have been intended as a gathering

ground for a large part of the tribe. This fact, rather than the uncertain information provided by the town, seems the most cogent reason for considering the site of Carmarthen as the *civitas* capital of the Demetae.

The arena wall and entrance passages of the amphitheatre were constructed of masonry, but the revetments for the terraces on the seating banks had been made of wood. It is not yet known if an all-timber phase preceded the masonry. On the north-west seating bank, the terraces, each about 2½ft (762mm) wide, were retained with planks, which were themselves secured laterally by beams beneath them running down the slope of the bank. The system used is not so very different from the dry-stone terrace walls at Cirencester. The north-east entrance, on the side away from the town, is, so far, the only one to be identified, and it was about 20ft (6.1m) wide. A complicated drainage system of stone-filled soak-aways had been constructed on the north-west bank to carry water from the hillside above into a drain running round the inside of the arena wall. Similar methods are used today on railway and road embankments to prevent soil slip. The slight evidence recovered indicated a construction date in the first half of the second century. If correct, this date might be in closer agreement with the emergence of the *civitas* than that provided by the street layout in the town.⁶²

The defences have been sampled on the north, east and south sides, while their line is indicated on the south-west and north-east parts by a marked change in the modern ground level and subsidence cracks in buildings. The south-east side is to a large extent masked by the present town.

As with most towns, the earliest fortifications were a turf and clay bank, about 19ft (5.8m) wide and surviving in the core of the later rampart to a height of nearly 5ft (1.5m), fronted by two ditches approximately 18ft (5.5m) wide and 9ft (2.7m) deep. Antonine samian in the rampart provides a mid- to late-second-century date for its construction, and it is probable that Carmarthen fits the pattern of other urban earthwork fortifications.

The excavators considered that its erection represented a development contemporary with the laying-out of the street grid.⁶³

At a later date, which has not yet been established precisely, both ditches were filled after thick layers of silt had accumulated in them. In the next development, there is a conflict of evidence between the north-west and the south-west sides of the circuit. On the north-west side it was reported that a masonry wall only about 5ft (1.5m) wide was constructed over the inner ditch,⁶⁴ while on the south-west side, near the south corner, the wall was about 10½ft (3.2m) wide and built over the outer ditch.⁶⁵ An ingenious argument to explain these disparities has been proposed by Terrence James.⁶⁶ Clearly much more work needs to be done on all parts of the circuit, but the present situation is, of course, well matched by Cirencester (p. 310) and some other towns, in the lack of homogeneity to be seen on different parts of apparently the same circuit and phase of fortification.

No gates are known, and it is not yet certain if external towers were ever added to the wall.

There is little by which to gauge the religious life of Carmarthen. A probable Romano-Celtic temple has been identified at the east end of the town, set back from the main road. It dates from the late first century and it is possible that there was an Iron Age predecessor. Curiously, though, it may never have been completed and was, in any case, no longer in existence by the middle of the second century.⁶⁷

Several buildings outside the central area have now been excavated in the town, notably at three main sites in the north-western half and near the southern corner. All tell much the same story.

Some, sampled near the west corner, show an extended sequence of development. The earliest main structures seem to have been narrow shops fronting the north-west side of the street referred to above (p. 392), with larger domestic buildings on the south-east frontage. The latter may, however, have still been connected with trade. In the earliest stage most of the buildings were

constructed with timber frames. Furnaces, and a coppersmith's crucible, suggest metal-working in the shops. On the south-east side of the street, the houses seem to have been rebuilt in masonry in the third or early fourth century. In one, wooden floors had been laid. Later still, in the second half of the fourth century, the whole site was levelled for a much larger house which lay partly behind a colonnade beside the street. One large room contained a hypocaust and it appeared that most of the rooms had tessellated floors, but not apparently any mosaics.⁶⁸

Further east, and north of Priory Street, a number of timber-framed buildings had been constructed in the period up to the mid second century; most seem to have been based on a corridor plan and were probably shops or warehouses incorporating living accommodation. Interestingly, the property boundaries of fences or gullies were maintained over a considerable length of time. In the late second or early third century all the buildings were demolished and for a time the site possibly reverted to cultivation, but soon after a large, half-timbered house was constructed on a corner site which was related to a granary; it survived probably until the end of the fourth century, and the adjacent street surfaces were also maintained until then.⁶⁹

Apart from some evidence for smithing, which includes part of a possible iron beam from the furnace of a bath-house,⁷⁰ other industries are poorly represented. A large, timber-lined and compartmentalized pit, in the area excluded after the reduction of the fort, may have been for tanning; but it dated to the Flavian period and was, therefore, probably military in origin.⁷¹ There are slight indications of locally produced pottery, and somewhere in the area there is likely to be a quern factory, using the locally occurring Old Red Sandstone and conglomerates.

Later occupation is attested by the general coin sequence now extended down to Honorius and by the association of Carmarthen with the usurper emperor, Magnus Maximus (AD 383–8).⁷² No signs of violent destruction have yet been found,

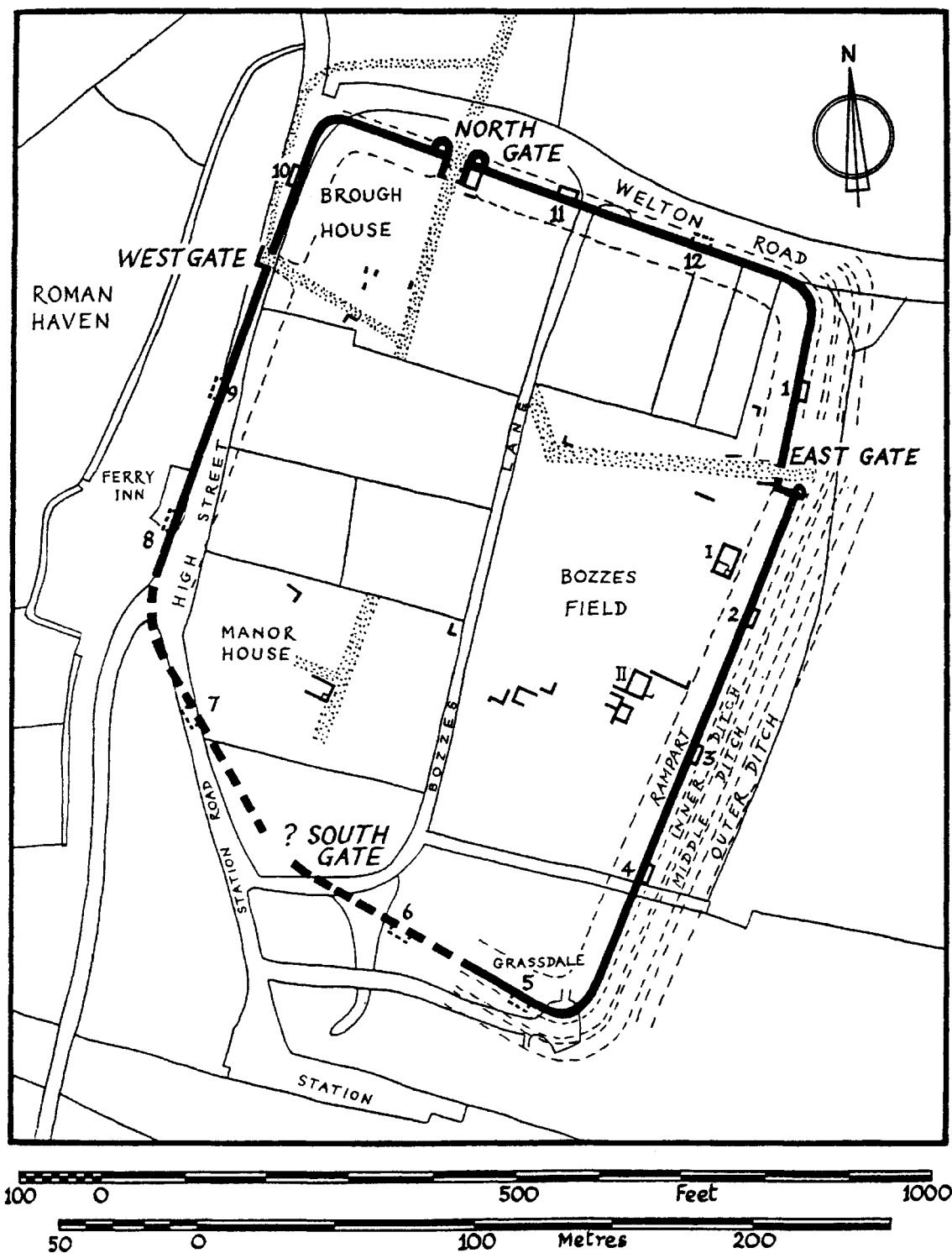
but the final chapter in the town's history must await further work.

BROUGH-ON-HUMBER (*Petuaria Parisorum?*)

Petuaria is the only *πόλις* attributed by Ptolemy to the *civitas* of the Parisi,⁷³ so it is reasonable to suppose that it was the tribal capital, although it does not carry the tribal suffix in his account, in the Ravenna list,⁷⁴ or in the Antonine Itinerary.⁷⁵ The identification of Petuaria with Brough-on-Humber has depended so far almost entirely on the inscription (fig. 177) found in 1937,⁷⁶ which refers to an official of the *vicus Petu[ariensis]*. Since the inscription was found within the irregularly shaped, walled enclosure at Brough, it was natural that this particular site should be called a walled town and the tribal capital of the Parisi.⁷⁷ However, the site has many features which are totally uncharacteristic of a *civitas* capital, and more recent excavations have shown an almost exclusively military chronology and structure for the sequence of defensive circuits. Consequently grave doubts have been cast on the earlier identification and it has become necessary to acknowledge the military or naval nature of the fortified site, hitherto called the town, and to look for the latter elsewhere.⁷⁸ So we now seem to be in a position where we have one of the few inscriptions relating to the status of a British *civitas* capital completely unrelated to any structural remains.

This view of Brough-on-Humber has not proved entirely acceptable⁷⁹ and indeed has attracted open criticism.⁸⁰ It is as well then that the reasons why the walled site cannot be accepted as a normal *civitas* capital should be set out in detail. Starting from the premise that there ought to be such a centre in the area, on the evidence of the theatre inscription we can note:

1. For a site which has so little other evidence of early urban sophistication, masonry (?) domestic or industrial buildings appear at a remarkably early



176 The walled enclosure at Brough-on-Humber



177 Dedicatory inscription of a new proscenium of the theatre by M. Ulpius Ianuarius (*Hull Museums*)

date, even by the standards of the better quality *civitas* capitals, where masonry buildings of this nature do not commonly occur until late in the second, or even early in the third century. Among them can be numbered Buildings AI and AIII, BI (Brough House) and GI (Manor House).⁸¹ Corder also found similar masonry buildings in Bozzes Field which he dated within the same broad Hadrianic-Antonine period.⁸² These buildings were contemporary with a new line of fortification,⁸³ and continued in use in most cases to the end of the second century. If buildings and rampart are to be assigned to civilian occupation, it would mean that Brough was the only *civitas* capital in Britain to be newly defended in the Hadrianic/early-Antonine period.

2. Even in the most primitive, or latest constituted, *civitas* capitals, such as Caistor-by-Norwich (p. 245), Caerwent (p. 388), Carmarthen (p. 392) and Aldborough (p. 405), attempts were made to provide at least a rudimentary system of regularly planned streets. This was not the case at Brough, where the streets are planned in a totally haphazard manner.

3. The second rampart erected around Brough in the late second, or more probably the early third, century is totally unlike any other urban fortification in character, and, as was emphasized some time ago, is typical of military works of the same, or slightly earlier periods.⁸⁴

4. The later defences of masonry do not readily fit the pattern of urban fortifications elsewhere, although it must now be acknowledged that the latter were far less homogeneous than was once thought (p. 75). Nevertheless, a break in the construction programme at Brough followed by a resumption of work, when external towers were introduced into the scheme, even at the gates, cannot be matched at other towns,⁸⁵ especially since the towers at Brough appear to date to the late third, or at the latest, the early fourth century. Apart from the lower town at Lincoln, Brough is the only circuit of urban fortifications in Britain to have added external gate towers. There is here a

far greater resemblance to the military architecture of some Saxon shore forts.

5. Ramm argued that the prolonged metal-working in some buildings in Brough belied a military (or naval) occupation. Yet he then went on to counter this by quoting the example of Malton, occupied in the late fourth century by a unit with Petuarian connexions (p. 399), and admitted, 'that there was metal-working within the fort'.⁸⁶ Military, and probably more so naval, units would have consumed prodigious quantities of metals.

6. The attested presence of a theatre at Brough is invariably taken to imply that there was a town attached to it. Yet rural theatres, especially those connected with native religious sanctuaries, are not uncommon in Gaul, while the British example at Gosbecks, Colchester, should serve as a warning to those who make such an assumption. Indeed, Frere has drawn attention to the extreme Romanity of the theatre at Brough, which he has coupled with the contemporary burial of a thoroughly Celtic priest nearby, observing that there was no inner conflict between the two.⁸⁷ Equally there is no valid reason why a junior magistrate of a *civitas* capital should not have just as readily donated a new *proscenium* to a rural as to an urban theatre. A theatre does not make a town, even if a local urban official made a gift.⁸⁸

7. Generations of Romano-British archaeologists have been bemused by the oft-repeated view that all works of the Roman army were laid out in a regular and tidy manner within enclosures of standard playing-card shape. This was never entirely true of other parts of the Empire and all the evidence shows that the Roman army was infinitely adaptable; yet when irregularly planned enclosures have been encountered in Britain, they are usually written off as freaks. But there is a growing body of evidence that this is simply not so, even in Britain,⁸⁹ and even at the zenith of the imperial army's strength in the second century.⁹⁰

8. Should the fortified enclosure at Brough represent the *civitas* capital, or even just a small

town, it again becomes unique in Britain in having given its name to an army unit in the fourth century, with the strong possibility that this unit actually served at Brough for a time. It is difficult to see why it should have been the only 'town' to be so distinguished (p. 399), although it is known that some units took their names from forts.

However we view Brough, therefore, it would stand out as completely different among civitas capitals, if indeed it was one, and for it to have been one, the eight exceptional factors outlined above need to be reconciled with this latter function. One or two might just be acceptable in this context; eight exceptions seem rather too many!

So much for the views of archaeologists. The site at Brough must now be considered from its beginnings (see fig. 176).

Extensive Iron Age settlement is known in the area of east Yorkshire, extending south to the Humber and including Welton, North Ferriby (Redcliff) and Brough.⁹¹ It is probable that the Brough–Old Winteringham ferry route was used in prehistoric times, as both sites lay on convenient havens off the Humber. Consequently it was the natural approach line from Lincoln of the Roman army when Petillius Cerealis mounted his Brigantian campaign in AD 71–2. It is not known if the Parisi greeted this advance in a friendly manner. It might have been so, if they had been under pressure from their western neighbours; certainly with only four known forts in their territory, if we exclude York, hostility cannot have been either great or prolonged. The forts were situated at Malton, Stamford Bridge, Hayton and Brough and, as it were, bounded Parisian territory; it might be thought that, as with the Demetae (p. 391) and the Silures, they were intended to protect it from Brigantian aggression, Brough was built conjointly with a large stores depot, which must have made use of the excellent access by river. Yet the fort also faced south-east, or towards the most important native settlement, as though some degree of control was still needed,

and that a threat, if threat there was, lay more in that direction than from the west.

The fort at Brough was evacuated in the late 70s, probably in connexion with Agricola's reorganization, but the stores depot was retained. The fort site then lay vacant for over forty years, but it was still demarcated by its rampart and ditches. There seems to have been no question during this time of the civitas being constituted with a civil government, as, not only was the stores depot at Brough maintained, but also the large fort at Malton. It is also possible that the legionary fortress at York included some Parisian land in its territorium.

Early in the Hadrianic period, the long-vacant fort was reoccupied for a brief spell, possibly in connexion with troop movements between the Humber and the Tyne and possibly also in anticipation of the next stage of development, which saw both fort and stores depot removed and a defensive circuit erected on a new and much extended line.⁹² These new fortifications were most likely intended to protect a base for the *classis Britannica*. It is probable that, soon after, much of the civitas was constituted under civilian government with a new capital in the vicinity.

During the earlier military occupation, a slight movement of people seems to have taken place from the nearest Iron Age settlements towards the fort. Admittedly the migration may have been very slight and, indeed, the fort was so close to most as to render it almost unnecessary. The vicus so formed may have embraced North Ferriby and may have just survived the first military evacuation.⁹³ What happened afterwards is, for the time being, largely a matter of guesswork.

The inscription mentioned above clearly states that, by AD 144, the *vicus Petuariensis* possessed junior magistrates of a class that are normally only found in towns of the rank of civitas capital or above. It also implies the existence of a theatre, which, as noted above, could either have been of an urban variety or connected with a rural sanctuary.

Where was the town? The inscription was

found incorporated in the masonry of an early fourth-century building inside the fortified area so that the theatre cannot have been far away.⁹⁴

Several possibilities arise. The *civitas* capital could have shared the same enclosure with the navy. The latter was perhaps only represented by a small detachment; it is not necessary to think in terms of the large, formal forts of the *Classis Britannica* at Dover⁹⁵ or Bologne.⁹⁶ Moreover, there were many precedents for the basing of squadrons, flotillas or even whole fleets in commercial ports or towns.⁹⁷ However, this still does not solve the problem of the missing public buildings, but it might explain why the Hadrianic-Antonine enclosure was planned on a much larger scale than those which followed.

Alternatively, if a larger detachment of the *Classis Britannica* was present, the *civitas* capital may have been situated outside the enclosure, and so have been a true *vicus*. It was originally suggested that it may have lain at North Ferriby, but this will no longer do.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, evidence for 'suburbs' covering an area not much smaller than that enclosed within the fortifications is gradually accumulating. They are known to have extended some distance north on both sides of Cave Road and eastwards along Welton Road to beyond its crossing with Elloughton Road.⁹⁹ It is curious that they should have developed to such a degree when so much space seems to have been available within the defences.

Despite their existence, there was clearly no rush to embrace urbanization at Brough. Within the fortified area only two buildings indicating size or quality have been encountered. The badly robbed corner of one was encountered at Brough House, while another was but poorly recorded during building works at Grassdale; it contained substantial stone walls and produced considerable quantities of painted wall plaster.¹⁰⁰ Its situation close to the southern end of the enclosure and possibly near a gate leading to a quay might suggest a *mansio* – or *praetorium*? But taken as a whole it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Brough, even as a *civitas* capital, was essentially

another failed town like Chelmsford (p. 214).¹⁰¹

Was the finding of the theatre inscription at Brough, therefore, a red herring which has misled archaeologists for nearly six decades and is still misleading some? Was the *vicus Petuariensis* of the inscription, and hence also *Petuaria Parisorum*, different from the *Praetorium* (*Petuaria*) of the Antonine Itinerary? The answer lies in excavations and until they have been undertaken, further speculation is useless.

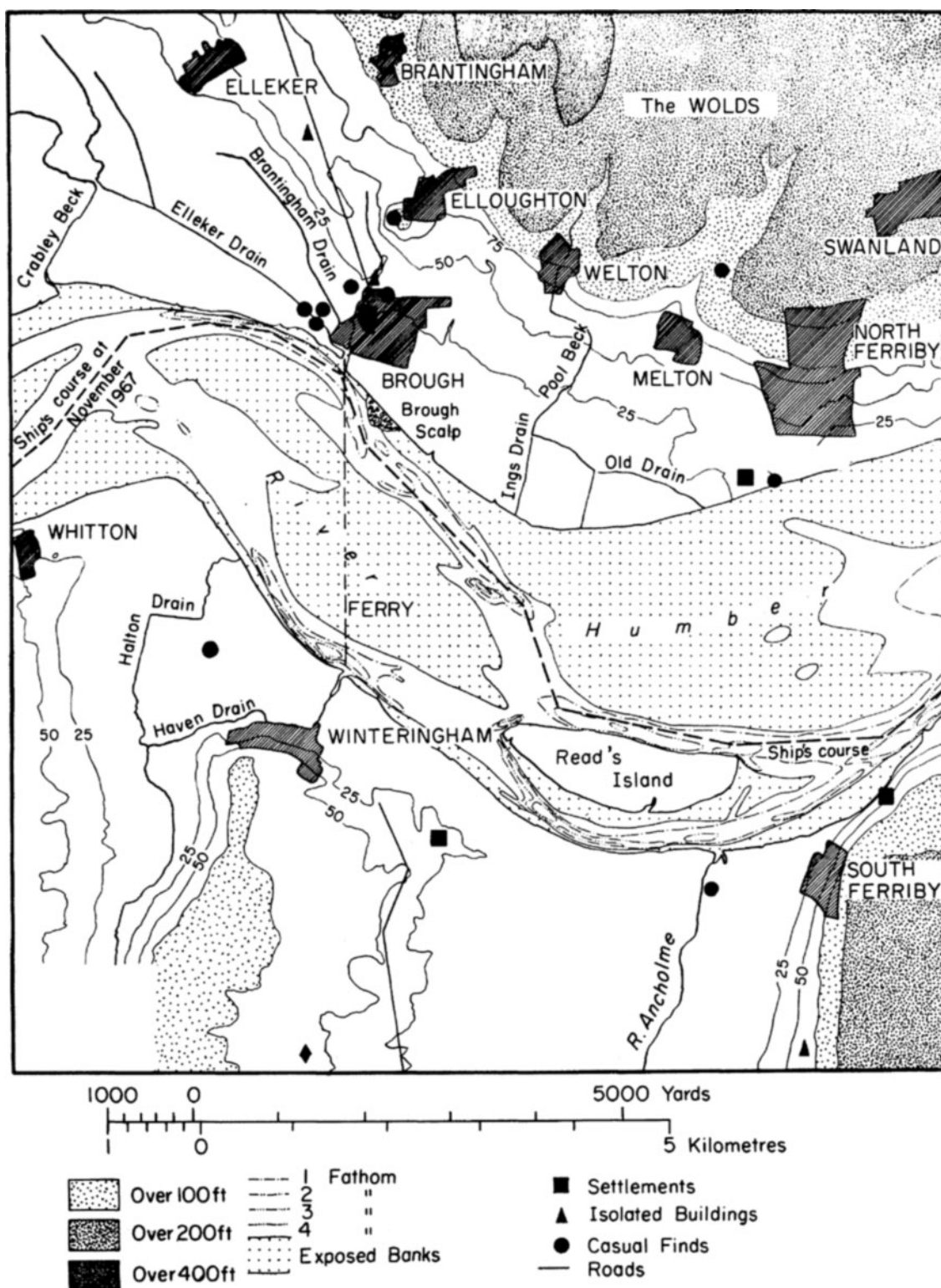
Apart from the theatre attested by the inscription there is little more to be said about this unknown town. The dedicator of the inscription was a Roman citizen, M. Ulpius Ianuarius, whose father or grandfather had been enfranchised under Trajan. He was perhaps not a native Parisian but a retired soldier, and he and his like may have given the town its initial impetus, which later faltered because of the lack of local support.

Smith has claimed that *Petuaria* was the centre for a mosaic artists' workshop,¹⁰² who were responsible for a number of fine, characteristic pavements both north and south of the Humber in the mid fourth century. The patterns used suggest an offshoot from the Corinthian workshop (p. 314).

We cannot say what would have happened to the *civitas*, if its capital town and system of local government collapsed, but there are two possibilities. It might have been attributed to the nearby *colonia* at York, or a prefect or *princeps* appointed to manage its affairs.

In the fourth century a *numerus* was very probably stationed at Brough, from which it took its name: *numerus supervenientium Petuariensium*.¹⁰³ As already observed, this would have rendered *Petuaria* unique among all towns, large and small, in Roman Britain, not only in conferring a name on an army unit, but also in possessing a regular garrison. The unit may have been at Brough for a longer time and, as its name implies, was reinforcing a naval unit.¹⁰⁴

By soon after the middle of the fourth century, the fortifications were no longer being maintained and, indeed, a rising sea level not only breached the south-west corner, but may have caused the



haven to become silted. At about the same time the numerus was moved to Malton, most likely because the naval unit, lacking a safe anchorage, also had to leave. A residue of the inhabitants of the town probably remained, and it was possibly they who, after the abandonment of Brough as a naval base, moved inside what remained of the fortifications and occupied the south-west corner.¹⁰⁵ Certainly a slight occupation there continued to the end of the fourth century, but probably not much later. This part of the country was also one of the first to be subjected to increasing waves of Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it is not surprising that fragments of at least one urn have come from Brough itself, suggesting a cemetery no great distance away.¹⁰⁶ Town or fort, it can be seen that Brough is a most unusual site and would amply repay closer investigation.

ALDBOROUGH
(*Isurium Brigantum*)

The tribe of the Brigantes occupied the largest area in Britain, but before the Roman conquest they were probably only a loosely knit confederation. This may have been the reason why the attitude of different parts towards the Romans varied. To begin with, their paramount ruler, Queen Cartimandua, who was primarily concerned with the southern area, was well disposed towards them but more hostile feelings pervaded other parts.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Cartimandua may have established treaty relations with Rome, even though her kingdom then lay beyond the provincial frontier. Treaty or not, the Romans obviously considered her a useful and valuable ally, who was able at first to preserve moderately peaceful conditions beyond the northern frontier, while the troublesome tribes in Wales were being dealt with. She attached herself more strongly to the Roman cause when she handed over the much-wanted fugitive, Caratacus.¹⁰⁸ To what extent this action aroused hostility in other sections of the tribe we do not know, but it may have exacerbated an increasingly delicate situation. Trouble

grew from then on, and was made worse by Cartimandua's separation from her consort, Venutius. Roman armed intervention was required and in AD 69, she was only rescued with difficulty from her kingdom.¹⁰⁹ At the time the Empire was riven by civil war, the garrison in Britain was dissatisfied and mutinous, and the governor had lost control to such an extent that he had had to flee the province. Thereafter Venutius held undisputed control for the next two or three years in Brigantia, and the kingdom, instead of being a friendly buffer state, became a threatening menace on the northern frontier. As with Wales, the only ultimate solution lay in conquest and control.

The arrival of a new governor, Petillius Cerealis in AD 71 drastically changed the situation. His vigorous campaigning in Brigantia, east of the Pennines, led to the defeat of Venutius.¹¹⁰ With Venutius defeated, Cerealis continued by way of the Stainmore Pass at least as far as Carlisle, subduing resistance as he met it. Despite victory, occupation did not follow immediately, probably because of a shortage of auxiliary regiments, many of which were still in forts along the original frontier zone of the Fosse Way.

The consolidation, which was the natural sequel to the conquest, only came nearly a decade later under the later governors Frontinus and Agricola, when, with considerable flair for strategy and tactics, a rigid network of roads and forts was constructed to control the tribal territory in the same way as Wales had previously been dealt with. On each side of the southern Pennines lay a legionary fortress: York and Chester. The latter was also intended to prevent collaboration between the Brigantes and the tribes of north Wales. From what happened later, we can deduce that those parts of the tribe which occupied the western Pennines, the Lake District and parts of Durham, remained hostile to Rome, while that east of the Pennines, especially in the Vale of York, settled down to a more peaceful existence.¹¹¹ Consequently, the reorganizations of Hadrian saw the relaxing of military control and the evacuation of forts in the eastern *part*, and the

constitution of the *civitas Brigantum*, while a firm grip was maintained on the west. The *part* which came under civil government was, therefore, somewhat less than half the total tribal territory. However, the situation was drastically changed after the Brigantian rebellion of AD 154–5, for then many of the Pennine forts were reoccupied at full strength and some of the civil area of the *civitas* probably returned to military government. This episode has caused a great deal of discussion among archaeologists. It is partly based on a much-disputed passage of Pausanias¹¹² and partly on epigraphic,¹¹³ numismatic¹¹⁴ and archaeological evidence.¹¹⁵ The crucial statement of Pausanias has long caused problems of interpretation; its most important passage refers to the Brigantes being deprived of territory because they had invaded the Genounian *part*, which is inhabited by subjects of the Romans. From this, the simplest inference is that Genounia was itself part of Brigantia and that some of the Brigantes were raiding part of their own lands.¹¹⁶ The only area worthy of invasion in the 150s would have been that which had already been released from military control and constituted as a *civitas* (subjects of the Romans), with a capital at Aldborough. Hind very nearly reached this conclusion, but did not quite do so, allowing himself to be diverted.¹¹⁷

Further trouble was experienced again in the later second century, and it is interesting how the time span between each Brigantian rebellion from c. AD 100, and indeed from AD 69 onwards, represents the rise of a new generation to take the field.

Thus the first *civitas Brigantum* probably embraced little more than the Vale of York, with the main dales leading into the Pennines from the east. The North Yorkshire moors, though, are less easy to categorize; there seems to have been no great military presence at any time. If the *civitas* was attacked from the more turbulent west in the 150s, a wise move would have been to replace the dales' garrisons with re-established forts at Catterick (Swaledale), Bainbridge (Wensleydale) and

Ilkley (Wharfedale) among others. Although the effect might have been to return some of the *civitas* to military control (deprivation of territory), the primary function would have been to protect the vulnerable Vale of York and not to reoccupy it.

It must be apparent that under Cerealis or Agricola there had been a fort at Aldborough, although convincing evidence for its existence has yet to appear. But as a link in the chain of forts on the road north from York, one would have been desirable. Moreover, there is evidence for Flavian occupation, which, if not belonging to the fort itself, may have been part of its attached vicus. But an added complication has now arisen, caused by excavations in early 1993. Two successive Flavian forts have been discovered at Boroughbridge, less than a mile (1.5km) from Aldborough, and immediately south of the present crossing of the River Ure; the second fort may have had its own vicus. Any fort at Aldborough, therefore, ought to be later and probably linked with the establishment of Dere Street and its bridge over the river.¹¹⁸ An iron entrenching tool illustrated by Ecroyd Smith would be best suited to a military context. There seems to have been no native settlement in the vicinity before the fort was established, so that the selection of its vicus as the *civitas* capital must have been mainly for arbitrary reasons, although a concentration there of the most influential natives may have been a deciding factor, as with Dorchester or Cirencester. Other possible factors were the need to keep a distance from York, and the existence nearby of a site of possible religious significance to the tribe.¹¹⁹ It is interesting, moreover, to observe the complete eclipse of Stanwick, Barwick in Elmet, and Almondbury, all centres which had had earlier associations with the Brigantian ruling classes.

The vicus at Aldborough contained substantial buildings before it became the *civitas* capital, as excavations near the site of the supposed east gate have exposed late-first-century masonry structures.¹²⁰ But although sporadic excavations have taken place in the town in more recent years, our

knowledge of the internal buildings, such as it is, has been mainly derived from much earlier sources.¹²¹ Most energy in recent years has been expended on the fortifications, which are now tolerably well understood (fig. 179).

So far the only indication of a major public building has been found north of the church, where walls representing a range of rooms over 270ft (82m) long were found in 1770. It could represent a wing of the forum, or perhaps more probably the offices and other rooms behind the basilica, so placing the latter on the more favoured north side. This would put the forum insula south of the street joining the east and west gates, although it would less usually in this position interrupt the line of the main north-south street.

Although part of a bath-house was found close to the back of the rampart just south of the west gate, there is nothing to show that it was a public baths, even though it was greater in size than the normal suite attached to a private house. It could, however, have belonged to a *mansio*, and the situation not far from a gate would favour this interpretation.

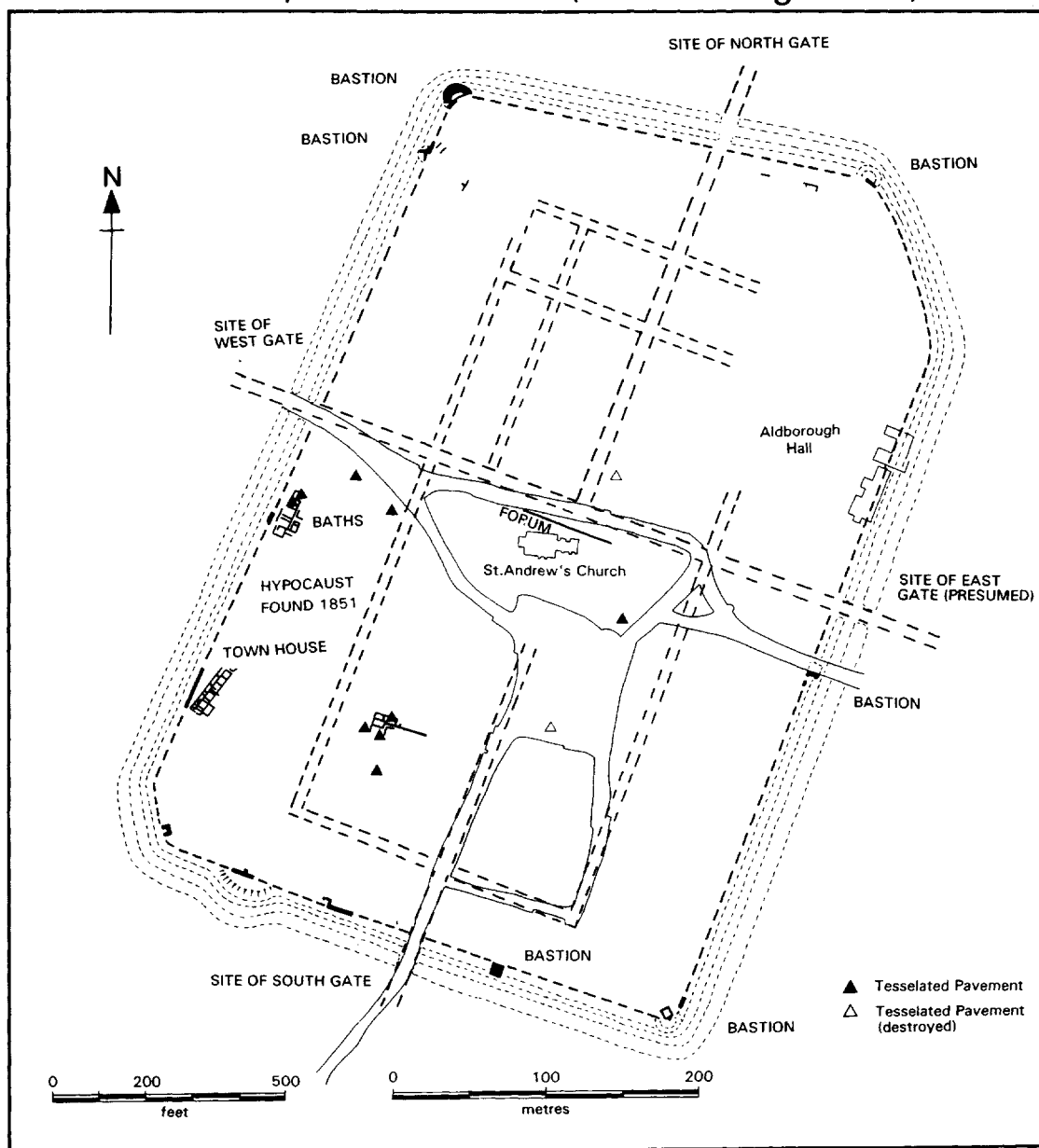
Aldborough's fortifications have, as with a number of other towns, given rise to a conflict of evidence and opinion. The earliest excavations, between 1934 and 1938,¹²² concluded that the wall and rampart were contemporary. But it must be admitted that the published sections of trenches at the north-west corner are not entirely clear and are capable of being differently interpreted, although that cut east of the north gate is less ambiguous. Later excavations caused Dorothy Charlesworth to conclude that the masonry wall had been preceded by a bank and ditch, but again the published sections are not as clear about this distinction as they might be.¹²³ Now Dobinson has returned to the opinion that the two are contemporary.¹²⁴ It hardly needs reiterating that this is a similar state of affairs to a number of foregoing cases (notably Chichester p. 265, Winchester p. 296 and Cirencester p. 310). But whatever the outcome of future investigations, the bank at Aldborough cannot be earlier than the

late second century, which if it is taken with a very worn early-third-century coin from the foundations of the wall, would imply a date towards the mid third century for the defences as a whole if wall and bank are contemporary. The bank exceeded 15ft (4.6m) in width, while the wall has been variously recorded as being between 8 to 10ft (2.4 to 3m) wide. At least one, if not two, ditches fronted the wall. A length of the defences on the south side has been exposed to view. Internal, hollow towers were probably an integral part of this work and two are known on the stretch of wall between the south gate and the south-west corner, with an additional tower there and another at the south-east corner. Surprisingly they were not found at either the north-west or north-east angles.¹²⁵ Three milestones,¹²⁶ one from inside the town, the other two outside, can be dated to the principate of Decius Trajan, AD 249–51. Extensive roadworks around the town might have been the counterpart of masonry defences (p. 308).

Four gates may be presumed, approximately in the centres of each side of the circuit. The north gate has been partly excavated on two occasions with confusing results.¹²⁷ The gap in the wall seems to have been about 30ft (9.1m) wide, implying at least two carriageways, but it is not at present possible to say if there were internal or external projecting towers. But the use of millstone grit in the gate, as already suggested, might indicate an earlier structure or more likely a later rebuild, for it is of this material that the fourth-century external towers were built and not of the more normal red sandstone. The east corner of the south gate was encountered in more recent excavations.¹²⁸ The west gate lies beneath the modern road to Boroughbridge, and the east gate under the grounds of Aldborough Hall. A sillstone from the latter, with socket for the gate pivot, was recorded by Ecroyd Smith.

An interesting structure, found just inside the north gate, was the base of a large stone-lined water tank, measuring internally 8ft 9in (2.7m) by 6ft (1.8m). The sides of the tank, to judge from the

ALDBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE (Isurvium Brigantvm)



179 Plan of Aldborough (after Charlesworth and Dobinson)

width of rebates near the edges of the base, were made of vertical slabs 10in (254mm) thick. An oddity is the apparent lack of provision for an overflow. It seems that other tanks may have been

provided at both the east and west gates, where similar rebated base stones have been found. All were probably intended to act as cisterns for fresh water, but whether they were fed from an

aqueduct or collected water perhaps running off the gate structures, is not known.¹²⁹

Evidence for the houses inside the town has mainly been obtained by chance discovery or by excavations carried out before sufficient attention was paid to structural history. Consequently, it is only possible to make some general comments. Remains of two substantial houses have been uncovered in the south-west quarter, one close to the west defences, the other more centrally placed within the area. The former, according to Ecroyd Smith's plan, obviously represents a house of more than one structural phase. It seems to have consisted in part of a long wing, with what may have been a corridor running down the west side and with the southernmost room terminating in an apse. Another apse was later added to the adjacent room so that it extended across the corridor, which was itself then subdivided. The walls were decorated with painted designs to imitate marble veneers and with simple foliage patterns, and seem to have incorporated some perspectives.

The second building had at least two wings with an internal colonnaded courtyard. It was equipped with hypocausts and the main corridor and principal rooms had fine mosaic floors. It is not possible to say whether another large apsidal room found further south was part of the same building. Most of the mosaics were of geometric and conventional floral patterns, but that in the large apsidal room, although badly damaged when found, appears to have been a figured mosaic of better quality. The surprising feature of this pavement is the inclusion of an inscription in Greek beside the figure of a man who, having risen from a chair, reads from a scroll.¹³⁰ The style is very similar to some pavements from the Mediterranean, where a few lines of text describe either the activities taking place or persons and animals shown in the mosaic. The most likely explanation for such a pavement at Aldborough would seem to lie in slavish copying from a pattern book, or in the inclinations of a retired soldier or merchant. It is all the more interesting, therefore, that the Venus pavement at Rudston should incorporate

Latin inscriptions.¹³¹ Yet another mosaic in the same building at Aldborough contained a central panel, unfortunately damaged, but showed an animal, probably a lion, sitting beneath a tree.¹³² Although in a very different category of workmanship, there is a striking similarity in general design between this pavement and another found near Aldborough Hall, which depicts the mythological suckling of Romulus and Remus by a wolf.¹³³ The execution of the latter, by an obviously unskilled artist, shows a wolf which looks more like a friendly domestic cat. The lack of proportions exhibited is reminiscent of the Venus pavement in the not far distant villa at Rudston.

The standard of the few houses known at Aldborough provides the impression of a well-appointed town with a fair number of comfortable houses. Perhaps as at Wroxeter, similarly situated on the fringe of an unsettled area, the safety of town walls was sought in preference to existence in isolated country villas. Certainly the general impression gained is of a *civitas* capital not so very different from others further south, some of which had an earlier start. Recent aerial photographs have shown a reasonably regular grid system of internal streets, to which most of the buildings seem to conform.

There is little evidence of the commercial and industrial life of the town. A reputed butcher's shop on the main north-south street, found behind the Ship Inn, may represent no more than the normal collection of domestic refuse.¹³⁴ A collection of iron tools, not unlike those used by a farrier, was illustrated by Ecroyd Smith. A fragment of a horn shuttle, illustrated by the same author, shows that weaving was carried on, probably on a domestic scale. Neither must it be forgotten that much of the legendary wealth of the Brigantes lay in cattle and we might expect tanning and bone or horn industries. The fine pieces of enamelled bronze found from time to time in the town might also suggest the manufacture of such goods. Local pottery industries were hardly necessary, as most requirements were supplied by the east Yorkshire potteries; but one

of the so-called 'Red Graves' described by Ecroyd Smith, which were found outside the south-east wall, appears remarkably like a pottery kiln, while the other, although more in the character of a sarcophagus, could have been re-used for some industrial process, as it was found half full of ash.

No temples have yet come to light, but two stone reliefs of Mercury imply a shrine to this deity somewhere in the town. A number of altars, both inscribed and uninscribed, and including one dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Deae Matres, have also been found.¹³⁵ A weathered inscription set in the walls of Kirby Hall church nearby refers dubiously to *Divo Antonino* and might have been part of an imperial dedication.

Fragments of two tombstones tell of Felicula Gaius and of another unnamed person.¹³⁶ A number of burials are known from outside the walls, and reference has already been made above to a possible stone sarcophagus.

At some stage in the town's history a by-pass road seems to have been provided round the north-east corner so that through traffic from York to Catterick could avoid the centre. An extra-mural settlement grew in the vicinity, presumably formed for the most part of the shops of traders anxious not to miss even this opportunity for gaining customers.¹³⁷ The settlement certainly also stretched for at least a mile (1.6km) along Dere Street and dated from the second century. In this respect it resembles the long but intermittent linear suburb running beside the same road south of Catterick.¹³⁸

The most recent investigation concerning Aldborough is an intensive survey of the surrounding land for a distance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles (2km) from the centre of the town, in an attempt to re-create the outlying social and economic pattern. Although as yet in its infancy, interesting distinctions are already beginning to emerge between one place and another, which reflect on the extra-mural settlements and land-use. It would seem cultivation was as common north of the town,

where the main suburbs lay, as to the south,¹³⁹ with much arable in a generally open landscape from the later second century onwards.

Aldborough is among those towns in Britain which had its fortifications reorganized in the second half of the fourth century. Massive, hollow segmental towers were added to the outer face of the wall at the main corners, with rectangular towers at intervals along it. The inner ditch was filled where they were constructed and the outer ditch seems to have been filled entirely, while a new ditch, 40ft (12.2m) wide, was excavated 25ft (7.6m) out from the fronts of the towers.¹⁴⁰ Repairs also seem to have been carried out on the curtain wall in places.

Despite the strength of its new defences and the obvious wealth in the town represented by the large comfortable houses, a decline in its affairs seems to have set in before the end of the fourth century. There is no indication so far of violent destruction to equate with any of the rebellions or invasions known to history which troubled this part of the country. Most of the destruction in Brigantia, though, seems to have been restricted to empty forts, mainly in the Pennines. Occupied sites such as Catterick and Aldborough were apparently safe from interference. Aldborough also seems to have weathered the barbarian conspiracy of AD 367, and the remarkably high proportion of coins dated to the House of Valentinian, when coinage was generally scarce, might indicate that a unit of the field army was quartered here temporarily, simultaneously with another detachment at Catterick. At Aldborough, however, with 55 acres (22.3ha) enclosed within the walls, there was probably sufficient room for billeting troops without large-scale expulsion of the civilians. The sharp decline in the number of coins thereafter is equally noteworthy, with the House of Theodosius poorly represented in the list, suggesting perhaps the removal of the unit under Magnus Maximus.

One curious feature, though, must relate to the last days of the town. The excavations of 1934

revealed a substantial ditch cutting through an earlier foundation and inside, and at right angles to, the eastern wall near the north-east corner.¹⁴¹ It was 10ft (3m) wide and 5ft (1.5m) deep and contained a good deal of fourth-century pottery.

Was this a late attempt to reduce the size of the defended area to proportions manageable by a declining population? Further investigation is necessary, but so far it seems to represent the latest major activity on the site.



TOWN-LIFE OR LIFE IN TOWNS?

What became of Romano-British towns once the link between them and the central government was severed? Documentary sources for this period are scarce and confusing and it is only in the last twenty years or so that archaeological evidence has begun to provide part of the answer. But the interpretation of this evidence is not easy, and so far it has taken place mainly on a piecemeal basis, with only a few attempts at synthesis.¹ It is probably best, therefore, if we start by analysing the problems involved.

To begin with, there is the important question of continuity between Romano-British and English towns. Recent trends among archaeologists have tended to emphasize this aspect without it seemingly being always appreciated what was continuing. It is comparatively easy to demonstrate a continuity of occupation of a town by simply showing that people still lived there. It is much more difficult to produce evidence for social, economic or administrative continuity, or even to be able to show that the population still contained descendants of the earlier inhabitants, when so much of the tangible, cultural material ceased to be used early in the fifth century. It is probably safe to predict that a degree of continuity of occupation existed in almost every former Romano-British town. There may have been relatively short periods when some were nearly or completely

deserted, but even the 'migrated' towns such as Wroxeter, Caistor-by-Norwich and Silchester have retained a village nucleus today, which was probably all that any could boast in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Many of the towns of the Roman period were so sited, that they automatically remained principal centres throughout the Middle Ages and down to modern times. There is probably little to be gained therefore in formally demonstrating that each and every town was occupied continuously from Roman times until the Middle Ages, unless we can specify its nature, for such continuity is in accordance with probability, even if the evidence has no longer survived, or is inaccessible to modern investigators. For this line of enquiry to be of real use, other aspects of Romano-British cultural survival must be taken into consideration, which is a difficult if not almost insuperable task. The evidence is tantalizingly slight. It may be likened to the viewing at random of individual frames in a cinematograph film.

The second main problem is the degree to which general deductions can be made about the chaotic conditions in the fifth and sixth centuries. The historian can most readily define a period when order and discipline reign: chaos presents a much greater challenge. Given our present knowledge it is probably best to treat each town

primarily on its own merits while drawing comparisons and contrasts wherever possible.

Having defined the main problem we can next consider the questions of continuity of a Romano-British culture. It is now possible to trace the existence of civilized life down to at least the middle of the fifth century at Verulamium, Cirencester and Silchester, and each has been described in earlier chapters. There is evidence that the Church was far from idle, as it was threatened by a major heresy in Britain; hence the visits of St Germanus of Auxerre in AD 429 and again in AD 440. It has indeed been suggested that this heresy – Pelagianism – had its greatest strength in towns and helped their survival, after Britain had thrown out the official government.² However, this view has been seriously questioned by Liebeschuetz.³

At about the time of Germanus' first visit, the father of St Patrick was trying to make him accept public office. So we can deduce that the curial classes had survived not only to receive the rescript of Honorius of AD 410, but later also to send a request for help to Aetius in AD 446.⁴ There were people living, who, a generation after Britain had been officially abandoned, could still with confidence send to Rome for aid. Although the tide of chaos was lapping at their feet, something of the old standards of civilized life still survived. A *civitas* was still centred on a town, indeed it became the town, even if it no longer entirely controlled its surrounding area and was ruled by a 'tyrant' instead of by elected magistrates and a council. We might suspect that, for many people, little difference was detectable in the running of affairs from the days when they had been controlled by a virtually self-perpetuating minority.

Evidence has yet to be produced that the towns were still properly functioning in the period of peace and British prosperity which came after the Anglo-Saxons had suffered a major defeat at Mount Badon, towards the end of the fifth century. If some were still occupied by decurions and their like, maintaining the same sort of

standards, then modern excavators are foreshortening by a considerable time-span the dates of dissolution of their houses. The evidence may be there, but, if it is, we cannot yet see it. But there is some reason to believe that by then many towns had already been deserted by the classes which had been foremost in their maintenance.

Indeed, one of the most surprising aspects of this whole period is the almost complete eclipse of what may be called the Romano-British culture, in contrast to other provinces in the western Empire, which, in many ways, preserved far more in the face of similar odds. Its apparent inability to survive in Britain has, in the past, often been used to illustrate the supposed weakness of the culture, even in its prime. It has also been pleaded that it was only a veneer confined to the upper classes, and that this veneer extended to the British people's restricted use of Latin. It was claimed in consequence that once the upper classes had been removed from the scene nothing remained of the old culture to be absorbed by that being newly established. Yet the solid weight of evidence is against such an assumption.

It is highly probable that in the lowland area at least, a common culture had permeated almost all classes in Britain by the fourth century, except perhaps the very lowest class of country peasants. There certainly seems to be no reason why brickmakers should have had a monopoly of literacy among the working class and decurions would hardly have amused themselves by scratching their names or messages on pots. Attention has already been drawn to the implications arising from writers of graffiti swearing in Latin (p. 44).⁵ Recently also Mann has suggested that the Latin of Roman Britain, archaic though it may seem, was by no means a second language learnt at school.⁶ Why therefore did the language and culture disappear from the lowland area, even though Latin loan words were taken into Welsh? Moreover, it was not only Latin which died out; Celtic mostly went with it, to survive only in the north, the western margins, and in some isolated pockets like the Fens.



180 The worn floor of the forum piazza at Cirencester showing surviving fragments of an Old Red Sandstone pavement (*Cirencester Excavation Committee*)

If it failed to survive, for so it would seem, it is probable that the people who maintained the culture had either fled from lowland Britain, or had perished with it, leaving the area depopulated. Many writers have discussed when this came about, but fewer satisfactory attempts have been made to explain how and why it happened, and attention must now be turned to a consideration of the causes.

Throughout history the classic causes of depopulation have been war, famine and pestilence. All may have played their part in the collapse of Roman Britain and the rise of Anglo-Saxon England during the fifth and sixth centuries.

The literary sources of the period make numerous references to fighting, but in the confusion it was probably not always Britons on one side and Saxons, Jutes, Franks or Picts on the other. The wealthy British ruling classes depended a great deal on German *foederati* to beat off raiding parties, and even attacks by rivals. One of the prime causes of the weakening of the ruling classes may have been internecine strife. An account,⁷ dating shortly after the severance of Britain from the Empire, tells in glowing terms the possible effects of this warfare. With the restraining influence of the central government removed, it was left to the ruling classes to fight out among themselves the question who should wield power. As for the effects on population, such conflicts could have removed permanently from the scene a large proportion of the people relied upon to provide leadership and to maintain standards. When we add raids by Saxons and others and, slightly later, a serious rebellion of *foederati*, a considerable drain on the indigenous population might be envisaged. To this might also be added the major schism in the Church, which may have been linked with politics,⁸ so further weakening British resistance to external forces.

Despite our knowledge of intermittent warfare through the fifth and sixth centuries it is surprising that so little tangible evidence has been found to confirm it. Contrary to some still current views, it is now known that few towns suffered violent

destruction; some villas went up in flames with their inhabitants massacred, but the majority slid into slow decay. The opinions canvassed by Collingwood sixty years ago can still hold good.⁹ There is virtually no evidence of battle cemeteries such as were connected with native British sites during the Roman invasion period of AD 43, although some of the early Saxon cemeteries, containing the graves of warriors and apparently dissociated from settlements, may perhaps represent their sites. The total inability of Saxon raiding parties to capture fortified towns,¹⁰ unless aided by ruse or treachery, may also have extended to rival British factions. Towns therefore, if occupied, were safe, and warfare must have largely passed them by unless they were affected by a rebellion from within. Such battles as there were would have taken place in open country, and mainly between small parties of contestants, perhaps no more than a few hundred strong.

If warfare did not greatly affect the towns, other causes following in its train touched them more closely. Serious famines had been known in the Empire before law and order had broken down.¹¹ The situation would have been doubly exacerbated in fifth-century Britain. Not only would cultivation of the land have been made more difficult, but the destruction of standing crops was probably more frequent. Moreover, the towns had been mainly dependent on the villas to supply their agricultural needs. Once the villas themselves were in decay and communications severed, the plight of the towns would have been greatly increased. Hence the understandable desire of townspeople to get what crops they could within the walls as quickly as possible, as is shown by the existence of corn-drying ovens in late contexts inside towns. In such circumstances also, towns which possessed large vacant areas had a distinct advantage over those which were more cramped inside their fortifications. Perhaps this factor helps to account for the apparently longer survival of Verulamium, Cirencester and Silchester. The local Dumnonian famine of the sixth century, relieved by the arrival of an

Alexandrian grain ship (p. 343), was probably but one of many in the period in question. The results can be foreseen. Apart from outright deaths, a progressive weakening will have occurred in the surviving population, making them more susceptible to ever-prevalent diseases. Those who could, possibly migrated to other areas. It should be remembered also that famine would have affected Briton and Saxon alike, but that Saxon stock could be renewed by fresh migrations.

Most of what we might call the 'killer' diseases were probably endemic in the ancient world, and no doubt from time to time reached epidemic proportions.¹² Major epidemics are recorded by contemporary writers, but it is rarely possible to decide on the nature of the diseases from the symptoms which they describe. Scarlet fever, typhus, acute bacillary dysentery, cholera, anthrax, bubonic plague and many others were probably all present, giving rise to serious epidemics from time to time. Outbreaks of bubonic plague, which was undoubtedly the most deadly, are recorded in Libya by both Dioscorides and Posidonius c. 50 BC; the symptoms in this instance are accurately described. Less certainty can be attached to the succession of pestilences which were spread over the last thirty years of the second century; more than one disease, probably including smallpox, may have been involved, but no certain diagnoses can be made.¹³ However, the effects were serious; it reached Gaul and Germany, so we might assume also its presence in Britain.

Other major epidemics are recorded between the third and sixth centuries AD, terminating with the well-attested pandemic of bubonic plague which started c. 540 during Justinian's principate.¹⁴ Most other outbreaks, however, appear to have been severe, but relatively localized, epidemic diseases. The pandemic of Justinian almost certainly reached Britain. It is mentioned by Gregory of Tours and the Irish and British Annals which refer to a *mortalitas magna*.

It is likely that an earlier epidemic also reached Britain. Hydatius, writing in the west, mentions a *pestilentia quae fere in toto orbe diffusa est*, c. 443.¹⁵

Some confirmation is contained in independent references to its presence in Constantinople c. 445–6, while yet another author records it in Italy.¹⁶ Gildas mentions a *pestifera lues* in Britain,¹⁷ but we cannot be certain to which epidemic he is referring. If he was writing not later than c. 540 as proposed by Morris,¹⁸ then the reference is probably to the fifth-century epidemic, a conclusion reached by both Stevens and Myres.¹⁹ Alternatively he may have been alluding to a completely different outbreak. Slightly later, c. 455, there is a mention of an epidemic spreading throughout the Roman provinces, and especially in the provinces of Asia Minor. The symptoms are described as beginning with inflamed eyes, swelling and redness of the skin over the entire body, and ending, usually fatally on the third or fourth day, with severe pulmonary symptoms.²⁰ It has been suggested that it was a severe form of scarlet fever with secondary streptococcal pneumonia.²¹ We do not know whether this was the disease which a decade earlier had probably reached Britain. When such major epidemics occurred, there was most likely a synchronous prevalence of several diseases, which together gave rise to an enhanced mortality. Moreover, the nature of the disease is largely immaterial to our arguments; it is the consequences which are important.

There is no doubt that a malignant infection in its severest form can have far-reaching effects on the course of history, all too often glossed over by many historians. We have only to remember the appalling effects over the whole of Europe of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, and of the Great Plague three centuries later. Pepys' description of the Great Plague in London leaves little to the imagination. We have bodies lying in grass-grown streets (but not many; the burial parties remained efficient up to the end); the deserted houses and closed shops; the empty churches; the flight of organized government and many of the inhabitants to places of safety; the breakdown of civil order; demoralization of survivors; the refusal of country-folk to harbour refugees, and their sometimes violent reception.²² But bubonic

plague has not only been the cause of high mortality. It was typhus as much as the Russians which defeated Napoleon's army in 1812. In the Crimean war, 63,251 men were killed in battle, but 104,494 died of diseases, principally cholera, but also typhus and dysentery.²³

It may seem out of place to quote such sources in an account of the decline of Roman Britain. It is, however, the only way to appreciate the severe effects of major epidemics of even quite common diseases. Neither is there reason to suppose that the poorly documented epidemics of antiquity were any less deadly than their more modern counterparts. In discussing the end of Roman Britain the outbreak of a pestilential epidemic is cited by some writers, but usually with little more appreciation of its serious consequences than if it had been a mild dose of the common cold. Such an epidemic could spell the end of a society which was already disintegrating.²⁴

Human epidemics are essentially affairs of urban communities. Without gross aggregations of population there can be no major epidemics, and without lively commercial intercourse between towns they cannot spread. Towns, therefore, will be the first sufferers, and will be the most severely affected. When we remember the direct trading contacts between Roman Britain and the Mediterranean, it is easy to see that any epidemics there could have arrived on these shores and spread, by the activities of traders, throughout much of the country. These contacts continued during the fifth and sixth centuries. It is highly probable, therefore, that the pestilence of Hydatius would have reached Britain just at a time when the country could not cope. But Todd has argued categorically that this epidemic could not have reached Britain, simply because Hydatius does not specifically mention that it did;²⁵ he then makes the interesting statement that Hydatius was, in any case, ignorant of affairs in Britain, being more familiar with Spain and the western Mediterranean. Certainly, by then, Britain had been shunted into a backwater as far as the Roman Empire was concerned, and was of little interest to

anyone writing at the time, who had far more to think about with the epoch-making events then going on in the Mediterranean region. Consequently the case still stands: if there was an epidemic in the area covered by Hydatius, then, *on the grounds of probability alone*, we must allow for the fact that it might have reached Britain and, as Todd so helpfully points out, would have gone unrecorded.

The epidemic in the Empire during the late second century had severely depopulated many areas in the Danube provinces and northern Italy. So much so that the policy was instituted of allowing peoples from beyond the frontiers to take possession of vacant land within the Empire, chiefly so that it would be cultivated. The equation was simple: no cultivators = no produce = no taxes = no army or administration. This policy was ultimately greatly expanded in the later empire to produce the *laeti* and *gentiles*, and presumably also the *foederati*, about whom we know far more in Britain. It is usually assumed by most writers that the latter were brought into the provinces primarily to defend the towns after the official Roman army had finally departed. But they were given land in return for their services; the implication must be that there was abandoned land already vacant for them to occupy. Have we, therefore, overlooked their possible primary importance as cultivators, as in the above equation, which would put their duties as soldiers very much on a secondary level? Arguing in reverse, vacant land implies a declining population, so that in Britain, even in the first half of the fifth century if not before, when the earliest *foederati* were entering the country, depopulation must already have started to create the vacant land for them to occupy. Once an epidemic was established under these conditions, accompanied by a breakdown in administration and falling standards, it would have been impossible to control. It is against this background that we must view the final disintegration of Roman Britain. We shall see from the following discussion that, of all causes, a severe epidemic of a virulent disease can most easily

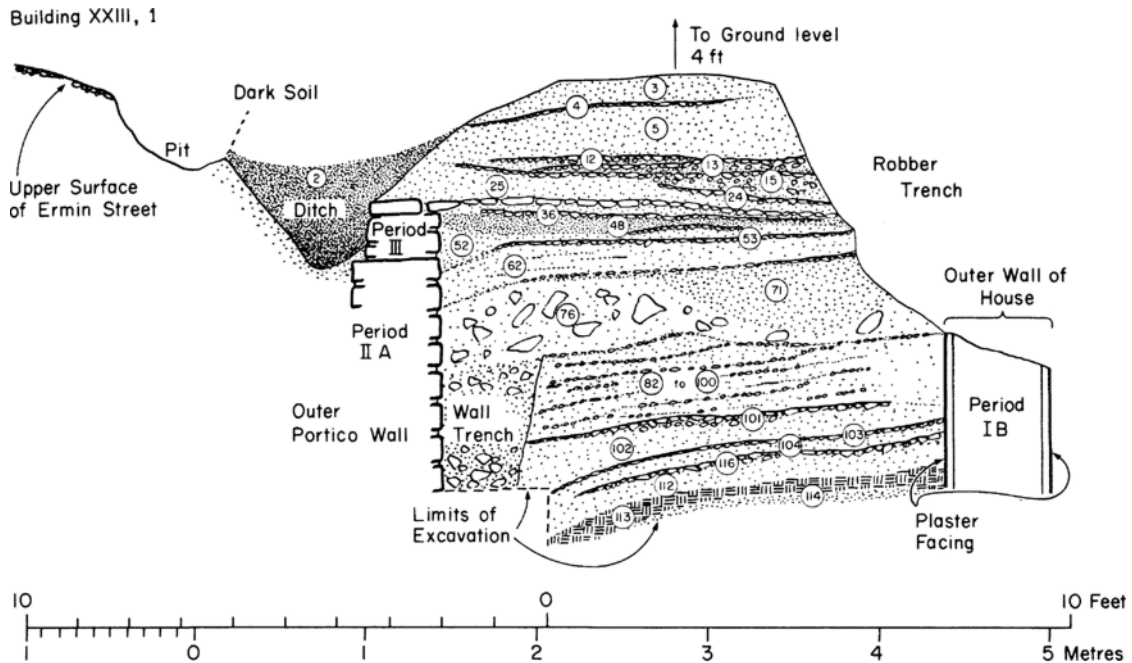
explain certain events which occurred towards the end of Roman Britain.

Among the things that we have to explain are: instances of unburied bodies lying beside streets in some of the towns, the apparent decay and ultimate desertion of many towns for reasons not connected with warfare, sometimes in favour of other nearby, fortifiable sites such as Iron Age hill-forts,²⁶ or even amphitheatres (p. 322), and this despite the fact that walled towns must have been amongst the safest refuges, so long as the walls could be manned; the rebellion of the *foederati*; the reluctance of Germanic peoples to settle in 'captured' towns of the Rhineland even as early as the late fourth century; the description of towns as 'tombs surrounded by nets';²⁷ and, if we exclude the early *foederati*, the same reluctance on the part of the first genuine Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Britain. Nearly forty years ago, Myres drew attention to the striking non-urban pattern of the settlement.²⁸ As he then observed, urban traditions in some other western provinces were often preserved by the Church, whereas in lowland Britain even the Church collapsed, requiring later missionaries from the west and from Rome to re-establish it. The militant saints and bishops who so often came to the aid of ailing communities during the break-up of the Empire, such as St Germanus in Britain in the first half of the fifth century, and St Severinus in Pannonia shortly afterwards, seem not to have been so active in Britain.²⁹ We have also to explain the flight of lowland Britons to Wales, together with the Latin language,³⁰ and possibly even to Brittany, and the migration of tribal peoples within the country. We must also account for the fact that the two main periods of Anglo-Saxon aggression almost immediately followed our suggested two most serious epidemics in Britain, when confusion and desertion would have been at their worst. A Gallic Chronicle³¹ records that in AD 441/2, a date which has to be only slightly revised to fit, Britain passed under control of the Saxons. The second Saxon advance began slowly, *c.* AD 550, and continued to *c.* AD 600, by which time

most of the remaining areas of what is now England had been permanently taken. One association of disease and aggression might have been coincidence, but two seem to be stretching coincidence too far.

As we have already seen, warfare could to some extent explain all these events, but for the marked absence of evidence. Briton and Saxon were not unequally matched and in some ways the Briton had advantages in a straight fight. They had fortified sites unassailable by their enemy; they had cavalry. When organized and properly led they were more than a match for the Saxons, as happened at Mons Badonicus, where the British victory demonstrated their military effectiveness so successfully that it stopped the Saxon advance in its tracks for over fifty years. For the British to be defeated they had to be more of a rabble than the Saxons. The only advantage which seems to lie on the Saxon side was continuous reinforcements of new migrants. Warfare and famine combined could take us further, but the famine would have had to have been both severe and protracted. Only a major epidemic, feared equally by friend and foe,³² would have had the all-embracing effects needed to account for the conditions described above. In such circumstances the one advantage allowed to the Saxons would have been crucial, for there were no reinforcements for the Britons.

If disease was indeed an important element in the run-down of Roman Britain, and if this disease originally reached the shores by ships trading from the Mediterranean, then it is likely to have broken out first in the towns, the centres to, and from, which traders travelled. Not all towns need have been affected simultaneously. Outbreaks may have been erratic in both time and place. But what better reason could we have for Saxons shunning towns if infected corpses were lying unburied in them, and what better description of them could there be than tombs surrounded by nets? Flight from war is possible but, for townspeople sheltering safely behind their protective walls, counterproductive, merely exposing them



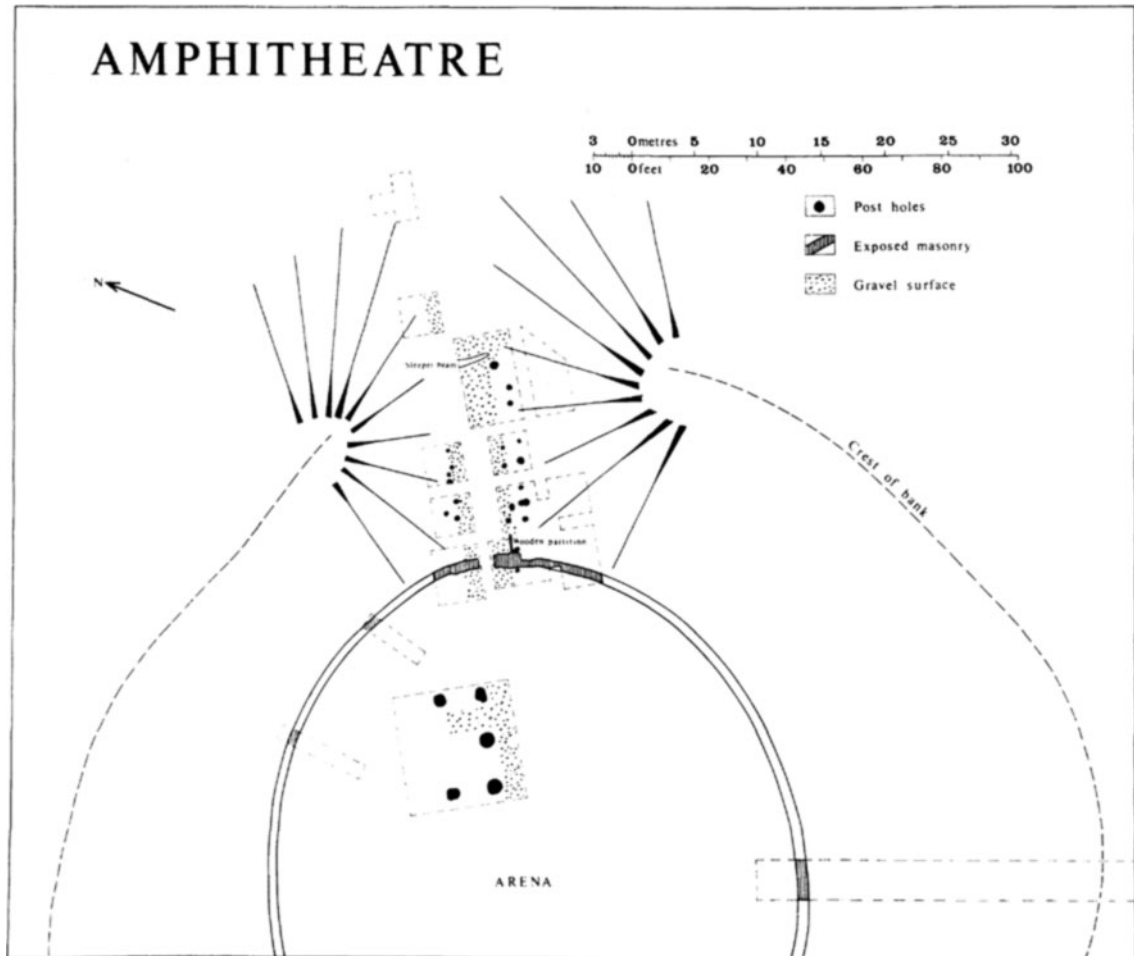
181 A section through the fifth-century ditch beside Ermin Street, Cirencester, cut through the upper levels of superimposed road silts and filled with black earth

to greater danger. Flight from famine, unless it was extremely local, would be equally futile, while its debilitating effects would prevent long-distance travel. Flight from pestilence is altogether another matter and is surely the one readily acceptable reason why people should have left the safety of fortified towns and villages. The flight itself will have helped to spread the disease.³³ Its main effects were probably first felt in the west, in just those areas already burdened with refugees from the growing insecurity in the east, where the greater weight of Anglo-Saxon immigrants had made themselves more immediately felt. It is possible, therefore, that the main Saxon advances came after epidemics had weakened British resistance and had created even more vacant land, into which the Saxons pressed after mopping up small pockets of resistance. The victories recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle might best be seen in this light, if their propaganda value is discounted.

They therefore succeeded to the province almost by default.

It is possible to create a highly simplified model of the process:

1. Foederati were brought in to take over vacant land in the east primarily to cultivate it, secondly to defend their own, as well as the land of their employers.
2. A rebellion of the foederati, perhaps prompted by greed for more land, started a westwards movement of refugees, where they were absorbed, so filling gaps in land vacancies there and rebuilding the western population.
3. An outbreak of a serious epidemic, most likely starting in the west, led to further depopulation. The consequence was disruption of any surviving central administration and the downfall of its leaders, although the latter was compounded by other factors.



182 The amphitheatre at Cirencester in the late fourth and fifth centuries, showing new timber revetments in the arena entrance and a wooden building in the arena

4. The general chaos which ensued encouraged the rebellious foederati or further Saxon immigrants to press south and west in search of more land free for the taking, or at any rate with only minor engagements.

5. This increasing pressure westwards by the Saxons ultimately led to the stiffening of British resolve, followed by reorganization and culminating in the battle of Mons Badonicus, which effectively put a stop to further Saxon advances for a considerable time. The fact that this single battle was able to do so speaks volumes for the lack of Saxon resolve when set against real resistance, and is an argument to show that their

earlier 'conquests' were achieved because there was little or no concerted opposition.

6. The second outbreak of an epidemic towards the middle of the sixth century caused the whole process to start all over again (McNeill's vicious circle), but on this occasion there was no final British success in battle.

What of the towns in this degenerative process? Their desertion and the failure of the way of life they had supported was probably caused by depopulation for one reason or another: flight, famine, disease and the consequent disintegration of an economic system of which they had been the



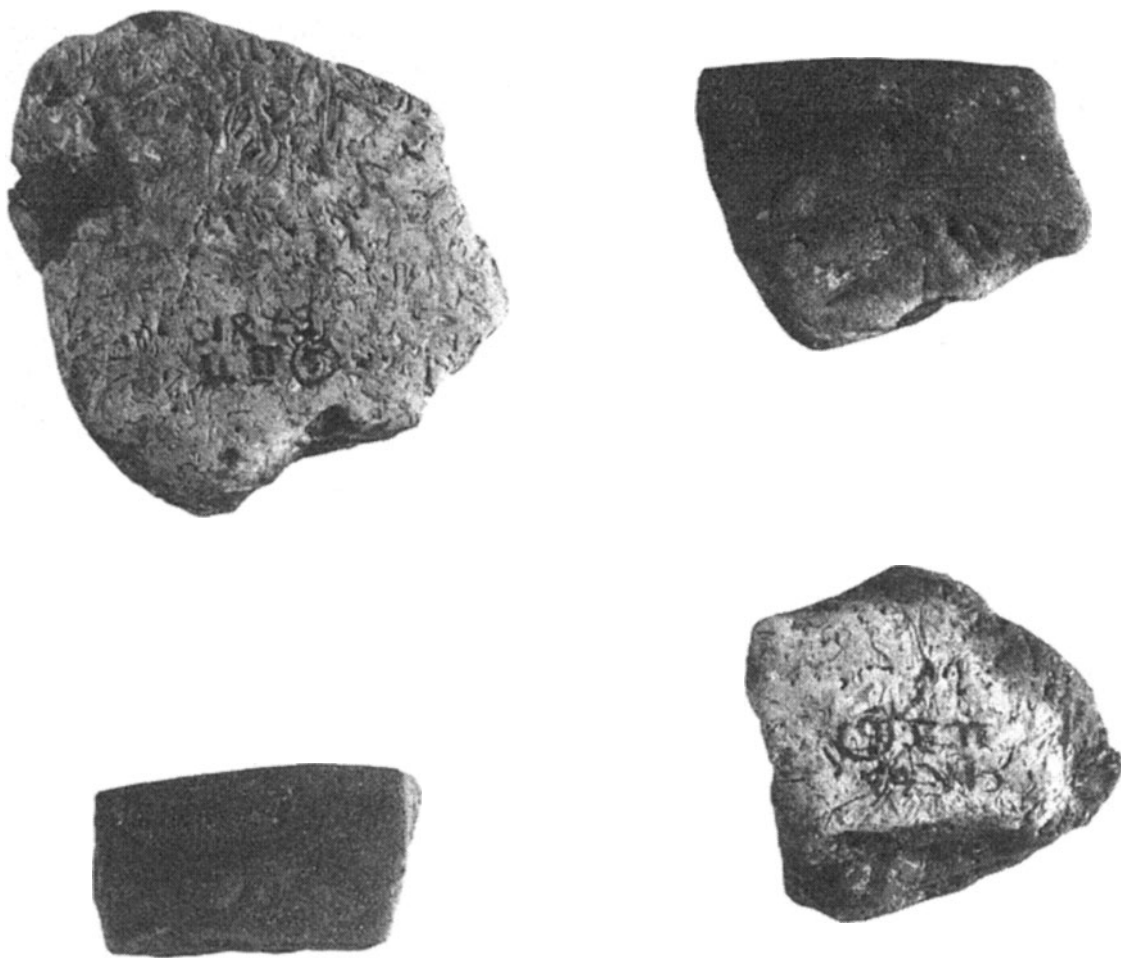
183 A linear 'quarry' (?ditch) which cuts off the Cirencester amphitheatre (on the left of the photo) from the higher ground to the south (*Wacher*)

major prop. There is no serious disagreement that the towns were ultimately almost deserted, but something must have removed the people from their safety; they did not just vanish into thin air. On present evidence there is little to show the survival of their institutions or of a civilized way of life much beyond the middle of the fifth century; this strongly suggests that, if there was an epidemic, it took place then. If civilized life somehow survived in towns after this date, modern archaeologists have entirely failed to produce the evidence for it, presumably because, if it is there, it cannot yet be recognized for what it was.

We can briefly review the evidence. Verulamium provides the most vivid picture with its fifth-century masonry buildings and its working aqueduct, which might extend its period of survival to beyond AD 450 (see fig. 109); as yet, it is one of the few towns in lowland Britain where so late a date can be demonstrated (p. 236). At

Cirencester there is evidence that large crowds were using the forum until after AD 430 (fig. 180), and that enough traffic travelled the streets to turn the surfaces periodically into mud. Continued use was also anticipated as a new ditch was dug beside a main street to contain the mud, but was not needed (fig. 181). The end, when it came, must have been remarkably abrupt and unexpected. Moreover, it was in this ditch that unburied corpses had lain. It would be difficult here to extend the terminal date much beyond AD 450, if as far, for the walled town. But there is the question of the amphitheatre, which, as explained above (p. 322), may have been turned into a defensible refuge for a reduced population (figs 182–4).

Wroxeter, in institutional decline since back in the fourth century, still remained a viable settlement of an unusual nature until at least the early sixth century (p. 377). Well distanced from the



184 Sherds of grass-tempered pottery from the amphitheatre arena at Cirencester (*Cirencester Excavation Committee*)

early Saxons, its problems, if any, probably originated in Ireland (fig. 185). Bodies found in the bath-house and elsewhere were attributed by Wright to fire and slaughter, but are more likely to have arrived there for more mundane reasons. It has been argued that they were part of a post-Roman cemetery,³⁴ and the same has been claimed for those found in the area of the baths at Caerwent,³⁵ where the forum was demolished during the later fourth century. At Exeter (p. 342) the forum remained in use until the late fourth century; thereafter it was also completely demolished and pits were dug in the area. Finally, the

site was converted to a cemetery which included mid-fifth-century burials. Despite the lack of late-Roman coins, some sort of minor occupation seems to have continued in the town.

Silchester seems an obvious candidate for survival, and may, like Verulamium, have escaped the first Saxon onslaught; perhaps resistance was stiff enough to beat them off. The Ogham stone implies not only a later date for collapse but also the presence of Celtic foreigners (p. 289). If, like Verulamium, Silchester retained its functions, perhaps until the sixth century (fig. 186), it was nevertheless a deserted town by the time the

Saxon advance was resumed. No sign of violent destruction has been found at either place.

Winchester, Dorchester and Chichester are difficult cases, as information is still meagre, although there are indications of desertion at Winchester after c. 450. Here there is a general scatter of early Saxon pottery in the Lower Brooks Street area and in one case, as at Canterbury, a building was erected over a street (p. 301). Attention might also be turned to Oram's Arbour, where the Iron Age ditch was cleaned out during the late Roman period. Was there, again, a retreat to a smaller centre more easily defended by a depleted population?

Dorchester has revealed a thriving agricultural community outside the town at Poundbury, where at least one grubenhaus has been excavated. Elsewhere there are late or sub-Roman levels and structures in the area of Charles Street, while equipment of the late Roman army has also been found (p. 335). The same is true for Chichester, where much must depend on the fate of the neighbouring Saxon shore fort; there is also a very early Saxon settlement at Portsmouth (p. 271). At Leicester, fire destroyed the town centre (see fig. 164) but people continued to live, for a time, in the ruins of public buildings (p. 362).

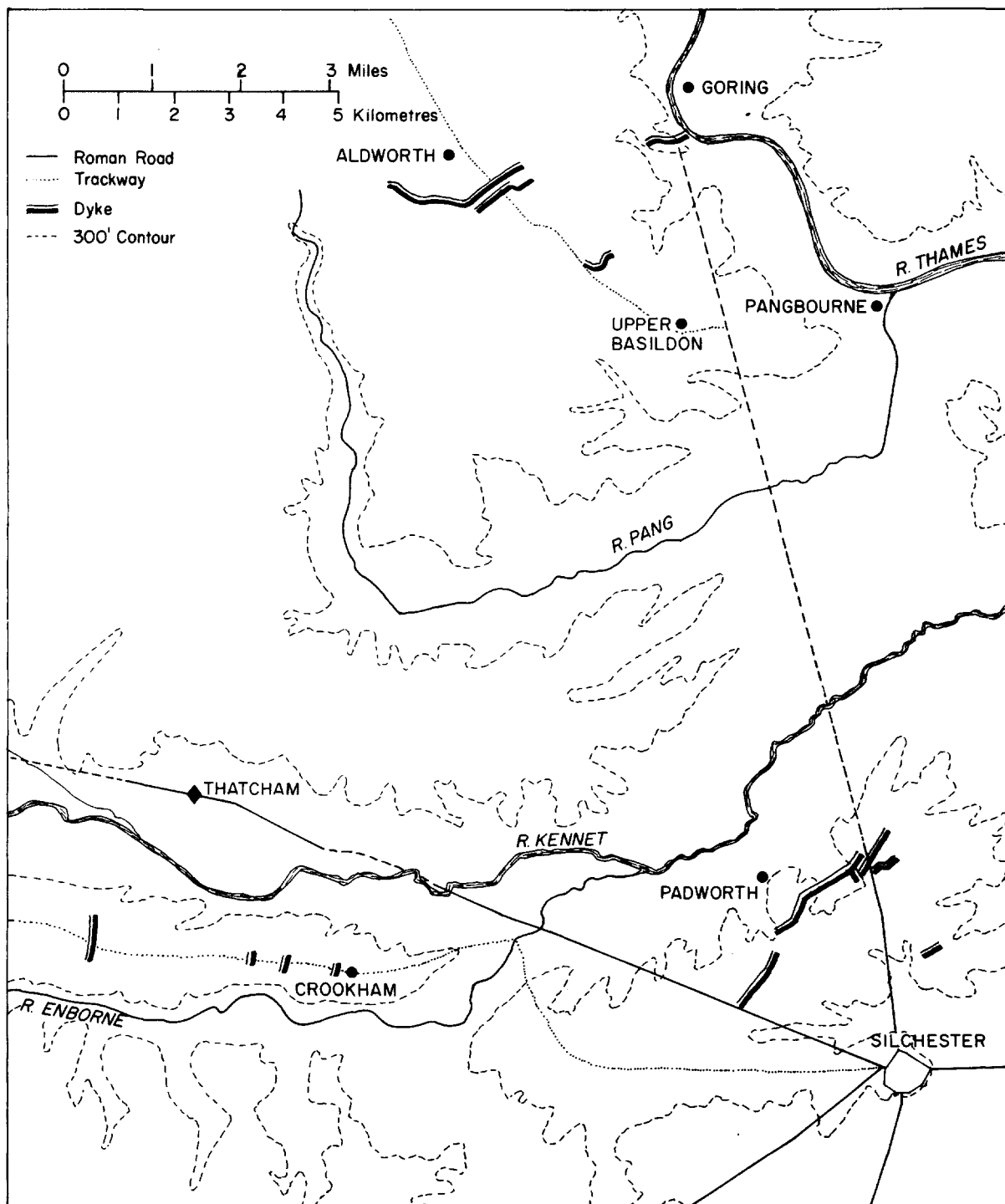
Gloucester, which may have been partly flooded, falls into the same class as Cirencester. Some sort of life lingered on, with contacts with North Africa continuing into the fifth century. Whether the town was affected by the same epidemic as possibly appeared at Cirencester cannot be decided. But again some residue must have survived for the 'town' to have been captured by the Saxons after the battle of Dyrham (p. 164). York may also have been affected by flooding, although perhaps not as disastrously as was once thought. Such occupation as survived in the fifth century seems to have centred more on the fortress than the colonia and there are late-fourth- and early-fifth-century Saxon cremation cemeteries nearby (p. 188). York lay in one of the areas of earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement, and it would be surprising if their presence was not felt



185 Tombstone of Cunorix, son of Maqqos-Colini, from Wroxeter (*English Heritage*)

at an equally early date. Lincoln was similarly near the east coast, but there may have been a difference. As at Exeter, burials were taking place in the forum during the fifth century and they might be associated with an earlier version of St Paul-in-the-Bail which has not yet been recognized. Coupled with a marked absence of early Saxon cemeteries in the immediate neighbourhood, and not a great deal of pagan Saxon material from the town (p. 149), the idea of a militant Church protecting a 'Saxon-free' enclave, as possibly at Verulamium and Silchester, is attractive. There is also the interesting titular survival of an Anglian *praefectus Lindocolina civitatis* in the later seventh century.

London, as already indicated (p. 109), is a difficult site to assess in view of its apparently unorthodox history in the third and fourth centuries. But there is little to suggest anything approaching a vigorous survival in the fifth



century; nor for that matter is there much evidence for an early Saxon presence.

The two other Yorkshire sites, Aldborough and Brough, despite being in the heartland of early Saxon settlement, show little continuity or association. Aldborough may for a short time have been used as a base for a military detachment within a defended enclosure of reduced size (p. 406), but Brough, once the army and navy had departed, sheltered only a residual settlement inside what remained of its defences (p. 401). Carmarthen has yielded little evidence which would not equate with desertion and decay (p. 394), although in west Wales a greater degree of institutional survival might be expected.

Only at Carlisle, a late recruit to the ranks of *civitas* capitals,³⁶ is there an indication of civilized life continuing into the later seventh century, if the still-operating fountain was the result of deliberate attempts at upkeep and not a naturally continuing flow. Presumably by then the population had become partly anglicized. Charles Thomas has suggested that it remained the seat of one of the surviving north British dioceses.³⁷ If he is right, then Carlisle would be one of the few, if not the only, town in Britain where, as in Gaul, urban traditions were kept alive by the Church.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the majority of towns had ceased to function by the middle of the fifth century, if not before. Isolated pockets of inhabitants seem to have survived in a few, but they cannot be taken as providing evidence for the continuity of urban life and institutions. Such towns as remained alive, perhaps with the exception of Carlisle, can hardly have survived beyond the middle of the sixth century, but whether we can then ascribe to them the functions of towns, as defined in Chapter 2, is extremely doubtful.

We must therefore be forced to the conclusion that the towns themselves did not survive as

institutions, and with them perished the culture that they had been foremost in sustaining. Town life had been reduced to life in towns and it cannot be emphasized enough that towns did not continue, and by no stretch of the imagination can they be thought to have done so. Any powers of recovery which they might have had, had also been effectively destroyed. Yet an oral tradition kept alive the names of many, so that they became transmuted into the new language. If many were also resurrected in the late Saxon and medieval periods, it was because their sites, by accident of geography, were as suitable for the economics of these periods as they had once been for Roman Britain.

That most towns in Roman Britain also ultimately became largely deserted and were not violently destroyed is now an accepted fact borne out by many excavations. The cause of the desertion is still disputed, but was probably brought about by the combination of a number of factors among which can be numbered: warfare, famine, rebellion, economic collapse and last, but probably not least, one or more epidemics of communicable diseases, from all of which flight can be envisaged. These led to a serious decline in the population and the consequent abandonment of previous places of obvious safety.³⁸

This chapter has been to a great extent an exercise in *probabilities*. When first written, there seemed little likelihood that conclusive evidence for disease could ever be identified on an archaeological site. Since then both rats and fleas have appeared in the record: bacteria next? Attention should continue to be paid to water-logged deposits with this in mind. Yet it seems wrong to ignore probabilities,³⁹ just because the archaeological record is lacking, when we know that there were great epidemics in the ancient world, and, from more modern sources, what damage they could do.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.E. – *L'Année Épigraphique*
Amer. Hort. Mag. – *American Horticultural Magazine*
Antiqs. Jour. – *Antiquaries Journal*
Arch. Ael. – *Archaeologia Aeliana*
Arch. Camb. – *Archaeologia Cambrensis*
Arch. Cant. – *Archaeologia Cantiana*
Arch. Jour. – *Archaeological Journal*
A.N.R.W. – *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*

Bonner Jahrb. – *Bonner Jahrbücher*
BAR – *British Archaeological Reports*
Bull. Board Celtic Studs. – *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*

Carm. Antiq. Soc. – *Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*
Chron. Min. – *Chronica Minora*
C.I.L. – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
Cirencester Ex. – *Cirencester Excavations*
City of Lincoln Arch. Unit – *City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit*

Cod. Theod. – *Codex Theodosianus*
Colchester Arch. Rep. – *Colchester Archaeological Report*
Cotswold Arch. Trust – *Cotswold Archaeological Trust*
CBA – *Council for British Archaeology*

Durham Arch. Jour. – *Durham Archaeological Journal*

East Anglian Arch. – *East Anglian Archaeology*
E.E. – *Ephemeris Epigraphica*
Eng. Hist. Review – *English Historical Review*
Essex Arch. and Hist. – *Essex Archaeology and History*

G.S.M. – *Geographical Survey and Museum*

Hants. Field Club and Arch. Soc. – *Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*
Herts. Arch. – *Hertfordshire Archaeology*

Indust. Arch. Review – *Industrial Archaeology Review*
I.L.S. – *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
It. Ant. – *Itineraria Antonini Augusti*

Jour. Arch. Science – *Journal of Archaeological Science*
Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn. – *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

Jour. Roman Arch. – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
J. Roman Studs. = *J.R.S.* – *Journal of Roman Studies*
Jour. Royal Inst. of Cornwall – *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*

Leicesters. Mus. Art Gall. Rec. Serv. Arch. Rep. – *Leicestershire Museums and Art Gallery Recreational Services Archaeological Report*

Lond. Archaeologist – *The London Archaeologist*
Lincoln Arch. Studs. – *Lincoln Archaeological Studies*
Lincs. Hist. and Arch. – *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*

Med. Arch. – *Medieval Archaeology*
MPBW Arch. Rep. – *Ministry of Public Building and Works Archaeological Reports*
Monmouth. Antiq. – *Monmouthshire Antiquary*

Norf. Arch. – *Norfolk Archaeology*
Not. Dig. – *Notitia Dignitatum*
Num. Chron. – *Numismatic Chronicle*

Oxford Jour. Arch. – *Oxfordshire Journal of Archaeology*
Oxon. – *Oxoniensia*

Proc. Brit. Acad. – *Proceedings of the British Academy*
Proc. Devon Arch. Soc. – *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*
Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc. – *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*

Proc. Hants. Field Club – *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*
Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. – *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*
Proc. Soc. Ants. – *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*
 R.C.A.H.M. – Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments for Wales
 R.C.H.M. – Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England
 RGS – Royal Geographical Society
R.I.B. – *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
 S.B.A.C. – Science Based Archaeology Committee
S.H.A. – *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
 Soc. Antiqs. Occ. Papers – Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Papers
 Soc. Antiqs. Res. Rep. – Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report
 Surrey Arch. Soc. – Surrey Archaeological Society
Sussex Arch. Coll. – *Sussex Archaeological Collections*
 Swindon Arch. Soc. – Swindon Archaeological Society

Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*
Trans. Bristol & Gloucester Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*
Trans. Lond. & Middx. Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*
Trans. Leics. Arch. and Hist. Soc. – *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*
Trans. St Albans & Herts. Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the St Albans and Hertfordshire Archaeological Society*
Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc. – *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*
 V.C.H. – Victoria County History
Western Arch. Trust Exc. Mon. – *Western Archaeological Trust Excavation Monograph*
Wilts. Arch. Mag. – *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*
Y Cymm. – *Y Cymmrodor*

NOTES

Introduction (pages 15–16)

- 1 Hodder and Hassall 1971, 391; Hodder in (ed.) Clarke 1972, 887; Hutchison 1972, 223.
- 2 For citizenship, see Sherwin-White 1939. A useful summary of the grades of urban settlements and their administration is Reynolds in Braund 1988, 15.
- 3 The definition of a town has always caused problems, even in modern contexts, and in antiquity it has now become largely a matter of semantics (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 1). As recently as 18 August 1993, a letter to *The Times* by Mr Robert Christie claimed that Llanwrtyd Wells was the smallest *town* in Britain, in response to an earlier correspondent who had called it a *village*. For the towns of the Roman period, the present writer was among the first proposers, as early as 1970, of a qualitative, functional approach (Wacher 1975, 36 line 2; the case was argued more fully in Wachter 1978, 62–4). Among more recent attempts at definition, the masterly survey by Collis 1984, 1 stands out, but even there falls back on the evidence of function. Millett 1990, 65, while providing an interesting summary of the growth of towns in Britain from the Iron Age onwards, wisely skirts the main issue, leaving the sites to speak for themselves. There the matter rests. It is doubtful if any further useful advances can be made for the time being, and indeed they would probably be futile.

Chapter 1 (pages 17–32)

- 1 e.g. at Carnuntum, Aquincum, Vetera and Moguntiacum.
- 2 *de Caes.* 20, 27; Mann and Jarrett 1967, 63.
- 3 *Ann.* 14, 3: *eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit.*

- 4 Frere 1983, 26–8.
- 5 Frere 1987, 193.
- 6 Frere 1983, 69–72.
- 7 Rivet 1964, 65.
- 8 But see Bogaers 1967, 233, where he doubts the municipal status of Verulamium. See also p. 219.
- 9 Rivet in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 105.
- 10 Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 165; Todd 1970, 114.
- 11 Burnham and Wachter 1990.
- 12 *Agric.* 21, 1: *Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuuare publice, ut templa, fora, domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat.* It is interesting that bath-houses are not mentioned. *Digest.* 1.18.7 (Ulpian): *Praeses provinciae inspectis aedificiis dominos eorum causa cognita reficere ea compellat et adversus detractantem competenti remedio deformitati auxilium ferat.*
- 13 There are some exceptions, e.g. Catterick.
- 14 Individual cases are cited under the relevant towns. Seminal articles on the subject: Walthew 1978, 333–48; 1981, 15–36; Duncan-Jones 1990, 174–84; Bridger 1984, 85–98. There are also some useful articles in Grew and Hobley 1985. But see the caution on p. 277.
- 15 The old name of Coritani has now been shown to be incorrect in the light of new evidence from a graffito on a tile from Cave's Inn Farm (Tripontium). The correct reading, taken in conjunction with the Ravenna Cosmography, should be Corielta(v)i: Tomlin 1983, 353–5. I am grateful, though, for Professor Frere suggesting that Corieltavi, as the simplest form, is preferable.
- 16 Stevens 1937, 198 and also p. 207 below.
- 17 *J.R.S.* 55 (1965), 224 (with references).
- 18 Leach 1982, 3.

- 19 As attested by the Caerwent (*R.I.B.* 311) and Wroxeter (*R.I.B.* 288) inscriptions.
- 20 Abbot and Johnston 1926, no. 68.
- 21 Mommsen 1888, 138, 716; Jones, A. H. M. 1960, 130; Frere 1987, 193; Rivet 1969, 249; Bogaers 1967, 232.
- 22 Frere 1983, 250.
- 23 *Ann.* 14.31: *Quippe in coloniam Camulodunum pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris 'captivos, servos' appellando.*
- 24 No certain date can be ascribed to the Dover and Lympne roads, but they would most likely have belonged to the early period.
- 25 Of the occasions in Britain when the presence of a praefectus civitatis might be implied, the most likely instance would surely have been among the Iceni in the aftermath of the Boudiccan rebellion; few of the tribal aristocracy can have survived it, so creating, presumably, an acute shortage of candidates for local government posts. Somewhat surprisingly, Millett, 1990, 66, disputes this view but then writes: '... where disloyalty had required the replacement of the tribal élite.' They had certainly been replaced among the Iceni! But curiously Millett attributes this to Drinkwater 1983, 123. Unfortunately, this is not the only instance where Millett has misread this writer's earlier comments. See also the review by Barrett 1979, 236 of native praefecti.
- 26 Birley, E. 1966, 3; Boon 1969, 38.
- 27 Boon 1974, 36–49; Fulford 1985, 43; 1987, 271.
- 28 Biddle 1968, 255; 1970, 279; 1983, 93.
- 29 Three late Atrebatian round houses have been uncovered in the Cattlemarket site, just outside the south-eastern walls: Down 1989, 59–61. For the dykes: Bradley in Cunliffe 1971, 17–36.
- 30 Bidwell 1979; Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 91–119.
- 31 Wachter and McWhirr 1982; McWhirr in (ed.) Webster 1988, 74–90.
- 32 Webster 1991, 26–48; Webster in (ed.) Webster 1988, 120–44.
- 33 Webster 1960, 84; Blank 1971, 9.
- 34 Webster 1960, 79. Military equipment is found scattered almost everywhere in the town area, yet, despite recently a greater volume of excavation, the fort still proves elusive. If anywhere, it probably lies in the south-west quarter and was probably Neronian in date. (Information kindly supplied by Sue Davies.)
- 35 Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 64.
- 36 Clifford 1961. Swan has argued that the main occupation, including the mint, is post-conquest: 1975, 59. But see p. 303.
- 37 The name, taken from his coins, is not known in full. Professor Hawkes' view is only one interpretation; another is considered below (p. 302). See now also Van Arsdell 1994.
- 38 Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 60.
- 39 Clifford 1961, 20. Mrs Clifford gave AD 50–60 as the terminal date for Bagendon, but analogies between the Bagendon pottery and the more recently discovered, more closely dated, groups from Cirencester would suggest that an advance in date of about a decade, if not more, is desirable.
- 40 At a later date Ilchester, the Romano-British derivative of Ham Hill, may have become a centre for one of the parts of the Durotriges, after their division into two. *Vindocladia* (Shapwick) near Badbury never developed to any great extent. See also Richmond 1968, 2.
- 41 Blank 1971, 12; Clay 1988, 38.
- 42 Hebditch and Mellor 1973, 40–1.
- 43 *C.I.L.* 16, 160.
- 44 Frere 1987, 104 n. 20, *contra* Webster 1991, 45 and *pace* Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 70.
- 45 *R.I.B.* 288.
- 46 Nash-Williams in (ed.) Swoboda 1955, 108.
- 47 Hartley in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 56; Brewer in (ed.) Burnham and Davies 1990, 30. The town is not mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography*; he used mainly Flavian sources.
- 48 *R.I.B.* 397 dated AD 103–11.
- 49 Wachter 1969, 23; Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 166.
- 50 *R.I.B.* 707; suggesting *c(ivitas) [P(arisorum)]*. Some doubt has been cast on this reading, and it has been suggested that the letter C is no more than part of the *pelta* decoration. An earlier date of 139 has also been suggested by E. Birley.
- 51 Hartley 1966, 15; Hartley in (ed.) Branigan 1980, 5.
- 52 Jones, G. D. B. 1969, 2; 1970, 4; James, T. A. 1980, 11; James, H. J. in (ed.) Burnham and Davies 1990, 92.
- 53 Burnham and Wachter 1990, 51 and 52.

Chapter 2 (pages 33–81)

- 1 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 32, refers to a theatre, a town-hall, and a statue of Victory, in addition to the temple of Claudius, in the first colonia. That he also refers to the lack of defences is often taken to mean that the provincial administration was careless of the colonists' safety. But it should be remembered that few towns in the Empire were fortified at this time; static defences were not considered necessary and were not in keeping with the 'offensive' military thinking, then in vogue, which relied on attack being the best form of defence. Tacitus is most likely being wise after the event.
- 2 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14. 31: *ad hoc templum divo Claudio constitutum quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur, delectique sacerdotes specie religionis omnis fortunae effundebant.*

- 3 *R.I.B.* 270–1, referring to the *vicus Mercurensium* and probably the *vicus Apollinensium*.
- 4 Frederikson 1965, 183–98.
- 5 *Decuriones* are attested from Gloucester (*R.I.B.* 161), Lincoln (*R.I.B.* 250) and York (*R.I.B.* 674; *Britannia* 18 (1987), 367). Initials of others are known from Gloucester (p. 159).
- 6 But a member who lost his money was not made to resign: *Digest* 50.4.6 (Ulpian); 50.2.8 (Hermogenianus). See also p. 185 for a decurion of York who was only 29 when he died.
- 7 *Lex Ursonensis* 91 (*I.L.S.* 6087).
- 8 Pliny *Epis.*, 4.22.
- 9 *Lex Ursonensis* 105 (*I.L.S.* 6087).
- 10 *Lex Ursonensis* 94 (*I.L.S.* 6087).
- 11 Gonzalez 1986, 147–243.
- 12 *Seviri Augustales* are attested at York and Lincoln: *R.I.B.* 678 referring to M. Verecundius Diogenes of York; Courteault 1921, 102 referring to M. Aurelius Lunaris, *sevir* of both coloniae. Part of another inscription from Lincoln attests a third, whose name is unknown: *Britannia* 10 (1979), 345.
- 13 *R.I.B.* 707. M. Ulpius Ianuarius, aedile of the *vicus Petuariensis*, donated a stage to the local theatre. See also *Lex Ursonensis* 70–1 (*I.L.S.* 6087).
- 14 Richmond 1946a, 51.
- 15 Haverfield 1918, 289; Stevens, unpublished lecture to the Society of Antiquaries. But see also p. 128 below.
- 16 Piganiol 1962. It is in fact a palimpsest of three differently dated surveys.
- 17 Unless the *pagi* were formed initially from internal divisions within Iron Age tribes, in which case a number can be suggested for the Brigantes: Carvetii, Lopocares, Textoverdi, Setantii, Gabrantovices. The Carvetii were probably ultimately promoted to *civitas* status (see p. 37).
- 18 Mann has argued that a *civitas* capital, ranking as a *vicus*, could not be subdivided into intramural *vici* (eds Jarrett and Dobson 1965, 111). Nevertheless, constituent *vici* are known in one *civitas* capital (Metz: *I.L.S.* 4818) and possibly in another (Nantes, *I.L.S.* 7051), and there is little reason to suppose that either of these towns ranked higher than *vici*. (Frere 1961a, 33). See also Bogaers 1967, 232.
- 19 See n. 13 above. Another inscription attesting an *aedilis* in a *civitas* capital comes from Sens (Agendincum): *I.L.S.* 7049.
- 20 *R.I.B.* 311.
- 21 *R.I.B.* 933. The tombstone is now lost.
- 22 *Digest* 50.9.4 (Ulpian).
- 23 Meyers 1964, 115–24.
- 24 *Lex Malacitana* 51 (*I.L.S.* 6089).
- 25 *Graeciae Descriptio* 10.4.1.
- 26 Frere 1987, 250.
- 27 Atkinson 1942, 101.
- 28 Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 110.
- 29 Frere 1987, 296.
- 30 Haverfield 1915, 18; Jackson 1953, 97; Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 19; Schmidt in (eds) Neumann and Untermann 1980, 19–44; Frere 1987, 302; Mann 1971, 218; Adams 1992, 1.
- 31 *J.R.S.* 54 (1964), 182: *ac quis te cinae(de); equa ella; culo*.
- 32 A useful summary of civic aqueducts: Stephens 1985, 197; sewers: Richmond 1963b, 105.
- 33 Wachter 1962a, 12 (fig. 5).
- 34 Walthew 1975, 189.
- 35 Colchester: Crummy 1984, 52 (Building 20); 159 (Building 70); Verulamium: Frere 1983, 246 (Building XXVIII, I).
- 36 Hanson, J. A. 1959.
- 37 Toynbee 1964, 359.
- 38 Wheeler 1964, pl. 190.
- 39 Frere 1987, 253 quoting a capacity of about 2700 seats in the amphitheatre at Silchester. But see the revised figures of Fulford 1989, 163, who gives a total capacity of either 7250 with standing room, or 3640 if all were seated.
- 40 Toynbee 1962, 202 and pl. 227.
- 41 Toynbee 1962, 160 and pl. 88; also Richmond 1946b, 54.
- 42 Chedworth: *R.I.B.* 127; York: R.C.H.M. (1962), 135.
- 43 Such as those overturned during the second-century fire in the forum at Wroxeter: Atkinson, D. 1942, 127.
- 44 There is an amusing account in L. Apuleius *Metamorphoses*, of the intervention by a magistrate, after goods had been bought, whereby the purchaser lost both goods and money.
- 45 Richardson 1944, 81–126. Frere (1983, 8) has correctly pointed out that a *macellum* is a meat- or provision-market, selling meat, fish, fruit and vegetables (Lewis and Short): e.g. Cirencester.
- 46 Wachter 1962a, 8.
- 47 Specialist commodity markets were not unknown in the Empire and presumably mirrored the system whereby shop-keepers or industrialists with a common trade occupied the same street or quarter of a town: Loane 1938.
- 48 *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 113.
- 49 Wachter 1962a, 6, 10, 12. In a number of towns regulations existed governing the demolition of buildings. Failure to observe them was often punished by a penalty equal to the value of the building: *Lex Ursonensis* 75 (*I.L.S.* 6087); *Lex Tarentina* 4 (*I.L.S.* 6086); *Lex Malacitana* 62 (*I.L.S.* 6089); *Lex Imitana* 62 (Gonzalez 1986, 190). It is, however, a complicated matter (Garnsey in (ed.) Finley 1976, 133).

- 50 Frere 1972, 12.
- 51 *R.I.B.* 72. Evidence for shops is common to both major and minor towns.
- 52 Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 76. But see Lepper and Frere 1988, 136 for an alternative interpretation.
- 53 Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 76.
- 54 *R.I.B.* 194, 213, 274.
- 55 *Cod. Theod.* 9,21,6; extracting silver from coinage was punishable by death.
- 56 *R.I.B.* 105, 151.
- 57 *R.I.B.* 132, 149.
- 58 *Britannia* 10 (1979), 350.
- 59 *Ann.* 14, 38.
- 60 *Agric.* 19.4. Reduction of taxes may have been made possible by increased production, which, by Agricola's time, could have been considerable.
- 61 Rivet 1969b, 197. This is a good deal more than the area estimated by some more recent calculations: see Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 69.
- 62 Smith, A. 1775.
- 63 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 198.
- 64 Fulford in (ed.) Miles 1982, 417; Whittaker 1990, 110–16, but to state that 'the foundation and growth of the *civitates* of western Europe was unrelated to their economic function or performance' seems to turn such evidence as we have on its head.
- 65 It should be stressed that the subject of urban fortifications is extremely complicated and the views put forward here are those in current circulation. So many suggestions are only working hypotheses, particularly with regard to dates. The best overall view at present is probably Frere 1987, 239–45, taken in conjunction with the more detailed survey of earthworks, Frere 1984b, 63–74. Also useful is (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983.
- 66 Wachter 1962b, 103; Wachter in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 60–9; Jarrett 1965, 57; Frere 1965, 137.
- 67 A view summarized by Hartley in (eds) Hartley and Wachter 1983, 84–93.
- 68 *Digest* 1.8.9.4 (Ulpian); 50.10.3 (Modestinus).
- 69 Frere 1984b, 69–71.
- 70 Cullen 1970, 227.
- 71 A point made by the present writer a decade ago, which still seems largely to be ignored: Wachter in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 141; see also Wachter in (ed.) Bird 1997. All further accounts of town walls which follow should be read in conjunction with this reference.
- 72 Ammianus Marcellinus 37.8; Corder 1955, 20; but now see Webster and Casey in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 118 and 121 respectively.
- 73 Richmond 1930, fig. 14.
- 74 Baatz in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 137.
- 75 Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 100.

Chapter 3 (pages 82–111)

- 1 *R.I.B.* 12.
- 2 Marsden 1975, 1–102; *Britannia* 22 (1991), 270.
- 3 *Ann.* 14.13. For arguments relating to its possible municipal status immediately after the rebellion, see p. 91.
- 4 Richmond 1946a, 63.
- 5 Frere 1987, 314.
- 6 Fishwick 1961, 165; Richmond 1963b, 187 and Merrifield 1969, 73.
- 7 *R.I.B.* 5. Some doubt has been cast on this reading. The stone is now lost and cannot, therefore, be re-examined.
- 8 *R.I.B.* 21.
- 9 cf. the fourth-century inscription from Ptolemais: Goodchild 1961, 83. I am grateful to Miss Joyce Reynolds for this reference.
- 10 Grimes 1968, 38; but see also Merrifield 1969, 110 for a later date, now seemingly reversed by Perring 1991, 39, on historical rather than archaeological grounds.
- 11 *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2443.2. There are also a number of official stamped tiles from London which may have been made at Brockley Hill: Wright 1985, 193.
- 12 *R.I.B.* 19.
- 13 Mann and Jarrett 1967, 63.
- 14 *ibid.* 62.
- 15 *R.I.B.* 17. A similar tombstone of a scroll-carrying centurion is known from York: R.C.H.M. 1962, 128, no. 95.
- 16 Bishop 1983, 31.
- 17 Mann and Jarrett 1967, 61.
- 18 *C.I.L.* 13, 3162. The inscription refers to T. Sumnius Sollemnus who assisted the governor, Ti. Claudius Paulinus, on the staff of Legio VI Victrix. Strictly therefore this inscription does not help in the identification of the capital of Britannia Inferior, although in practice the governor was probably stationed at York. I am grateful to Professor Frere for this comment. See also Birley, E. 1934, 130–3 for the boundaries of these new provinces.
- 19 References to a *palatium* and *domus Palatina* occur in S.H.A. *Severus* 22.7.
- 20 R.C.H.M. 1962, 55.
- 21 *Not. Dig. occ.* 23. 10.
- 22 *Not. Dig. occ.* 11. 37.
- 23 *Not. Dig. occ.* 11. 20; 12. 15.
- 24 Mann 1961, 316.
- 25 *Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londiniensi provincia superscripta.*
Aldephius episcopus de civitate colonia Londiniensium.
Exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus.
The text is corrupt and *Lindensium* should probably be read for *Londiniensium* in line 4.

- 26 *R.I.B.* 103.
- 27 Birley A. R. 1967, 85.
- 28 Admittedly, though, at least one veteran of Legio VI, G. Julius Calenus, and another of Legio XIV, are known from Lincoln, although this is hardly sufficient to suggest a substantial connexion between these legions and the colonia.
- 29 Mann 1961, 320. But see Dornier 1982, 253 for an alternative suggestion placing it in north-west Wales, with a capital at Chester. For the date of formation see Tomlin 1974, 308.

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- 30 Merrifield 1965, 1969 and 1983 are still useful for reference, with a gazetteer in the first, although some of the interpretations have naturally needed revision. More recent general accounts are Marsden 1980, Milne 1985, Brigham 1990a and 1990b, Perring 1991, Milne 1992. Many of the individual excavations have been published in the *Trans. Lond. Middx. Arch. Soc.* A useful collection of papers on a wide variety of subjects is (eds) Bird, Chapman and Clark 1978. Excavations in and around the Walbrook Valley have so far been covered by Maloney with de Moulins 1990; Perring and Roskams 1991; Wilmott 1991. See also Williams 1993. The Museum of London also issues *Annual Reviews*, while the *London Archaeologist* contains several interim reports.
- 31 Heard, Sheldon and Thompson 1990, 608; (ed.) Hinton 1988.
- 32 But see Kent in (eds) Bird, Chapman and Clark 1987, 53–8, for a possible oppidum of earlier date further upstream.
- 33 *de bello Gallico* 4, 18.
- 34 First collected together by Webster (1960, 34); further and more recent discoveries have been published in the sources quoted in n. 30 above.
- 35 More recently summarized by Perring 1991, 6.
- 36 Dio Cassius 60.20.
- 37 Cunliffe 1968, 234. The depot at Richborough may have been chiefly concerned with the collection and distribution of the *annona*.
- 38 Frere 1983, 39. But see p. 219 below.
- 39 Merrifield 1965, 39.
- 40 Marsden 1987, 17.
- 41 Hammer 1985, 7; Shepherd 1986, 125.
- 42 Henig 1984, 11.
- 43 Perring and Roskams 1991, 3; Wilmott 1991, 175.
- 44 Marsden 1987, 20.
- 45 Dunning 1945, 48. Reproduced in Merrifield 1965, 90 with additions. The most recent detailed version is Marsden 1980, 30.
- 46 *Ann.* 14.33.
- 47 Most other buildings in London at this time were constructed with timber frames and wattle and daub walls, or with cob or unfired clay bricks.
- 48 Marsden 1987, *passim*.
- 49 Marsden 1987, 17–22.
- 50 Frere 1977, 101.
- 51 This is not impossible, although opinion is divided; the normal requirement for such a promotion, though, came from wealth and Roman citizenship: Frere 1987, 76; Wilkes 1981, 414. *Alesia* is not a good comparison to quote in this context (Perring 1991, 26) being something of an anomalous site itself, and possibly connected with a religious centre.
- 52 Marsden 1987, 76; Brigham 1990a, 81; Brigham in Milne 1992.
- 53 Brigham 1990a, 53.
- 54 Cirencester has only one tribunal (p. 306).
- 55 Marsden 1975, 1.
- 56 *Britannia* 22 (1991), 270; Museum of London (DUA) 1989, 20.
- 57 Comparative plans of these palaces are included in Richmond (ed. Salway) 1969, 260–79.
- 58 Grimes 1968, 15–46.
- 59 Frere 1967, 195 but corrected in Frere 1987, 185.
- 60 *Britannia* 19 (1988), 461; 20 (1989), 305.
- 61 Dunning 1945, 48; Roskams and Watson 1981, 62.
- 62 Rüger 1972a, plan 3.
- 63 Will 1962, 79.
- 64 Maloney with de Moulins 1990, *passim*; Perring and Roskams 1991, 112.
- 65 Marsden 1976, 2; Museum of London (DUA) 1989, 11; *Britannia* 21 (1990), 342 (with plan); 22 (1991), 269; Rowsome 1990, 165.
- 66 Marsden 1976, 1.
- 67 Milne 1985, 138.
- 68 Perring and Roskams 1991, 26.
- 69 See also Verulamium (p. 221), Cirencester (p. 308) and Caerwent (p. 388).
- 70 As in both intra- and extra-mural buildings at Colchester (p. 125).
- 71 Perring and Roskams 1991, 3.
- 72 Reviewed most recently by Perring 1991, Chap. 5.
- 73 Burnham and Wachter 1990, 323. See also p. 149.
- 74 A point emphasized by Jones, M. J. in (eds) Schofield and Leech 1987, 89.
- 75 Bentley 1985, 124.
- 76 Maloney in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 100.
- 77 Grimes 1968, 50.
- 78 Marsden 1967b, 153.
- 79 The evidence is reviewed by Maloney in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 101. The cautions made on p. 78 (above) should however be remembered. A circuit as long as London's, once completed, would have required

- constant attention, apart from the length of time for the initial construction; Maloney's suggestion (*ibid.* 104) that the entire work could have been completed between 193 and 197 seems a gross under-statement. Variations in width from 7ft (2.1m) to 9ft (2.7m) have been recorded; consequently all may not be of one homogenous build.
- 80 Merrifield 1969, 119.
 - 81 Grimes 1968, 56; Merrifield 1969, 131; Marsden 1970, 153.
 - 82 Grimes 1968, 63.
 - 83 *Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londiniae*.
 - 84 Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, *passim*; see also Parnell 1985, 1.
 - 85 Parnell 1978, 171; 1981, 69.
 - 86 e.g. Brough-on-Humber, p. 395.
 - 87 Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 69.
 - 88 Toynbee in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 124.
 - 89 Sheldon and Tyers 1983, 361.
 - 90 Milne 1985, *passim*. See Brigham 1990b, 134 for a reassessment of the successive waterfronts.
 - 91 Rhodes 1991, 179.
 - 92 See also Tatton-Brown 1974, *passim*.
 - 93 Meiggs 1960, 330.
 - 94 Boon, Cunliffe, Simmons and Hibbert in (ed.) Thompson, F. H. 1980 24, 37, 56, 103 respectively; Wachter 1969, 81; Waddelove, A. C. and Waddelove, E. 1990, 253.
 - 95 This seems partly due to Milne misreading his own graph (Milne 1985, 85, fig. 50). Correctly read the regression changed to transgression c. 300, which accords well with other observations. This error has been partly made good by Brigham 1990b, 133 and 144.
 - 96 Maloney with de Moulins 1990, *passim*; Wilmott 1991, *passim*. Cirencester must originally have lain astride the course of the River Churn, but this was early canalized to run round the north-east side of the town (Cullen 1970, 227), although it would have been necessary to maintain a drainage channel along the line of the old bed. It is not yet known if the present arm of the River Stour at Canterbury, which now runs through the town centre, was present in the Roman period; it seems unlikely.
 - 97 Merrifield 1965, 306.
 - 98 Marsden 1980, 124.
 - 99 Grimes 1968, 71.
 - 100 Merrifield 1969, 127; Grimes 1968, 77.
 - 101 Brassington 1971, 36.
 - 102 Musty 1969, 128.
 - 103 Walters, Phillips and Greene, K. T. 1973, 66; Anderson, A. S. 1979, 12; Swan 1975, 37.
 - 104 Down and Rule 1971, 77. For lead-glazed pottery in general in Britain see Arthur in (eds) Arthur and Marsh 1978, 293.
 - 105 Wachter in (eds) Bird, Chapman and Clark 1978, 104. See also Roskams in Perring and Roskams 1991, 117.
 - 106 Merrifield 1965, 146; Wilmott 1984, 5.
 - 107 Merrifield 1965, 239 (no. 170) gives N.E.-S.W. as the direction, which he has informed me is incorrect. See now also Wilmott 1991, 52, where it is pointed out that pipes were found at two levels, indicating a replacement; one pipe also had an arrangement for a side junction.
 - 108 *R.I.B.* 2.
 - 109 London Museum Catalogue 1946, 51, but see now Marsh 1979, 129 n. 27.
 - 110 Hassall in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 196.
 - 111 Hassall in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 195.
 - 112 Heathcote 1989, 46 and pers. com. Peter Rowsome.
 - 113 Grimes 1968, chap. 4.
 - 114 Blagg in Hill, Millett and Blagg 1980, 125.
 - 115 Merrifield in *ibid.* 200.
 - 116 Cleary 1987, 166; Williams in (eds) Maxfield and Dobson 1991, 134; see now also Williams 1993, 31.
 - 117 Maloney with de Moulins 1990, 47; Wilmott 1991, 178.
 - 118 Perring 1991, 103.
 - 119 Perring 1991, 111.
 - 120 Brigham 1990a, 77.
 - 121 Marsden 1975, 73.
 - 122 *Britannia* 20 (1989), 305.
 - 123 Heard, Sheldon and Thompson 1990, 608.
 - 124 Beard and Cowan 1988, 375 and forthcoming.
 - 125 MacKenna and Ling 1991, 159.
 - 126 *Britannia* 16 (1985), 317.
 - 127 Sheldon 1975, 278, but modified in Heard, Sheldon and Thompson 1990, 618.
 - 128 Beard and Cowan 1988, 380.
 - 129 Marsden 1967a.
 - 130 de Moulins in Maloney with de Moulins 1990, 85.
 - 131 Marsden 1975, 13, 100.
 - 132 Shepherd 1987, 141.
 - 133 Maloney with de Moulins 1990, 124; Perring and Roskams 1991, 101.
 - 134 Henig 1984, 11.
 - 135 Brown and Sheldon 1974, 222.
 - 136 Marsh and Tyers 1976, 228; 1978, 533.
 - 137 *Britannia* 15 (1984), 344.
 - 138 Hassall in (eds) du Plat Taylor and Cleere 1978, 41.
 - 139 Whytehead 1986, 23; Barber, Bowsher and Whittaker 1990, 1.
 - 140 *Britannia* 20 (1989), 327.
 - 141 *R.C.H.M.* 1928, 33.
 - 142 Parnell 1985, 1.
 - 143 Johnson 1975, 278. Lakin has now suggested that this may have been a temple site (pers. com.).
 - 144 Merrifield 1983, 235.

- 145 Milne 1985, 33.
- 146 Most recently summarized by Marsden in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 99.
- 147 Marsden in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 107.
- 148 *Britannia* 1 (1970), 292. The upper part of the filling was not well sealed, and the related coin hoards probably provide a better indication of the date of disuse in the early fifth century. I am grateful to Peter Rowsome for this comment.
- 149 Perring 1991, 88.
- 150 Gilliam 1961, 225.
- 151 Marsden and West 1992, 133.
- 152 Luff 1982, 136.
- 153 As at Colchester (p. 125) and Verulamium (p. 235) as well as in many other towns in the Empire. See also p. 66.
- 154 Not enough attention is yet being paid to the assessment of wear on roads and pavings. Seriously worn surfaces from the passage of wheeled traffic and feet are often found on most Roman sites. It has taken 200 years and the passage of millions of people to effect any appreciable wear on the 1½ in (3 cm) thick paving stones in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral (I am grateful to Mr Paul Bennett for this information). What then of the Roman counterparts?

Chapter 4 (pages 112–88)

- 1 Richmond 1946a, 57.
- 2 V.C.H. 1963, 1.
- 3 R.C.H.M. 1962, xxxv.

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- 4 Hawkes and Hull 1947.
- 5 Crummy 1980, 6; in (ed.) Webster 1988, 24. For the burials see *Current Archaeology* 132 (Jan. 1993), 492.
- 6 Crummy 1991–2, 1. For the fort at Stanway see Wilson 1977, 185.
- 7 Niblett 1985, 22.
- 8 *de bell. Gall.* 5, 20–1.
- 9 *Ann.* 14, 31.
- 10 Cassius Dio, 60, 22.
- 11 *Ann.* 32, 4.
- 12 A concise account of the development of the colonia from the fortress can be found in Crummy in (ed.) Webster 1988, 24. More details are given in Crummy 1984 and 1992. The mechanics of the operation are specifically dealt with in Crummy in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 78. See now also Crummy in (ed.) Greep 1993, 32–44.
- 13 *Apocolocyntosis* 8.3. See also Fishwick 1991, 137.
- 14 *Ann.* 14.31.
- 15 Chief among these are Wheeler in R.C.H.M. 1922, 21; Hull 1958, 160; Fishwick 1961, 159; 1972a, 164; 1973, 264; Drury 1984, 7; Frere 1987, 313. A complete bibliography for all Colchester temples down to 1980 is given in Crummy in (ed.) Rodwell 1980, 243.
- 16 Hull 1958, 160.
- 17 Frere 1987, 313.
- 18 Fishwick 1972a, 164; 1973, 264.
- 19 Fishwick 1972a, 168; 1973, 264.
- 20 Fishwick 1972b, 46; Grenier 1931–60, 329; Espérandieu 1907–66, 1758.
- 21 Richmond 1946a, 68.
- 22 Dunnett 1968, 139.
- 23 e.g. Pompeii: Mau and Kelsey 1899, 45; Timgad, where a possible fortress was replaced by a colonia, c. 100: Saumagne 1931, 97–116, but disputed by Fentress 1979, 126, largely on the grounds of size. The latter is most closely comparable with Colchester. The Claudian colony at Aequum (Dalmatia) also lacked a basilica, and the curia was situated in the centre of a range set behind a raised platform in the forum piazza: Wilkes 1969, 369.
- 24 Richmond in V.C.H. 1963, 9.
- 25 Dunnett 1967, 27.
- 26 Hull 1958, 80.
- 27 Crummy 1982, 299.
- 28 Lion Walk: Crummy 1984; Culver Street: Crummy 1992.
- 29 Crummy 1984, 42.
- 30 Crummy 1984, 40.
- 31 Hull 1958, 150.
- 32 See Dunnett 1967, 32 for Insula 10 and Crummy 1992, 330 for seeds.
- 33 Haverfield 1905, 1.
- 34 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 195.
- 35 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 27.
- 36 Hull 1958, 63.
- 37 Corder 1956, 23.
- 38 Crummy 1992, 16.
- 39 As summarized by Hull 1958, extended by Dunnett 1971a, 68, and reviewed again in Crummy 1984, 14.
- 40 Crummy 1984, 14; see also Wachter in (ed.) Bird 1995.
- 41 Hull 1958, 26.
- 42 The gate was first properly surveyed by Wheeler in R.C.H.M. 1922, 21: see also Hull 1958, 16.
- 43 Crummy 1984, 121.
- 44 Hull 1958, 36.
- 45 Hull 1958, 32–59: for the Head Gate see Crummy 1992, 396.
- 46 Hull 1958, 60; Crummy 1992, 324.
- 47 Crummy 1990–1, 8.
- 48 Hawkes and Hull 1947, 34.
- 49 Niblett 1985, fig. 3. It is difficult to equate this plan with fig. 3 in Hawkes and Hull.
- 50 Crummy 1984, 26.

- 51 V.C.H. 1963, 11.
- 52 Crummy 1984, 28.
- 53 Richmond 1946a, 63.
- 54 Crummy 1984, 168.
- 55 Smith, D. J. in Dunnett 1967, 41; in Crummy 1992, 106.
- 56 Hull 1958, 31.
- 57 Crummy 1984, 168.
- 58 Wheeler 1922, 7; Hull 1958, 81.
- 59 Crummy 1984 and 1992.
- 60 Crummy 1992, 33.
- 61 Crummy 1992, 78.
- 62 *R.I.B.* 194.
- 63 *Lex Ursonensis* 76 (*I.L.S.* 6087).
- 64 *Ann.* 14.32.
- 65 *I.L.S.* 2740.
- 66 Dunnett 1971b, 27.
- 67 V.C.H. 1963, 22.
- 68 Crummy 1984, 164.
- 69 Niblett 1984, 26.
- 70 Hawkes and Hull 1947, 56.
- 71 V.C.H. 1963, 113.
- 72 Hull 1963, 91.
- 73 Hull 1963, 43.
- 74 *R.I.B.* 194–5.
- 75 Crummy 1984, 123, 126.
- 76 Crummy 1992, 19.
- 77 *R.I.B.* 200–1.
- 78 *R.I.B.* 203.
- 79 *R.I.B.* 202.
- 80 Toynbee 1962, 186 pl. 172.
- 81 By Mrs Corinne Brown (née Pepper): unpublished dissertation for the University of Leicester, 1980, deposited in the university library. See Crummy, N. 1981, 282 on bone-working at Colchester, and also Nicholls 1979, 1.
- 82 Nicholls 1979, 1.
- 83 Crummy, N., Crummy, P. and Crossan 1993, 164.
- 84 Crummy 1984, 18.
- 85 Crummy 1992, 18.
- 86 Drury 1984, 31.
- 87 Hull 1958, 40.
- 88 Crummy 1984, 19.
- 89 Crummy 1981, 5.
- 90 Crummy 1992, 33.
- 91 *Geog.* 2.3.22. But then he also refers to London as a town of the Cantii, Lincoln as a town of the Corieltavi and places York in Brigantia.
- 92 Stevens 1937, 197.
- 93 V.C.H. 1963, 16.
- 94 Reynolds in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 74.
- 95 *C.I.L.* 13, 6679.
- 96 As in Richmond 1946b, 29.
- 97 If the name had been *Flavia Lindensium* it would surely have survived, and equally if founded under Nerva, like Glevum it would have kept its *Nervia*. At *Sala* (Asia), imperial coins were first minted under Domitian when the title *Domitianopolis* was adopted, but later dropped, presumably for the same reason: Head 1911, 656.
- 98 Hartley in (eds) Anderson, A. C. and Anderson, A. S. 1981, 239.
- 99 *R.I.B.* 249 (Leg. XIV Gemina); 252 (Leg. VI Victrix).
- 100 e.g. Collingwood and Myres 1937, 188.
- 101 *Geog.* 2.3.11. Darling and Jones, M. J. 1988, 1.
- 102 Petch 1962, 54.
- 103 Jones, M. J. 1980, 51; Jones, M. J. in (ed.) Webster 1988, 160.
- 104 Contemporary descriptions of the gates are conveniently collected in Richmond 1946b, 29. The plans should, however, be ignored as they do not include the most up-to-date discoveries and are therefore erroneous.
- 105 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 130.
- 106 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 185.
- 107 Richmond 1946b, 32: but in Collingwood and Richmond 1969, 101, it had become a double carriageway.
- 108 Whitwell 1992, xxii.
- 109 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 200.
- 110 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 194.
- 111 Jones, M. J. 1980, 53.
- 112 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 201.
- 113 Richmond 1946b, 31. An internal diameter of only 9ft (2.7m) is small by the standards of other towns, and only at Chichester are they as small. There, however, the bastions were of a peculiar horseshoe shape. Whitwell 1970, 28 quotes 'nine feet in diameter', which would be impossibly small.
- 114 Corder 1956, 20.
- 115 Thompson and Whitwell 1973, 203.
- 116 Jones, M. J. in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 86; in (ed.) Webster 1988, 145.
- 117 Penrose 1899, 371.
- 118 Jones, M. J. and Gilmour 1980, 61. For the well see also *Britannia* 16 (1985), 284.
- 119 Summarized in detail by Richmond 1946b, 38.
- 120 Thompson 1955, 106.
- 121 The aqueduct at Fréjus branched before reaching the town, one half going to the port.
- 122 Hope 1897, 232.
- 123 I am grateful to Mr A. G. Corbett, Dept. of Engineering, University of Leicester, for providing these figures and discussing the problems.
- 124 Haberey 1971, 29; Grewe in (ed.) Garbrecht 1988, 84.
- 125 Compare Nîmes 31 miles (50km); Fréjus 25 miles (40km); Lyons (from Mt. Pilate) 46½ miles (75km); Metz

- 13½ miles (22km); Cologne 48 miles (77km). The late Sir Ian Richmond, in discussion shortly before his death in 1965, considered this to be the most reasonable solution to the problem. He also said that he had seen an RAF classified aerial photograph which showed some suggestive cropmarks running north from Roaring Meg. Unfortunately the writer has been unable to trace it.
- 126 As before, the writer is most grateful to Mr A. G. Corbett for arranging these tests.
- 127 Lewis (1984, 67) admitted that this proposal is the preferable solution; deeper inverted syphons are known at Lyons (now most conveniently summarized in Burdy in (ed.) Garbrecht 1988, 190). But he dismissed it, as did Smith, N. A. F. (in Hodge 1991, 125; also in a letter (1992) which M. J. Jones kindly allowed me to see) on archaeological grounds, mainly because no sign of the pipe was seen in the construction of the Lincoln bypass, which cuts the line proposed here (*Britannia* 17 (1986) 389). But it may be that the expectation was to find the pipe in its jacket; there are several reasons why it need not have survived. If it had been close to or on the surface it would probably have been ploughed or dug out long ago; in this case a search in the masonry of barns and other agricultural buildings along its line might be revealing (Ross 1850, 42). But equally, for stretches, the pipe may have been carried on an embankment (Thompson 1955, 112) or even on a masonry platform, of the type seen by Wood on one length of its line in Nettleham Road (Wood 1976, 59; *Britannia* 7 (1976), 325; Wood 1977, 59; *Britannia* 8 (1977), 390; Wood 1978, 70; *Britannia* 9 (1978), 434; Wood 1979, 79; *Britannia* 10 (1979), 294; Wood 1981, 107. A masonry platform could easily have been robbed without leaving obvious traces in modern roadworks, while an embankment would be even less noticeable.
- 128 *Britannia* 6 (1975), 245; Wood 1976, 59.
- 129 An idea which was first explored by Dr Alan McWhirr in an unpublished thesis for the University of Leicester. For Cosa, see McCann 1988, 90.
- 130 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 6 November 1857.
- 131 Wachter 1979b, 83.
- 132 Lewis 1984, 71.
- 133 Wachter 1979b, 82. The fence was obviously not defensive and may only have been a local property boundary.
- 134 Colyer 1975, 227–66; for the double cut in the Saltergate rampart see Reynolds 1979, 86; Jones, M. J. in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 93.
- 135 *ibid.* For The Park see Colyer 1975, 231; for Saltergate see Reynolds 1979, 84.
- 136 The Park: Colyer 1975, 241; Blagg in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 130. Saltergate: Reynolds 1979, 86; *Britannia* 6 (1975), 284.
- 137 e.g. Antioch (Pisidia), Emporiae (Tarracensis). Perhaps the best parallel is Salona (Dalmatia), where two communities appear to have existed side-by-side for a time, each in their own walled enclosure; it may have been a double colony, but it is not known how it was governed: Wilkes 1969, 224.
- 138 *R.I.B.* 270.
- 139 *R.I.B.* 271.
- 140 Colyer, Jones, M. J. *et al.* 1979, 50–91.
- 141 Richmond 1946b, 42.
- 142 Reynolds 1979, 88.
- 143 Jones, M. J. in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 92; (ed.) Jones, M. J. 1981, 83.
- 144 Whitwell 1970, 113.
- 145 *R.I.B.* 274.
- 146 *Britannia* 21 (1990), 331.
- 147 Courteault 1921, 192. Lunaris was also sevir at York (see p. 177).
- 148 Lewis 1965, 71.
- 149 Lewis 1965, 71.
- 150 *J.R.S.* 52 (1962), 192.
- 151 *Britannia* 17 (1986), 389; *Archaeology in Lincolnshire 1984–1985* (First Annual Report of the Trust for Lincolnshire Archaeology, 1985), 49; Blagg and Henig 1986, 360.
- 152 *Britannia* 10 (1979), 345.
- 153 Thomas 1981, 168, 199. On the subject of the Council of Arles: *ibid.* 197. See also Steane and Vince in *Lincoln Archaeology*, no. 3, for 1990–1991, 28 and 31 respectively; *Current Archaeology* 129 (1992), 376; Whitwell 1992, xxiii. Some doubt has now been cast on the Flaxengate basilica. For St Paul-in-the-Bail see Jones, M. J. in (ed.) Painter 1994, 325.
- 154 *R.I.B.* 250; 252; 249; 266; 251; 262; 263 respectively.
- 155 Richmond 1946b, 52.
- 156 *R.I.B.* 247.
- 157 *R.I.B.* 2241. Milestones are sometimes, but not always, measured from the centre of the territory of the authority responsible for their erection.
- 158 *R.I.B.* 2240.
- 159 Whitwell 1970, 39. See also Sedgley 1975, 7.
- 160 *R.I.B.* 2242.
- 161 Jones, M. J. in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 90; Jones, M. J. in (ed.) Webster 1988, 162; Whitwell 1992, xviii and xxii.
- 162 Wachter 1979b, 83–4.
- 163 The idea that stamped tiles of Leg. V Alaudae from Xanten reached Lincoln as ballast or as surplus stock following that legion's transfer elsewhere in 69 (Todd 1966a, 29) has now been properly discounted by Bogaers (1977, 275).

- 164 Lincoln compared with York: Whitwell 1970, 101 quoting Hartley; for the Fens see Hartley, K.F. and Hartley, B.R. in (ed.) Phillips 1970, 167.
- 165 Richmond in Wacher 1966, 83.
- 166 Reynolds 1979, 86.
- 167 Chitwood and Donel in *Lincoln Archaeology, 1988–1989*, 4.
- 168 Jones, M. J. in (ed.) Vince 1993, 18.
- 169 Only one zoomorphic belt-fitting of the type identified by Hawkes and Dunning (1961, 1; 1964, 156: for addenda see Hawkes 1974, 386) has so far been found in Lincoln. Doubts have now been expressed about their connection with late Roman civil and military personnel: Simpson 1976, 192.
- 170 Jones, M. J. in (ed.) Painter 1994, 325.
- 171 Collingwood and Myres 1936, 414.
- 172 Myres 1969, 76.
- 173 *Hist. Eccles.* 2.16.
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- 174 *C.I.L.* 6, 3346 (*I.L.S.* 2365).
- 175 It is just possible that a different interpretation can be entertained if *Ner* refers to a pseudo-tribe: Forni 1955, 89; Swoboda 1956, 40.
- 176 Hurst 1985.
- 177 The successive military establishments are conveniently summarized in Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 49. A centurial stone of Legio XX Valeria Vitrix has been found in the fabric of Gloucester Cathedral (*Britannia* 17 (1986), 429) and a tombstone of a serving soldier of the same legion (*R.I.B.* 122) came from Wotton. Military movements in Britain, in the critical years when the second fortress was being formed, are discussed by Frere 1987, 75, and more recently by Maxfield in Todd 1989, 19.
- 178 Hurst 1972, 24; 1974, 8.
- 179 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 48.
- 180 Frere 1987, 104 n. 20 favours Wroxeter, but only for a short sojourn before its final move to Chester c. 90. There seems to be a danger here of spreading Legio XX too thinly between three fortresses over a period of only two or three years; if true it is hardly surprising that their rebuilding of Wroxeter came to a sudden halt, even if they returned there (p. 362) and the same should be expected at Gloucester. It seems clear that there are some irreconcilable features in Hurst's interpretation, with too few legions in Britain chasing too many fortresses. Alternatively, it is also possible that Hurst has misdirected himself and that his original interpretation was correct. See also Hassall 1987, 5, who restates the orthodox view, with the additional suggestion that the colonia was originally founded under Domitian, but was renamed after the *damnatio memoriae*. Yet if that had occurred Lincoln might also have been renamed, which as far as we know did not happen.
- 181 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 56, reinterpreting Hurst 1972, 24.
- 182 Hurst 1972, 52; Hassall and Rhodes 1974, 15.
- 183 Hurst 1986, 104.
- 184 Hurst 1986, 106; Heighway 1983, 43. This date given to the wall and gates by Hurst has conveniently ignored a small number of incontrovertibly early-second-century sherds of pottery, which included at least one sherd of Trajanic to early Antonine Central Gaulish samian, as well as other pieces of Flavian-Trajanic samian and fragments of Black-Burnished ware, class I. Admittedly in the south-west the latter can occur in earlier contexts than elsewhere (Hurst 1986, 118), but it may be significant in the present context. If the date given by these sherds is accepted at its face value then it follows that the first masonry fortifications must belong to the early colonia and not to the fortress.
- 185 *Lex Ursonensis* 78 (*I.L.S.*) 6087; *Lex Irnitana* 82; Hardy (1912), 35 n. 55 considered that a clause to this effect would be inserted in every municipal and colonial 'charter'.
- 186 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 195.
- 187 *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 126.
- 188 Hurst 1986, 108.
- 189 For external towers: Caerwent, p. 389; Cirencester, p. 310; for the gates at Gloucester: Heighway 1983; Hurst 1986, *passim* (but especially 107); *Britannia* 21 (1990), 345.
- 190 Fullbrook-Leggatt 1933, 82.
- 191 Richmond 1946a, 70.
- 192 Medland 1894–5, 142, 154.
- 193 *J.R.S.* 50 (1960), 230.
- 194 Heighway 1983, 47.
- 195 Fullbrook-Leggatt 1933, 79.
- 196 *J.R.S.* 52 (1962), 180.
- 197 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 195.
- 198 Green, C. 1943, 15.
- 199 Webster, P. V. 1976, 18. Now reassessed by Timby 1990, 243.
- 200 Heighway and Parker 1982, 25. This report includes the most recently compiled list of tiles stamped RPG and its variants. See also Clifford 1955, 68 for these and other Gloucestershire stamps, updated by McWhirr and Viner 1978, 359.
- 201 Richmond 1946a, 72.
- 202 *Lex Ursonensis* 76; in this respect, Hurst is strictly wrong to claim (in (ed.) Webster 1988, 66) that there was no difference between rural and urban industries and that even iron-working and pottery-making were equally at home in either. Some 'heavy' or dirty industry was clearly consigned to the countryside.

- 203 McWhirr and Viner 1978, 359; for further tile studies see: Brodribb 1983; (ed.) McWhirr 1979; McWhirr 1986, 129.
- 204 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 67. It was also used in the Weald of Kent.
- 205 *R.I.B.* 121, 122.
- 206 Heighway 1980, 57; Atkin and Garrod 1988, 217; *Britannia* 15 (1984), 314; 16 (1985), 300; Atkin 1986, 4; Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 62.
- 207 *R.I.B.* 161.
- 208 *Britannia* 15 (1984), 333.
- 209 *R.I.B.* 120.
- 210 *R.I.B.* 191; Hull 1958, 240.
- 211 *R.I.B.* 119.
- 212 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 195.
- 213 *J.R.S.* 52 (1962), 180.
- 214 Atkin 1990, 3.
- 215 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 59 for a summary; Garrod and Heighway 1984, 36 for the possible arch.
- 216 Early wharves: Green, C. 1942, 47; later quays: Fullbrook-Leggatt 1933, 94; Green, C. 1942, 47.
- 217 This is the answer to those who claim that wooden water-pipes were intended for drainage, for which purpose they would have been hopelessly unsuited and wrongly designed; a hollowed half trunk makes much better sense in this context, if timber is to be employed.
- 218 *Britannia* 17 (1986), 414; 21 (1990), 346; Atkin 1991, 16; see also Heighway and Garrod in (eds) Milne and Hopley 1981, 123. Reclamation of other riverside tracts of land was also going on in the district, notably at Elmore, south-west of the town: Allen and Fulford 1990, 17.
- 219 Clifford 1955, 68; Richmond 1965a, 179.
- 220 Heighway and Parker 1982, 60.
- 221 Suić 1955, 27; Alföldy 1965, 104. Centuriation which is not based on the municipal axes can also be seen at Cremona: Wellesley 1971, 32, and Orange: Piganiol 1962.
- 222 776yds (709m) = 20 *actus*.
- 223 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 68. A somewhat rash conclusion to reach, since in archaeological contexts it is not possible to *prove* an *absence* of something (see p. 453 n. 12).
- 224 Rawes 1979, 5, but it should be noted that, contrary to his claim, aqueducts did not always follow the lines of centuriation, since it was more important that they followed the contours of the ground, e.g. Carthage where the Antonine aqueduct must postdate the centuriation: Rakob in (ed.) Boucher 1983, 309.
- 225 Atkin 1987, 11 and 14 respectively.
- 226 Atkin 1990, 12; Garrod 1991, 22.
- 227 Atkin 1991, 18.
- 228 Hurst 1972, 58.
- 229 Richmond 1946a, 73.
- 230 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 64.
- 231 These areas are Hurst's estimates for the legionary *prata*, subsequently, as he proposes, inherited by the colonia as its territorium. But it is a very small figure when compared with some other fortresses; even in Britain other estimates are far greater (Mason 1988, 163) and more in keeping with those proposed above (p. 162).
- 232 Hurst in (ed.) Webster 1988, 64–5.
- 233 A centurion probably received at least five times as much as an ordinary legionary, although there is a good deal of variable opinion: Parker 1961, 214–24; Watson 1969, 89–92; Webster 1979, 256–60.

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- 234 The name Eboracum is preferred here to Eburacum, although the latter is more classically correct. See Smith and Rivet 1979, 355. The form Eboracum in Vulgar Latin occurs most frequently on inscriptions.
- 235 See Chapter I, n. 1 (p. 424).
- 236 Courteault 1921, 101; Valensi 1971, 61. See also p. 177.
- 237 *de Caes.* 2027. On present evidence conferrment of the earlier title would most likely have occurred in the mid to late second century.
- 238 Mann and Jarrett 1967, 63.
- 239 A relic of the visit may possibly be seen in the statue base of Britannia erected by Nikomedes, an imperial freedman of the Emperors (*R.I.B.* 643). The Emperors were most likely Severus and Caracalla, although Marcus Aurelius and Commodus cannot be ruled out. An imperial freedman could, of course, settle anywhere in the Empire, but that one should have been at York is perhaps not a coincidence.
- 240 S.H.A. *Severus* 22.7.
- 241 R.C.H.M. 1962, xxxvi.
- 242 R.C.H.M. 1962, 34a–g. The same building numbers used by R.C.H.M. are used in this section.
- 243 *R.I.B.* 644.
- 244 *R.I.B.* 658.
- 245 *R.I.B.* 662–3.
- 246 For Brough see p. 399 and Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 26. For *Praetorium Agrippina* see Bogaers 1964, 210. Place-names with the prefix *Praetorium* also occur in other provinces, as recorded in the Antonine Itinerary (Rivet 1970, 41 n. 26).
- 247 R.C.H.M. 1962, xxxvii. Substantial stone buildings found under the Queen's Hotel in Mickelgate could be part of a riverside palace (a suggestion from Patrick Ottaway).
- 248 R.C.H.M. 1962, 51, no. 18, with additional information kindly provided by the late Mr Ramm, *Britannia* 5 (1974), 414.
- 249 R.C.H.M. 1962, 5.

- 250 R.C.H.M. 1962, 49.
- 251 I am grateful to Patrick Ottaway for this comment.
- 252 R.C.H.M. 1962, 3: Road 10; 1962, 49: Street 17a. New information from Patrick Ottaway, forthcoming publication.
- 253 *Britannia* 13 (1982), 349.
- 254 *Britannia* 19 (1988), 440; 21 (1990), 325; 22 (1991), 241.
- 255 Late timber-lined sewers in mid-street were a feature of Ermin Street at Cirencester (p. 319).
- 256 A similar sequence was observed at Cirencester (p. 322) but whether it carries the same implications for York is not yet clear.
- 257 R.C.H.M. 1962, 51, Street 17c.
- 258 R.C.H.M. 1962, 50, Building 30.
- 259 *Britannia* 15 (1984), 282; 16 (1985), 279. See also York Archaeological Trust: *Work in 1983*, 39; *Work in 1984*, 53.
- 260 R.C.H.M. 1962, xxxvii. For comparison, the width of the naves are, at: Cirencester 33ft (10m); London (2nd Forum) 45ft (13.7m); Silchester (2nd Forum) 46ft (14m); Verulamium 34ft (10.3m).
- 261 *R.I.B.* 657.
- 262 R.C.H.M. 1962, 52. Buildings 21 and 26.
- 263 R.C.H.M. 1962, 52, and information from Patrick Ottaway.
- 264 *Britannia* 21 (1990), 326; York Archaeological Trust 1989, 16; 1990, 16.
- 265 R.C.H.M. 1962, 52. Building 19.
- 266 R.C.H.M. 1962, 65, n. 1.
- 267 *Britannia* 21 (1990), 325; York Archaeological Trust 1989, 15; Addyman 1989, 250, pl. 4; with additional information from Patrick Ottaway.
- 268 The largest pipe mentioned by Vitruvius is '100 digit' = 22.6in (57.4cm) diameter (*de Arch.* 6.4). A table of comparative sizes and weights of metal used in Roman lead pipes has been compiled by Landels (1978, 44). The largest cylindrical pipe at Bath was just over 5in (12.7cm) in diameter: Cunliffe 1969, 127.
- 269 As attested by three inscriptions mentioning *seviri Augustales* (p. 38).
- 270 R.C.H.M. 1962, 120 no. 59; 115 no. 30 and *R.I.B.* 650.
- 271 See also p. 179 for Placidus: *Britannia* 8 (1977), 430; 9 (1978), 484; amended by Hassall in (eds) du Plat Taylor and Cleere, 1978, 46; and again by Bogaers in (eds) Hartley and Wacher 1983, 21. The circumstances of the find are recorded in: Brinklow, Hall, Magilton and Donaghey 1986, 63.
- 272 Richmond 1946a, 75; R.C.H.M. 1962, 120 no. 67.
- 273 *R.I.B.* 641; R.C.H.M. 1962, 120 no. 58.
- 274 *R.I.B.* 649, 643, 646, 652–3, 659 respectively.
- 275 For the building see R.C.H.M. 1962, 59; the dedications *R.I.B.* 648, 656.
- 276 *R.I.B.* 698 quoting *I.L.S.* 9235 in support.
- 277 *N.H.* 35.112; 36.184.
- 278 Far better than appears in Courteault 1921, pl. VIII. See fig. 80 for the more recent photograph.
- 279 Most likely from a quarry near Ilkley, according to Professor Versey: Hartley and Fitts 1988, 126 n. 53.
- 280 *R.I.B.* 678, 687.
- 281 See n. 271.
- 282 *R.I.B.* 653, R.C.H.M. 1962, 116 no. 36 gives the alternative reading as M. Minucius Mudenus, following Huebner and Mommsen.
- 283 See also under Brough-on-Humber, p. 399, and Wacher 1969, 76.
- 284 R.C.H.M. 1962, pl. 31.
- 285 Yorkshire Archaeological Trust 1988, 13; 1989, 15; 1990, 15; *Britannia* 21 (1990), 325; Yorkshire Archaeological Trust 1991, 16; *Britannia* 23 (1992), 273. Recent information from Patrick Ottaway.
- 286 *Britannia* 19 (1988), 440.
- 287 R.C.H.M. 1962, 63 no. 48 and for a general discussion see p. 141. For comparative examples see Chelmsford, p. 214.
- 288 Hagen 1937, 77. Todd has recently shown (1992, 246) that jet ornaments appear on a number of sites in northern Gaul, but that not all may have been made in Britain. Jet also occurs naturally in southern France and Spain. It is also more common in Britain than is sometimes generally thought, e.g. in the lower beds of the Upper Lias clays in east Leicestershire: G.S.M. *Leicester sheet* (NS156). It is there sometimes used, when oiled, as a sharpening stone.
- 289 Richmond in (ed.) Wacher 1966, 83.
- 290 p. 142.
- 291 V.C.H. 1974, 479.
- 292 Hall and Kenward 1990, 304, 405. See also p. 120 for flax seed at Colchester.
- 293 R.C.H.M. 1962, 108.
- 294 Ramm in (ed.) Butler 1971, 187, with additional information kindly supplied by the late Mr Ramm.
- 295 Frere 1972, 18.
- 296 R.C.H.M. 1962, 128 no. 96.
- 297 *Britannia* 19 (1988), 440, and information from Patrick Ottaway.
- 298 R.C.H.M. 1962, 63 no. 47.
- 299 R.C.H.M. 1962, 63 no. 48. This mould may have been an antiquarian import.
- 300 R.C.H.M. 1962, 65 no. 55; Addyman 1974, 213. See also Perrin 1981 and 1990 for studies of pottery from the colonia. More recent information has kindly been supplied by Jason Monaghan.
- 301 *Cod. Theod.* 9.17.
- 302 Ammianus Marcellinus 16.8.4.
- 303 For a general account of the cemeteries see: R.C.H.M. 1962, 67–110, 121–34; for a detailed account of part of

- one cemetery see: Wenham 1968; for gypsum burials see: Ramm in (ed.) Butler 1971, 187–96; Green, C. J. S. in (ed.) Reece 1977, 46.
- 304 Ramm in (ed.) Butler 1971, 187.
- 305 Wenham 1968, 21.
- 306 *R.I.B.* 684.
- 307 *R.I.B.* 695.
- 308 *R.I.B.* 685. For an alternative reading see R.C.H.M. 1962, 122 no. 77.
- 309 *R.I.B.* 679. R.C.H.M. 1962, 126 gives the reading as Cresce(n)s, but there is no evidence for the (n) on the stone.
- 310 *R.I.B.* 683.
- 311 *R.I.B.* 674.
- 312 *Britannia* 18 (1987), 367; York Archaeological Trust 1987, 11.
- 313 R.C.H.M. 1962, 130 no. 107. Julia Victorina is not mentioned as *coniux*. While not absolutely necessary, its absence could imply a date before 197.
- 314 R.C.H.M. 1962, 132 no. 134. An interest in athletics is also implied by the marble statuette: 120 no. 60.
- 315 R.C.H.M. 1962, 135 no. 149. The formula was commonly used by gladiators and charioteers.
- 316 R.C.H.M. 1962, 114 no. 24.
- 317 Wenham 1968, parts II and III.
- 318 If we are right in our assumption that Trentholme Drive represents a poor-class cemetery and that tombstones and coffins represent a richer class, we have a basis here for an interesting social comparison. According to the inscribed tombstones from York, which give ages at death (sixteen in number), only two, with the possible implication of a third, give ages over 40. The average age at death is about 29, so there seems to have been little advantage in living in a higher social class. Disease struck all alike. But see the reservation by Hopkins 1966–7, 245, on the use of tombstones to assess life expectations.
- 319 However, Diogenes' cognomen might indicate an origin further east. Perhaps he was a freedman, who had been in the service of an Aquitanian master.
- 320 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 171.
- 321 *Descr. Graeciae* 8.43.
- 322 Richmond 1946a, 74; R.C.H.M. 1962, xxxvi; also *Digest* 50.15.1.3 (Ulpian).
- 323 Information originally supplied by the late Mr Ramm.
- 324 For a sample including Coney Street see: Brinklow, Hall, Magilton and Donaghey 1986.
- 325 Hall and Kenward 1990 for general environmental evidence; O'Connor 1988 for animal bones from the General Accident site.
- 326 The present writer is just old enough to remember the characteristic sour smell of horse dung in the streets of Canterbury in the early 1930s, when horses were still commonly used as draught animals.

- 327 Ramm in (ed.) Butler 1971, 179, although his evidence for flooding can no longer be accepted. Nevertheless, it could still have taken place.
- 328 Myres 1969, 75.

Chapter 5 (pages 189–241)

- 1 Radford 1954, 6; Rivet and Smith 1979, 229.
- 2 A probable hinge from a legionary's cuirass came from a Claudian level in Rose Lane: Frere 1954, 140.
- 3 Bennett, Frere and Stow 1982, 21.
- 4 Pillbrow 1861. 151. It is worthwhile recording that the excavations at Canterbury, which began in 1944, were the first in any town in Britain to take advantage of the work of the Luftwaffe and so set in train the remarkable spate of urban archaeology which has followed since then.
- 5 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Reports* 1977–; also to be found in *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976)–.
- 6 Jenkins 1962. See now also Thompson 1983, 1; Blockley, K. and Blockley, P. 1981, 287 (this last reference is wrongly cited by Thompson) for Bigbury.
- 7 Thompson 1983, 259.
- 8 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report* 1980–81, 5 for a summary, also *Britannia* 14 (1983), 334.
- 9 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 50.
- 10 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report* 1980–81, 6.
- 11 *Bell. Gall.*, 5. 12–14.
- 12 If they were. A possible military engagement is suggested by the skeleton of a headless horse, and disarticulated human bones found in the early fort levels on the old Gas Works site; it may have been followed by executions: Bennett, Frere and Stow 1982, 29.
- 13 Frere and Stow 1983, 334.
- 14 Philp 1981, 9, 91.
- 15 Bennett in (ed.) Maxfield 1989, 121.
- 16 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 93.
- 17 But not unknown. See Caister-by-Norwich (p. 245) and Caerwent (p. 381).
- 18 As suggested by Bennett in (ed.) Maxfield 1989, 123.
- 19 *Britannia* 8 (1977), 423; 10 (1979), 334; 11 (1980), 400; 12 (1981), 336.
- 20 Frere 1970a, 83.
- 21 *Britannia* 21 (1990), 360.
- 22 Most conveniently seen in Wightman 1970, 79.
- 23 Grenier 1958, 914.
- 24 Duval 1961, 180; Grenier 1958, 900.
- 25 Frere 1970a, 83; for the most recent published plan of the second theatre see Bennett in (ed.) Maxfield 1989, 122.
- 26 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report* 1986–7, 8.
- 27 *J.R.S.* 39 (1949), 110; *Britannia* 10 (1979), 334; 11 (1980),

- 401; 18 (1987), 354; 19 (1988), 481.
- 28 Williams and Frere 1949. See also the account of the High Street sewer tunnel which ran from the Parade almost as far as Best Lane: Frere and Stow 1983, 320; Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 98, and now see Canterbury Archaeology Trust, *Annual Report 1990–91*, 15. Part of this house, including the mosaics and hypocaust, are displayed below the modern buildings.
- 29 *J.R.S.* 37 (1947), 177; 39 (1949), 110.
- 30 *J.R.S.* 51 (1961), 191.
- 31 Frere and Stow 1983, 41. But see p. 198 below.
- 32 *J.R.S.* 41 (1951), 138.
- 33 Frere and Stow 1983, 27, 324.
- 34 Frere and Stow 1983, 121.
- 35 Williams 1948.
- 36 Lewis 1965, 78.
- 37 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report 1979–80*, 9.
- 38 *Hist. Eccl.* 1.26.
- 39 Jenkins 1965a, 11.
- 40 Painter 1965, 1.
- 41 Frere and Stow 1983, 47. Excavations in 1991 have added to the plan (fig. 88): Canterbury Archaeological Trust, *Annual Report 1991–92*, 1.
- 42 Bennett, Frere and Stow 1982, 43.
- 43 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 53.
- 44 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 17.
- 45 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 43, 24.
- 46 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 52.
- 47 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, p. 84.
- 47^a Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 19.
- 48 The London Gate, Worthgate and Queningate are considered in Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982 *passim*. The report enclosed therein on the Riding Gate (p. 43) should be amended in conjunction with Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report 1987–88*, 24.
- 49 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 61.
- 50 Frere, Stow and Bennett 1982, 67.
- 51 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 161.
- 52 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 163.
- 53 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 33; *R.I.B.* 43.
- 54 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 54–73.
- 55 Bennett, Frere and Stow 1982, 44.
- 56 Jenkins 1956, 40.
- 57 Jenkins 1960, 151; Bennett 1978, 166.
- 58 Webster 1940, 109.
- 59 Jenkins 1965b, 11; *J.R.S.* 47 (1957), 225.
- 60 Jenkins 1956, 247.
- 61 Canterbury Archaeological Trust. *Annual Report 1985–86*, 13.
- 62 Day 1979, 275.
- 63 Painter 1965, 1.
- 64 V.C.H. 1932, 69; *J.R.S.* 38, 98.
- 65 Blockley 1987, 302.
- 66 *J.R.S.* 48 (1958), 149.
- 67 *J.R.S.* 47 (1957), 225.
- 68 Frere and Stow 1983, 35.
- 69 Williams and Frere 1948, 16, 21; Frere and Stow 1983, 320.
- 70 Frere and Stow 1983, 73.
- 71 The building situated on the cliffs east of Folkestone was associated with stamped tiles of the *Classis Britannica* and may have been the residence of some officer of the fleet. See Detsikas 1983, 33 for the most recent survey of the remainder.
- 72 This proposition is fully discussed in Wachter 1979a, 78. The whole question of public finances related to building and other costs in towns is reviewed by Duncan Jones in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 28, and now Duncan-Jones 1990, 174–84.
- 73 Reece in Cunliffe 1968, 200.
- 74 Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 1; 1964, 156; Ager 1987, 25.
- 75 Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 92; Canterbury Archaeological Trust, *Annual Reports 1979–80*, 10; 1980–1, 6; 1982–83, 12.
- 76 Kent, Tatton-Brown and Welch 1983, 371.
- 77 Canterbury Archaeological Trust, *Annual Report 1980–81*, 9.
- 78 Frere, Bennett, Rady and Stow 1987, 68.
- 79 Painter 1965, 1.

CHELMSFORD

- 80 *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1776), 2, 12.
- 81 V.C.H. 1963, 63. How Rivet came to place it originally in the suburb of Widford is not entirely clear (Rivet 1964, 147), although this identification was later corrected (Rivet and Smith 1979, 288).
- 82 *Iter* V, 474.1; *Iter* IX, 480. 6.
- 83 Stevens 1937, 198.
- 84 Richmond 1946a, 61.
- 85 An indication of the extent of the original Trinovantian realm is provided by the distribution of south Italian amphorae, which Peacock has studied in (eds) Jesson and Hill 1971, 173. See also Rodwell in (eds) Cunliffe and Rowley 1976, 214 and *passim*.
- 86 It is interesting to compare the mention of the Catuvellauni, albeit obliquely, as the overlords of the Dobunni, in Dio's narrative of the invasion, with the Trinovantes mentioned in Tacitus' account of the Boudiccan rebellion. Thus the latter suffered a complete eclipse in the historical record for over a hundred years between Caesar and Boudicca and only then re-emerge with a corporate existence and as a fighting force to be reckoned with. This factor seems to have escaped the attention of many authorities and seems to be part of the general confusion which has led to the Catuvellauni and

Trinovantes becoming inextricably mixed in the archaeological and historical record (see p. 114).

- 87 *Geog.* 2.3.22.
- 88 *It. Ant.* 4.74.1.
- 89 Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 90 I am grateful to Miss Joyce Reynolds for discussing this point.
- 91 Harding 1972, 64; Goodchild and Kirk 1954, 15.
- 92 Burnham and Wachter 1990, 178.
- 93 Drury in (eds) Rodwell and Rowley, 1975, 159. The present writer discussed at length with Barry Burnham whether Chelmsford should be included in Burnham and Wachter 1990; it was eventually decided to exclude it.
- 94 Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 95 Rodwell in Going 1987, 97.
- 96 Wickenden in (ed.) Coulston 1988, 234; Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 97 Drury 1988, 24.
- 98 Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 99 Similar to those at Wanborough and Godmanchester (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 162, 127). See also Silchester (p. 277) and Caerwent (p. 382) for other examples.
- 100 Drury 1988, 6.
- 101 Drury 1988, 62.
- 102 Wickenden 1992, 181.
- 103 Lewis 1965, 197.
- 104 Wickenden 1992.
- 105 Drury 1988, 9 (site AR).
- 106 *Britannia* 6 (1975), 263. See also Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 107 Drury 1988, 120.
- 108 Wallis 1988, 43.
- 109 Ross 1968, 255.
- 110 Drury 1988, 134.
- 111 Allen 1990, 11. These industrial activities are dealt with more fully in Isserlin and Wickenden forthcoming.
- 112 Drury 1988, 73.
- 113 Drury 1988, 106.
- 114 *Britannia* 2 (1971), 271; Going in Wickenden 1992, 97.
- 115 Going 1987, 73.
- 116 Drury 1988, 43.
- 117 Drury 1988, 107.
- 118 Drury 1988, 137.

VERULAMIUM

- 119 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 23.
- 120 Frere 1983, 30.
- 121 Frere 1983, 3.
- 122 Frere 1983, 3.
- 123 Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1990, 11.
- 124 Niblett in (ed.) Greep 1993, 78 has summarized these recent discoveries. It is becoming increasingly apparent

from such work that the size of Belgic oppida in Britain has been severely underrated. No longer are we thinking in terms of acres (ha) but in square miles (sq. km); Verulamium (see now a new survey by Hunn 1993, 39) could be as much as 3 miles (4.8km) across, as might Canterbury, while Colchester could be nearly 4 miles (6.5km). The largest would be Chichester which, if Selsey is included, could be as much as 7 miles (11.3km) from north to south.

- 125 *Current Archaeology* 132 (1993), 484. Rosalind Niblett is in favour of the burial being that of Adminius (pers. com. and *pace* Crummy, p. 112). But if it was he, or even someone else, the burial is more likely to have been that of a *princeps civitatis* rather than that of a formal client king. The provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia both provide several similar examples, e.g. *princeps civitatis Docleatium* in the former (Sergejevski 1962, 100); *princeps* (or *praefectus*) *civitatis Boiorum* in the latter (Barb 1951, 3; 1952, 100).
- 126 Frere 1972, 14.
- 127 Frere 1983, 37.
- 128 Anthony 1970, 51; Frere 1983, 39.
- 129 Frere 1983, 5.
- 130 For excavations in Insula XIII see: *Britannia* 19 (1988), 455. But this assumption should be approached with the greatest care. It can be shown that the Fosse Way north of Cirencester was originally aligned on the north-east gate of the early fort (p. 28). This road also cut across the lines of the later street system, but no metalling has ever been found along its original projected alignment either inside or outside the town. For a possible fort at Windridge Farm see: Greep 1987, 183.
- 131 *R.I.B.* 1962.
- 132 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 25.
- 133 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 189.
- 134 Frere 1983, 5. Now confirmed again in recent excavations: *Britannia* 19 (1988), 455.
- 135 Frere 1972.
- 136 Frere 1972, 10, 15. But it does not necessarily imply that the same ownership continued for any length of time. Terraced houses can be erected by a single speculative builder who can then sell off each house as he chooses. Some of the early colonial houses at Colchester (p. 114) and Gloucester (p. 151) could fall into this category.
- 137 Hence its name: the 1955 ditch.
- 138 Frere 1983, 44.
- 139 Niblett in (ed.) Greep 1993, 82.
- 140 Frere 1983, 37.
- 141 For further discussion of this topic see Silchester (p. 274).
- 142 Frere 1983, 8. It should be stressed though that no evidence has ever been found to show that it does so.
- 143 Montague-Puckle and Niblett 1983–6, 178; also Saunders, C. 1982, 203.

- 144 Frere 1983, 55.
- 145 Page 1895–1902, 199; V.C.H. 1914, 134.
- 146 Ward-Perkins 1970, 8; Todd in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 56.
- 147 le Gall 1963, 125.
- 148 It would be interesting to know how land-owners, who had lost all, were treated legally by the authorities in view of possible laws, relating to the destruction of buildings, being included in municipal charters; Garnsey in (ed.) Finley 1976, 133. Of even greater interest would be the treatment of land where neither the owner nor any heirs survived. But this is to enter the realms of speculation.
- 149 Frere 1972, 25.
- 150 Lowther 1937, 28.
- 151 Frere 1983, 73.
- 152 e.g. Gosbecks (p. 127), Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk 1954, 15; Harding 1972, 64) and Frilford (Burnham and Wachter 1990, 178).
- 153 Perhaps Matthew Paris, in describing documents reputedly discovered in the forum area by Abbot Eadmer's men (*Vitae Abbatum*, 994) was not so far wrong in describing the second most important deity of the town as Mercury. Indeed, wild though his description is, it is suggestive of a calendar of official religious celebrations of well-known type: cf. *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, fasc. II.
- 154 See n. 145. The block of masonry found by Page near the centre of the piazza could alternatively have been a statue base similar to those at Lincoln (p. 136) and Gloucester (p. 155).
- 155 Frere 1983, 69.
- 156 But see Wroxeter, where they are confined to the east end only.
- 157 Frere 1983, 65.
- 158 V.C.H. 1914, 131.
- 159 Liebel and Wilberg 1908, 47. More conveniently available in Wilkes 1969, 369.
- 160 cf. Pompeii where three separate buildings at the south end of the forum fulfilled identical functions as those at Verulamium: Mau and Kelsey 1899, 119; Ward-Perkins 1970, 10.
- 161 Frere has suggested Insula XVIII: Frere 1983, 12.
- 162 Saunders, C. 1975, unpaginated; *Britannia* 6 (1975), 258.
- 163 Saunders, C. 1975, unpaginated; *Britannia* 6 (1975), 258.
- 164 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 93 and 86.
- 165 Frere 1983, 231.
- 166 Frere 1983, 77. See also p. 221 above for an outline of the arguments.
- 167 Frere 1983, 28.
- 168 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 113.
- 169 For a conjectural restoration see Lewis 1965, 191.
- 170 Frere 1983, 13; Niblett 1983/86, 29.
- 171 Frere 1983, 79.
- 172 Kenyon 1934, 213.
- 173 A similar arrangement has been suggested for Canterbury: Frere 1970, 90.
- 174 Ward-Perkins (1970, 9) pointed out that the placing of temples against the rear wall of the enclosure is in contrast to the Gaulish practice of having a free-standing temple in the piazza.
- 175 V.C.H. 1914, 132.
- 176 Cotton and Wheeler 1953, 13.
- 177 For conjectural restorations of these temples see Lewis 1965, 182.
- 178 Richardson 1944, 86.
- 179 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 94 and 102.
- 180 Frere 1983, 161; Davey 1972, 251; Davey and Ling 1981, 171.
- 181 Frere 1972, 98.
- 182 Frere 1983, 16.
- 183 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 49; Frere 1983, 35.
- 184 Frere 1984, 70.
- 185 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, pl. XXI.
- 186 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 63 (London Gate), 68 (Chester Gate), 71 (Silchester Gate).
- 187 Lehner 1903, 182. The excavations were carried out in 1902 and no accurate plan was made. Dr Rüger has kindly informed me that he considers this gate to have had approximately the same dimensions and plan as the Burginatum-Tor. Wheeler's analogy, therefore, is no longer safe.
- 188 Unpublished excavations. For a plan see Rüger 1972a, 293; Heimberg and Rieche 1986, 18.
- 189 This provides a width of portal larger than either the London or Chester Gates, and falls well within the compass of other known gates (see figs. 29–32).
- 190 Frere insists that the material found in the Fosse earthwork closely represents the actual date of construction and not just the *t.p.q.*; yet he is quite happy to add fifty to sixty years to the *termini* of the two arches to arrive at their dates of construction.
- 191 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 76.
- 192 Frere 1983, 75.
- 193 Chester Gate: Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 70; arch; Frere 1983, 75.
- 194 Frere 1983, 246.
- 195 Summarized by Frere 1983, 15; see also Frere in (eds) King and Henig 1981, 383.
- 196 Reece in Frere 1984a, 17.
- 197 Kenyon 1934, 238.
- 198 Kenyon 1934, 232.
- 199 Lowther 1937, 29.
- 200 Richardson 1944, 88.
- 201 Frere 1972, 98. Cellars are not unknown features in and around Verulamium: Frere 1983, 14. Two are also known at Leicester (p. 356). See also Perring 1989, 279.

- 202 e.g. in *Insula XXVII*: Frere 1983, 214.
 203 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 122; Thomas 1981, 169.
 204 Anthony 1968, 49.
 205 Even if they were later than the curtain wall, a bond would not be difficult to achieve with the materials employed. The absence of external towers elsewhere on the circuit is the chief reason for believing that no such complete reorganization took place.
 206 Frere 1983, 23. Urban farms have also been postulated in a number of other towns and may well be the structural counterparts of the large vacant areas enclosed by a number of town walls. Farms they may be but technically it would be wrong to call them *villae*, unless the anglicized version of the word, *villas*, is used: Wachter 1974, 282.
 207 Frere 1983, 224, 226. Since a gravity flow in the pipeline could only have carried water from the south, where no sources are yet known, it follows that it was probably a pressure supply from a still-maintained header tank to the north. Whoever was *curator aquae* in the mid fifth century at Verulamium was still very much on top of his job!
 208 Niblett in (ed.) Greep 1993, 89; *Britannia* 19 (1988), 455.
 209 *Britannia* 18 (1987), 329.
 210 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 96.
 211 Frere 1983, 25.
 212 Frere 1972, 55.
 213 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 90.
 214 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 109.
 215 Niblett in (ed.) Greep 1993, 84.
 216 Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 221; Mattingley 1932, 54; *R.I.B.* 2.1, 2408.2.
 217 Richardson 1944, 121; Toynbee 1962, pl. 190.
 218 Frere 1972, 57.
 219 Frere 1983, 277.
 220 There is still much discussion over the date of his martyrdom: Morris 1968, 1; Biddle in (ed.) Runcie 1977, 25; Thomas 1981, 48; Stephens 1983/86, 20.
 221 *Britannia* 23 (1992), 286.
 222 As set down by Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*. See also Thompson 1984.
 223 Corder 1941, 152.
 224 *Britannia* 18 (1987), 329; Davey 1935, 243; Corder 1941a, 152; *Current Archaeology* 120 (1990), 412.
 225 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 188; 58 (1968), 194; 59 (1969), 221; Stead 1969, 45.
 226 *J.R.S.* 58 (1968), 194.
 227 Frere 1983, 278.
 228 *J.R.S.* 59 (1969), 221.
 229 Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1990, *passim*.
 230 O'Neil 1945, 21; Saunders, A., 1961, 100.

Chapter 6 (pages 242–301)

- 1 The literature on the subject is immense. For the most recent treatments of client kingship see Braund 1984; 1988, 69.
- 2 *Ann.* 14.31: *quando in formam provinciae cessarunt*.
- 3 *Ann.* 12.31.

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- 4 Allen 1970, 4, 5; Davies and Gregory 1991, 66; Green, B. in (ed.) Wade-Martins 1993, 32.
- 5 *Ann.* 12.31.
- 6 Robinson and Gregory 1987, 44; *Britannia* 13 (1982), 370; 14 (1983), 308; Johns and Potter 1983; Watts 1988, 55.
- 7 *Ann.* 14.29–30; Webster 1978; Frere 1987, 70.
- 8 Suetonius, *Nero* 32.
- 9 Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.45; 16.3.
- 10 Allen 1970, 16.
- 11 Boileau 1847, 72.
- 12 Frere 1971, 9.
- 13 Frere 1971, 1; a short summary was published by Hawkes, C. 1949, 62. For the pottery and coins from Atkinson's excavations, see Atkinson, D. 1937, 26.
- 14 Also excavated by Atkinson. Frere 1971, 20.
- 15 Information supplied by John Davies. Photographs supplied by Derek Edwards (fig. 111). See also Maxwell and Wilson 1987, 42.
- 16 Atkinson, D. 1931, 98.
- 17 Davies and Gregory 1991, 69; Gurney in Gregory and Gurney 1986, 37; Gregory 1991, 186.
- 18 Information from Miss Barbara Green. The bust is in Norwich Castle Museum. See also Green, M. J. 1976, 204.
- 19 Toynbee 1962, 124.
- 20 Kirk 1949, 1.
- 21 *Britannia* 13 (1982), 408.
- 22 *J.R.S.* 29 (1939), 214.
- 23 St Joseph 1961, 132 and pl. XI; St Joseph in (ed.) Wachter 1966, pl. III. Similar marks can also be seen in the photograph of Silchester in pl. II.
- 24 Frere 1971, 8.
- 25 *J.R.S.* 21 (1931), 232; 25 (1935), 213.
- 26 Davies and Pritchard 1992, 325.
- 27 Atkinson, D. 1931, 93.
- 28 Atkinson, D. 1931, 112; Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 78.
- 29 *J.R.S.* 29 (1939), 214.
- 30 Atkinson, D. 1932, 33.
- 31 Manning 1966, 60.
- 32 *Not. Dig. Occ.* 11.60.
- 33 Wild 1967, 648.
- 34 *It. Ant.* 474.4; 479.10; Rivet 1970, 47. It should be noted

- that the names occur differently in *Itinera* V and IX, but see Rivet in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 108.
- 35 *J.R.S.* 21 (1931), 232. The building closely resembles the urban farms of the later Roman period in other towns. See also Darling 1987, 263.
- 36 For the buildings in the cemetery see: Myres and Green 1973, 16. Information of the quays was kindly provided by Dr Davies.
- 37 *J.R.S.* 17 (1927), 217. Republished as a die in *R.I.B.* 2.1, 2409.27 but now accepted as an oculist's stamp in *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2446.24.
- 38 Rivet 1970, 47 and 52.
- 39 By Sir Arthur Keith. The bones were destroyed during the last war, in the Royal College of Surgeons' Museum, so that re-examination is not possible.
- 40 Information kindly provided by Professor Frere. Also Darling 1987, 263.
- 41 Myres and Green 1973, 31.
- CHICHESTER
- 42 Cunliffe 1971, I, 10. It has often been quoted as lying at Selsey, on the evidence of the numerous Iron Age coins found there (Allen 1944, 1; Allen in (ed.) Frere 1961, 289) but reference to Colchester (p. 112), Canterbury (p. 190), Verulamium (p. 215) and Silchester (p. 271) show that, in an increasing number of cases, these oppida were much more extensive than hitherto supposed (p. 438 n. 124), often encompassing square miles (sq. kilometres) within the outermost boundary dykes and sometimes multi-centred. Consequently the total oppidum of Chichester might be seen as the entire area enclosed within the northernmost of the Chichester entrenchments and stretching as far south as Selsey, perhaps with centres at Selsey itself and also at Fishbourne or Chichester.
- 43 Hawkes in Clifford 1961, 59; Cunliffe 1971, I, 73.
- 44 Frere 1987, 53.
- 45 *Agric.* 14.1; Ogilvie and Richmond 1967, 189. But see Barrett 1979, 232.
- 46 I owe this suggestion to Professor Frere.
- 47 The career of Cogidubnus has now been reviewed by Barrett 1979, 227.
- 48 Curwen 1954, 260; Cunliffe 1971, I, 10.
- 49 *Agric.* 14.1.
- 50 Cunliffe 1971, I, 10.
- 51 There is now reason to believe that the *civitas Belgarum* never stretched as far as the Severn and that Ptolemy (*Geog.* 2.3.28) was wrong to include Bath in their territory: Rivet and Smith 1979, 121.
- 52 Boon 1969, 36. See also Corney in Fulford 1984, 287; Fulford 1987, 271.
- 53 Cunliffe 1971, I, 75.
- 54 Wachter 1971a, 275. However, it may be best to keep an open mind. Frere has drawn attention to the presence at Fishbourne of moderate quantities of pre-conquest pottery including Arretine: Frere 1972, 76. The latter is not common on Claudian military sites, and even Dannell noted that it was absent from the contemporary site at Valkenburg: 1971, II, 263. Even more pre-conquest fine wares have now been recovered from Fishbourne (information from John Magilton).
- 55 Down 1978, 330. For Verica's gold coinage see Allen and Haselgrove 1979, 1.
- 56 Cunliffe in Down 1978, 179; Down 1988, 7.
- 57 *R.I.B.* 92.
- 58 *R.I.B.* 91. Now amended by Bogaers 1979, 243: see below n. 59.
- 59 Bogaers 1979, 243.
- 60 For the state of the British garrison see Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.44. For this view of Cogidubnus see Birley, E. 1978, 243, which he was the first to put forward but did not publish until then.
- 61 Down 1988, 24; Down 1989, 65 and see below p. 274.
- 62 Winbolt 1923, 81; 1924, 112; 1927, 89.
- 63 Suetonius, *Vespasian* 17: *in omne hominum genus liberalissimus explevit censium senatorium*.
- 64 Drewett 1988, 164.
- 65 Information kindly supplied by John Magilton. See p. 270 below.
- 66 Down 1989, 56.
- 67 Down 1978, 41.
- 68 Down and Rule 1971, 2; 57; Down 1981, 80; 1989, 61; Magilton 1989, 10; Down and Magilton 1993, 54.
- 69 Down 1978, 47.
- 70 Jackson in Rivet 1970, 77; but see alternatives in Rivet and Smith 1979, 427.
- 71 *Sussex Notes and Queries* 13 (1950), 332.
- 72 Down 1981, 48. For a summary of possible elements of the forum see Down 1988, 31.
- 73 Down and Rule 1971, 16.
- 74 Murray and Cunliffe 1962, 97.
- 75 Down and Rule 1971, 27.
- 76 *J.R.S.* 53 (1963), 151.
- 77 Down 1981, 14, no. 126; 1989, 2.
- 78 Summarized by Down 1988, 47.
- 79 *J.R.S.* 53 (1963), 151; Holmes 1965, 10.
- 80 Cunliffe 1971, 146, pls. LXXVI–LXXVIII.
- 81 Down 1978, 145; *Britannia* 22 (1991), 290; Browse 1991, 14.
- 82 White 1936, 149.
- 83 Wilson 1957a, 15, drawing on earlier investigations.
- 84 Holmes 1962, 80.
- 85 Down and Magilton 1993, 108; *Britannia* 25 (1994), 289.

- 86 South gate: Down and Magilton 1993, 124; west gate: Down and Rule 1971, 143.
- 87 Wilson 1962, 75.
- 88 Down and Magilton 1993, 125. Caution should be observed. The present writer attempted the same exercise at Cirencester in 1960 (Wacher 1961, 68); all worked well with Bastions 1–3, until a fourth was located at an irregular spacing between 2 and 3 (Cullen 1970, 236). Moreover, Magilton's claim that Chichester shared a regular spacing with Colchester cannot be accepted; Colchester is not thought to possess any Roman external towers, those known or surviving being of medieval date (p. 122 above).
- 89 Down and Rule 1971, 13, 127.
- 90 Down 1978, 47.
- 91 Murray and Cunliffe 1962, 99.
- 92 Wilson 1952, 99.
- 93 Butler in Down 1974, 159; Down 1989, 74.
- 94 *R.I.B.* 89; Fishwick 1961, 171, 220; Fishwick 1969, 87; Barrett 1979, 235; Fishwick 1978, 1201. For a recent discussion on the Jupiter column and a proposed reconstruction see Beeson, 1993, 12.
- 95 *R.I.B.* 90.
- 96 *Britannia* 10 (1979), 339.
- 97 *R.I.B.* 94.
- 98 *R.I.B.* 95.
- 99 *R.I.B.* 93.
- 100 Down and Rule 1971, 53.
- 101 Information kindly supplied by John Magilton.
- 102 Down and Magilton 1993, 72. Some were buried in lead coffins.
- 103 Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 43; Down and Magilton 1993, 218.
- 104 Cunliffe 1975, 430 (*contra* Cunliffe 1968, 268); Cunliffe 1976, 301; but see now also King in (eds) Maxfield and Dobson 1991, 108 for a tentative review of the date of the fortifications at Bitterne, which would impose a different interpretation on this proposal.
- 105 More likely the early 470s according to Morris 1973, 94. He contends that the Saxon advance was held after the fall of Pevensey and that Chichester remained a British enclave.
- SILCHESTER**
- 106 The Iron Age occupation of the central area of the Roman town has been summarized by Fulford 1987, 271.
- 107 Boon 1969, 15; 1974, 46; Wacher 1975, 257.
- 108 Corney in Fulford 1984, 79, 288.
- 109 Boon 1969, 51.
- 110 Boon 1969, 39.
- 111 Corney in Fulford 1984, 288; Fulford 1987, 271; Fulford in (ed.) Greep 1993, 16.
- 112 Hawkes in Clifford 1961, 62.
- 113 The presence of 'garrisons', whether of regular Roman troops or of the king's army, in client kingdoms, and where and how they were accommodated, cannot but be a confused matter and one not likely to be resolved by normal archaeological investigation. The clear-cut distinction between matters 'military' and matters 'civil', which has been the mainstay of much conventional Romano-British archaeological thought and interpretation will no longer do in this context, if only because each client kingdom will be unique in its arrangements: Braund 1984, *passim* but notably Section 3; Braund 1988, 69. However, attribution of Silchester to an extended (both in time and space) kingdom of Cogidubnus is not the only explanation. Fulford (1985, 57) has argued that the town passed into the imperial *patrimonium* under Nero either as an inheritance or by direct expropriation. But if Cogidubnus died as early as this principate, it puts strains on the evidence from both Chichester and Fishbourne and also Winchester.
- 114 Fox, A. 1948, 172.
- 115 Boon 1969, 40.
- 116 Hope and Fox, G. E. 1905, 366. Michael Fulford has kindly informed me that five tiles with Neronian stamps (all different) have now been associated with Silchester. But tiles were frequently reused and could travel far, so it is unsafe to rely on this evidence alone for dating the baths. Nevertheless these tiles show the probable presence of a masonry building at Silchester as early as Nero's principate, and a bath-house might be thought a likely candidate.
- 117 Hope and Fox, G. E. 1905, 314; Boon 1974, 121.
- 118 Boon 1969, 15.
- 119 Boon assigned the earliest infilling of the ditch to c. 60 in his Trench B on the north-eastern part of the circuit: Boon 1969, 14.
- 120 Fulford 1984, 41.
- 121 Was it aiming for an eastern gate in the Inner Earthwork?
- 122 Joyce 1881, 349; Fox, G. E. and Hope 1893, 539.
- 123 Fulford 1985, 39.
- 124 *R.I.B.* 67. The equation with Segomo is not entirely satisfactory, although suggested by Richmond 1963, 78, 190. Boon (1974, 110) has amended this to Saegontius.
- 125 *R.I.B.* 84–5, which placed the find spot in the basilica.
- 126 Fulford 1985, 49.
- 127 Frere 1985, 250.
- 128 Boon 1974, 92. See also above p. 20.
- 129 Crummy 1982, 130.
- 130 Walthew 1987, 230.
- 131 Cotton 1947, 137.
- 132 Fulford 1984, 37.
- 133 The building was mainly excavated before 1880, when

- little cognizance was taken of the streets, and partly re-excavated in 1893, when the excavators considered such a street a possibility: Fox, G. E. and Hope 1894, 24.
- 134 Fulford 1989.
- 135 Joyce 1881, 344; some references to earlier work on the defences are given in Fulford 1984.
- 136 Cotton 1947, 121.
- 137 Fulford 1984.
- 138 Excavation of the masonry south gate has shown that it is set well to the rear of the rampart, which turns in towards it. The easiest way to replace a still-functioning timber gate, set between the rampart ends, would have been to build the masonry gate to its rear and then adjust the rampart to fit the new circumstances: Fulford in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 86; Fulford 1984, 235. The masonry north gate has now been shown also to have a timber predecessor: *Britannia* 23 (1992), 302.
- 139 Fox, G. E. and Hope 1894, 230.
- 140 North gate: Fox, G. E. and Hope 1891, 753; *Britannia* 23 (1992), 302.
South gate: Fulford 1984, 42.
East gate: Joyce 1881, 346; Hope 1909, 474.
West gate: Fox, G. E. and Hope 1891, 756; Hope 1909, 474.
South-east gate: Fulford 1984, 51.
- 141 Cotton 1947, 130.
- 142 Cotton 1947, 131.
- 143 South-west gate: Hope 1897, 424.
Amphitheatre Gate: Fox, G. E. and Hope 1894, 357; Cotton 1947, 130.
- 144 Hope 1903, 419.
- 145 Hope 1897, 422.
- 146 Hope 1896, 232.
- 147 Fox, G. E. and Hope 1891, 744; Hope 1903, 414. For a further consideration of the Silchester temples see Lewis 1965, 20, 30; Wilson 1973, 27; Rodwell 1980, 559.
- 148 Hope 1908, 206.
- 149 Fox, G. E. and Hope 1895, 447; Hope 1897, 413; Hope 1898, 121.
- 150 Fox, G. E. and Hope 1893, 563.
- 151 The excavations were fully published by Frere 1975, 278 after Richmond's death.
- 152 Frere 1975, 288 and Appendix 1, 297.
- 153 Frere 1975, 292; see also King 1983.
- 154 *Britannia* 20 (1989), 345. The letters may stand for P(rovincia) M(axima) C(aesariensis), while the style of the P resembles that used on the bronze coinage of Magnentius, which would give it a mid-fourth-century date.
- 155 Notably Caerwent, p. 388.
- 156 Gowland 1900, 113; Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 79.
- 157 Hope 1906, 156, 165. A deposit of horn cores was found in a ruined house in Leicester and may have a similar association (p. 356).
- 158 Blagg and Read 1977, 270.
- 159 Karslake 1926, 75. But see Boon 1974, 278 on the subject of the stamped tiles.
- 160 Stephenson 1911, 328. The pottery is described by May 1916, 192.
- 161 Fulford 1989, 88.
- 162 Fulford 1984, 124.
- 163 Fulford 1989, 136.
- 164 Lawson 1975, 241.
- 165 The plaster recovered from House XIV, and restored by Fox (1896, 249), has been more recently reviewed by Ling (1984, 280).
- 166 Boon 1974, 255.
- 167 Wachter 1974, 283.
- 168 Keith-Lucas in Fulford 1984, 215.
- 169 *R.I.B.* 87. Found in or before 1577 and now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. For a possible Christian thief from Silchester see Wachter 1978, 241.
- 170 *R.I.B.* 69–71; *peregrinorum* might alternatively refer to Roman citizens who dwelt at Silchester, but whose domicile it was not.
- 171 Boon 1957, 76.
- 172 Frere 1958, 114.
- 173 Boon 1974, 58, 172.
- 174 Fulford 1985, 59.
- 175 Hawkes and Dunning 1961, 26–7.
- 176 Boon 1959, 79.
- 177 Fox, G. E. and Hope 1894, 223. For later comments see Boon 1959, 87, n. 36; Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 96.
- 178 O'Neil 1944, 113.
- 179 Fulford, Burnett, Henig and Johns 1989, 219.
- 180 Frere 1964, 114, for a report on the excavations at Dorchester (Oxon.) in 1962 which threw considerable light on the early Saxon occupation of the Upper Thames Valley. See now also Burnham and Wachter 1990, 121.
- 181 Repeated by Cleary 1989, 198.
- 182 Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 96.
- WINCHESTER
- 183 Biddle 1975, 98. More recent summary and plan in Qualman in (ed.) Greep 1993, 74.
- 184 Cunliffe 1971, 11.
- 185 A fragment of an Iron-Age coin mould found near the cathedral, although dismissed by Allen as post-conquest, hints at the existence of at least a mint and/or royal residence.
- 186 Scobie, Zant and Whinney 1991, 7.
- 187 Biddle 1965, 235; 1970, 281; 1975, 110.
- 188 Biddle 1975, 110.

- 189 Ptolemy, *Geog.* 2, 3, 28; but the caution of p. 257 and Rivet and Smith 1979, 121 is repeated.
- 190 For the drainage ditches see Biddle and Quirk 1964, 157; Biddle 1975, 296: Biddle here claimed that this could be the ditch of an early fort situated in the Brooks area. Although the profile is similar to many military ditches of the period, the position of the fort on ground liable to flooding would be most unlikely; see also Biddle 1974, 34; Scobie, Zant and Whinney 1991, 9.
- 191 Biddle and Quirk 1964, 153; Biddle 1964, 203. What was probably part of the north range was uncovered in Market Street in 1988: *Britannia* 20 (1989), 318.
- 192 Information kindly supplied by Mr Mackreth.
- 193 *J.R.S.* 48 (1958), 150.
- 194 Biddle 1975, 298.
- 195 A summary, with references, in Biddle 1970, 281; 1975, 112.
- 196 Biddle 1975, 112; Cunliffe 1962, 66.
- 197 Biddle 1975, fig. 7.
- 198 Down and Magilton 1993, fig. 6B.1.
- 199 Biddle 1975, 115 and fig. 8.
- 200 Biddle 1970, 284.
- 201 *J.R.S.* 18 (1928), 207.
- 202 *Britannia* 20 (1989), 318.
- 203 Gunner 1849, 408.
- 204 Qualman, K. in (eds) Fasham and Whinney 1991, 10.
- 205 Biddle and Quirk 1964, 155.
- 206 V.C.H. 1900, 288.
- 207 Colt Hoare 1829, 52; Roach Smith 1852, 54.
- 208 Biddle 1975, 299.
- 209 A similar raised hearth was found at Wroxeter (p. 371).
- 210 Biddle 1975, 299.
- 211 Scobie, Zant and Whinney 1991, 22.
- 212 Bennett-Clark 1954, 315; Butcher 1955, 6; Scobie, Zant and Whinney 1991, 22.
- 213 Biddle 1975, 321.
- 214 *occ.* 11, 60.
- 215 Wild 1967, 666, following earlier authorities: V.C.H. 1900, 292; Collingwood and Myres 1956, 239.
- 216 *R.I.B.* 88.
- 217 Biddle 1965, 238.
- 218 Biddle 1975, 115.
- 219 Clarke 1979.
- 220 Biddle 1967a, 224.
- 221 V.C.H. 1900, 286.
- 222 Biddle and Quirk 1964, 156.

Chapter 7 (pages 302–77)

CIRENCESTER

- 1 Hawkes in Clifford 1961, 43.
- 2 Reassessments have been carried out by Swan, Dannell

- and Rigby respectively: Swan 1975, 59; Dannell in (eds) Dore and Greene 1977, 229; Rigby 1988, 61. The effect has been to place the main span of occupation at Bagendon into the post-conquest period, with much, but not all, of the imported pottery represented there possibly arriving on the site by way of the Roman army situated at nearby Cirencester. More recent excavations by Reece and Trow in the early 1980s have tended to confirm this: *Current Archaeology* 75 (1981), 103; *Britannia* 12 (1981), 354; 13 (1982), 377; Reece 1990, 26; also Swan and Trow 1988, 76.
- 3 The name Boduocus is the usually accepted expansion from that which occurs on his coins: *BODVOC*. Likewise *CORIO* ... occurs on coins, but it is less easy to suggest an acceptable expansion.
- 4 Dio Cassius 60, 20.
- 5 Deposition of both hoards must have taken place in the early 40s but it is impossible to be precise to within a year or so when dating individual issues.
- 6 The most recent surveys of both oppida are in R.C.H.M. 1976, 6 and 8 respectively.
- 7 See p. 29 above for the reasons employed to reach such a conclusion. I am grateful to Mr John Robinson for discussing with me most of the points mentioned above and for allowing me to make free use of his suggestions, while he was preparing a doctoral thesis on the civitas Dobunorum for the University of Leicester. I am also grateful to Dr Kent for his views on Dobunnic coins. See also recent publications by Selwood in (ed.) Cunliffe 1984, 191–204 and Van Arsdell 1994, 23–9 on the tribal boundaries of the Dobunni.
- 8 But this view has been rejected by Rivet and Smith 1979, 321.
- 9 Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 64.
- 10 See n. 2. A suggestion has been made that Bagendon was reduced to an industrial complex during the military occupation, not unlike Sheepen at Colchester (p. 128), although there different circumstances were in force. But to argue, as has been done, that the occupation was intensifying after the conquest on the sole evidence of a sample excavation which covered less than a quarter per cent or less of the whole oppidum seems perverse and contrary to say the least. It is no more valid than Mrs Clifford's earlier assumption, to which this writer then subscribed, that it was decreasing during that time.
- 11 Wachter 1964, 11.
- 12 Wachter 1962a, 11; 1964, 11.
- 13 Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 66.
- 14 Wachter 1964, 9.
- 15 *R.I.B.* 114.
- 16 Cripps 1898, 70; 1897–99, 201; Wachter 1962a, 5.
- 17 This type of plan is rare in the empire, but can be matched by that at Cyrene, supposedly of a similar date:

- Sjöqvist 1954, 98; Ward-Perkins and Ballance 1958, 149.
- 18 Wachter 1962a, 8.
 - 19 Loane 1938, 116, 122.
 - 20 Wachter 1964, 17.
 - 21 Brown and McWhirr 1967, 185.
 - 22 Wachter 1963, 23; 1964, 17.
 - 23 Brown and McWhirr 1967, 185.
 - 24 Haverfield 1917–18, 179.
 - 25 *Britannia* 19 (1988), 465.
 - 26 Wachter 1961, 66.
 - 27 Haverfield 1917–18, 180; *R.I.B.* 105. Another fragment of an altar dedicated to Mercury and the Matres was found at Price's Row: Hassall in McWhirr 1973, 213.
 - 28 Wachter 1962a, 9. One plaster wall was lifted and restored and is now displayed in Corinium Museum: Davey and Ling 1981, 97.
 - 29 Wachter 1963, 19.
 - 30 Watermoor and the Sands: Wachter and McWhirr 1982, 51, where they were interpreted as the defences of an annexe to the fort. Verulamium Gate: Cullen 1970, 227. Burgess' Yard, Querns Road: King 1992, unpaginated. It is significant that this early line is everywhere followed by the second rampart, an observation I owe to Neil Holbrook: Holbrook in (eds) Darvill and Gerrard, 1994, chap. 8.
 - 31 This bank was not recognized in Wachter 1961, pl. XVIII. Brown and McWhirr 1967, 188; Cullen 1970, 227. But see above n. 30.
 - 32 The full sequence of towers may not have been completed. Excavations in the grounds of Watermoor Hospital revealed a massive beam set at the rear of, and parallel to, the rampart. This could be interpreted as part of the base for a wooden tower: Wachter 1964, 15.
 - 33 Wachter 1961, 65.
 - 34 McWhirr 1978, 71.
 - 35 Wachter 1961, 65; McWhirr and Wachter, forthcoming.
 - 36 Wachter 1961, 65.
 - 37 See n. 34.
 - 38 These pavements were first described by Buckman and Newmarch 1850. But see also Toynbee 1962, 197.
 - 39 Toynbee 1962, 197. The pavement has long been lost, but was drawn by Samuel Lysons 1817, pl. 7.
 - 40 *R.I.B.* 103.
 - 41 Wachter 1964, 9.
 - 42 Wachter 1962a, 7.
 - 43 Excavations undertaken in 1974 in Admiral's Walk, south of the section referred to here, unfortunately added little to the knowledge of this building. It appears to have contained a large courtyard enclosed by a single (or double?) portico on the north-west and south-west sides, and a single portico on the south-east side, which appears to have abutted shops or houses: McWhirr 1978, 74.
 - 44 Smith in (ed.) Stern 1965, 95; Smith in (ed.) Rivet 1969b, 67; Smith 1969, 235; Neal 1981, 56.
 - 45 Toynbee 1962, 7 and pls. 29, 37 and 76.
 - 46 *R.I.B.* 105, 151.
 - 47 Toynbee 1962, 130.
 - 48 McWhirr 1986, 19.
 - 49 Fox 1951, 52.
 - 50 Wachter 1974, 282; considerable areas of market gardens and vineyards have been identified inside the walls at Pompeii: Jashemsky 1970, 54; 1973, 826; 1974, 391; 1976, 224.
 - 51 Wachter 1962a, 9.
 - 52 McWhirr 1973, 202.
 - 53 *Britannia* 22 (1991), 275.
 - 54 Swan 1975, 36; Anderson, A. S. 1979, 1.
 - 55 Clifford 1955, 68; McWhirr and Viner 1978, 357; Darvill in (ed.) McWhirr 1979, 309; Brodrick 1987, 117. A major production centre has been identified at Minety, but never excavated.
 - 56 Alcock, J. 1966, 45.
 - 57 Toynbee 1962: Cupid p. 130; Corinthian capital p. 165; unfortunately nothing more was observed here during building work in 1987: *Britannia* 19 (1988), 465.
 - 58 For a discussion see Atkinson 1957, 21. Caution should be exercised in attributing a definite Christian significance: Guarducci 1965, 219; 1967, 144; Griffiths 1971, 6; Picard 1965, 101. Another example of this palindrome has more recently been found, scratched on an amphora sherd, at Manchester: *Britannia* 10 (1979), 353. The comments of Hassall and Tomlin should be noted, also those of Boon 1992a, 37.
 - 59 McWhirr, Viner, L. and Wells 1982 as follows: decapitation, 194; gout, 191; lead, 203. Some doubts have now been raised about the lead content. It is apparently concentrated on the surfaces of the bones and not in the interior; consequently post mortem contamination is most likely, the lead occurring naturally in the oolite; see Waldron 1983, 35. For an overview of the Cirencester cemeteries, 205.
 - 60 *R.I.B.* 110.
 - 61 *R.I.B.* 111.
 - 62 *R.I.B.* 112.
 - 63 *R.I.B.* 113.
 - 64 Hassall in McWhirr 1973, 212.
 - 65 Saturninus: *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 203. *Leg. XII Fulminata*: Hassall in McWhirr 1973, 213.
 - 66 Wachter 1961, 69.
 - 67 Wachter 1964, 14.
 - 68 Kent in (ed.) Dolley 1961, 5; Kent in (ed.) Casey 1979, 21.
 - 69 Wachter 1963, 21.
 - 70 In Leaholme Gardens (unpublished); and in Dyer Court,

- now the site of the Forum car park: Webster 1959, 53, 84. The skeleton was there reported as associated with medieval pottery but since no plan or section was published showing its position it is difficult to check. A report by the late Canon Grensted on the snail shells found in the skull indicates that the body had come to rest in damp surroundings and in deep vegetation. The conditions in which this body was disposed are so similar to the description of the roadside ditch by Building XXIII. 1 that we might question the medieval pottery.
- 71 Wachter 1963, 26; 1964, 18. The grass-tempered pottery, unfortunately, has not been fully published. The pottery was of the type described by Rahtz in (eds) Evison, Hodges and Hurst 1974, 98, Class 3.
- 72 These suggestions were first formalized in full in a contribution by the present writer in 1977 for *A.N.R.W.* It remains unpublished, but was given a brief airing in Wachter in (ed.) McWhirr 1976, 16.
- 73 Grangent, Durand and Durant 1819.
- 74 Most conveniently noted in MacKendrick 1975, 112. See also Glodariu 1965, 119; Daicoviciu and Daicoviciu 1966.
- 75 Smith, A. H. 1964, 64 gives 'town farm' for the derivation of Chesterton, presumably because it made no other sense to him. We might now accept the more normal meaning of 'chester' as a fortified place. See now also Slater in McWhirr, Viner, L. and Wells 1982, 27.
- 76 Fox 1951, 52. Mr David Brown has pointed out that this is but one burial from a cemetery of at least a dozen graves containing both male and female skeletons; it can be dated to the sixth century.
- * A new survey of the Cirencester area has just been published, of which, in this context, note should be made of Holbrook in (eds) Darvill and Gerrard 1994, chaps 7 and 8.
- DORCHESTER
- 77 *Vespasian* 4.
- 78 Wheeler 1943, 61.
- 79 Richmond 1968, 31.
- 80 Ackerman and Donaldson 1856–9, 188; Gresham 1939, 114.
- 81 Alcock, L. 1970, 19; 1971, 4.
- 82 Gray 1905–7, 135; Gray 1923, 49; V.C.H. 1906.
- 83 e.g. Jesson and Hill 1971; a useful summary is Megaw and Simpson 1979, 355.
- 84 *Geog.* 1, 103; Rivet and Smith 1979, 145 prefer to identify this site with Hod Hill rather than with Maiden Castle.
- 85 Cunliffe 1978.
- 86 Wheeler 1943, 12.
- 87 Woodward, Davies and Graham 1984, 103.
- 88 *R.I.B.* 1672, 1673.
- 89 Stevens 1951, 188.
- 90 Richmond 1963b, 79.
- 91 Frere 1987, 194.
- 92 As originally remarked by Rivet 1955, 31.
- 93 R.C.H.M. 1970, 531. Where necessary, references below are to the Commission's Inventory Numbers of Monuments.
- 94 R.C.H.M. 1970, no. 196.
- 95 *Britannia* 9 (1978), 462; 10 (1979), 327.
- 96 R.C.H.M. 1970, nos. 177, 178 and 180; Draper and Chaplin 1982, 5; Woodward, Davies and Graham 1984, 103; Davies and Farwell 1989, 107; 1990, 53.
- 97 Summaries were published by Gray 1908, 256; 1909, 215; 1910, 232; 1913, 81; 1914, 88. These were collated and supplemented by R.C.H.M. 1970, 589. The entire structure has now been reassessed by Bradley 1975, 1.
- 98 e.g. Vindonissa: Fels 1922, 216; Heuberger 1928; Laur-Belart 1935. Xanten: Heidenreich 1940, 33.
- 99 Bradley 1975, 73.
- 100 Summary in R.C.H.M. 1970, 585 no. 227; also Richardson 1940, 435; Green, C. J. 1987, 49. In 1992–4, Putnam initiated further work on the aqueduct and its source. He has now traced it beyond Bradford Peverell, after which it assumes a different line near Quatre Bras, but how far beyond it ultimately goes has still to be discovered. I am grateful to Bill Putnam for this information.
- 101 Green, C. J. 1987, 51.
- 102 Draper and Chaplin 1982, 5.
- 103 *Britannia* 14 (1983), 326; 15 (1984), 320. A square-sectioned gully was later replaced by a wooden pipe.
- 104 Davies and Farwell 1990, 53.
- 105 Davies and Farwell 1989, 107.
- 106 R.C.H.M. 1970, 542; *Britannia* 1 (1970), 298; 2 (1971), 279. I am indebted to Professor Cunliffe for comments on the early wall foundation.
- 107 e.g. at Greenings Court: *Britannia* 2 (1971), 279. Further timber buildings, more likely belonging to the early town, were found between Charles Street and Acland Road; three fine tile antefixes in their demolition debris would indicate buildings of some class: Davies and Farwell 1989, 109.
- 108 R.C.H.M. 1970, 553, nos. 182–7.
- 109 Woodward, Davies and Graham 1984, 103; 1993, 31.
- 110 Davies and Farwell 1989, 107; 1990, 115.
- 111 Smith, D.J. in (ed.) Rivet 1969, 109.
- 112 Wachter 1962, 6.
- 113 R.C.H.M. 1970, 538. See also n. 107 and Sunter and Woodward 1987.
- 114 *R.I.B.* 188. A more probable reading is given in R.C.H.M. 1970, 574.
- 115 Wheeler 1943, 72. He considered the site of the temple to have been of ancient religious importance. Another

temple may exist near the centre of the hillfort at Poundbury: Green, C. J. 1987, 150.

- 116 Green, C. J. in (ed.) Reece 1977, 46; Farwell and Molleson 1993.
- 117 Davies, Stacey and Woodward 1985, 100; *Britannia* 17 (1986), 435.
- 118 Green, C. J. 1987, 150.
- 119 R.C.H.M. 1970, 538.

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- 120 The Iron Age of Devon and Cornwall has been summarized by Fox, A. 1964, Chap. VII and Thomas, A. C. in (ed.) Thomas, A. C. 1966, 74. Although the views there expressed have been filled out by more recent work, the general tenor remains much the same.
- 121 Despite the greatly increased evidence, there is still some argument about the date when physical occupation took place: Frere 1987, 58 argues in favour of a date in the early 50s and is seemingly supported by Maxfield in (eds) Hanson and Keppie 1980, 297; Maxfield 1986, 1; in (ed.) Higham 1987, 1, and in (ed.) Todd 1989, 26, and by Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 91. Todd would prefer a slightly earlier date in (ed.) Orme 1982, 35. For the most recently discovered fort sites see Griffith 1984, 11 and Manning 1988, 11.
- 122 Fox, A. 1952, 7; in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 46.
- 123 Fox, A. 1968, 4.
- 124 The initial excavations in which the fortress was identified were published by Bidwell 1979; see also Bidwell 1980 and now Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988. Mr Henderson has kindly informed me of the latest evidence for the annexe.
- 125 Contrast the opinions of Bidwell 1979, 1 and Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 110.
- 126 There is a conflict of opinion over the unfinished Wroxeter baths between Frere 1987, 104 and Webster in (ed.) Webster 1988, 142. See also below p. 362.
- 127 Bidwell 1979, 73; Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 110.
- 128 The information about this building has been summarized by Bidwell 1979, 121.
- 129 Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 115.
- 130 Bidwell 1980, 48 proposes 19 insulae whereas Henderson in (ed.) Webster 1988, 144 proposes 23.
- 131 Fox, A. 1968, 11; *Britannia* 21 (1990), 350.
- 132 *Britannia* 21 (1990), 350. It is now thought to be post-Roman, as must then be the arch shown in fig. 153. This would give a single-portal gate between a pair of flush gate-towers, a form so far unknown in Britain, where most were surmounted by a single tower; twin towers are only known in projecting form.
- 133 Fox, A. 1952, 19; 1968, 11. For a survey Bidwell 1980, 63.

- 134 *Britannia* 15 (1984), 318; 21 (1990), 350.
- 135 Goodchild in Fox, A. 1952, 98; Bidwell 1980, 69: this also includes summaries of recent excavations.
- 136 Bidwell 1980, 79, n. 3 has argued ingeniously that many mosaics might have been destroyed unrecorded during the intensive occupation of the town during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This may well be so, but it has not prevented mosaics from being found in other equally intensively occupied towns of the same period, such as London.
- 137 Fox, A. 1968, 9.
- 138 *Britannia* 7 (1976), 360. Information also from Christopher Henderson.
- 139 Bidwell 1980, 73.
- 140 Fox, A. 1952, 92.
- 141 See n. 94 above.
- 142 Fox 1964, 147; Thomas, A. C. 1966, 92.
- 143 Bidwell 1979, 104.
- 144 Bidwell 1979, 110. Burying the dead in the forum at Exeter was almost an exact repetition of what was going on simultaneously at Lincoln at the other end of the Fosse Way (p. 149).
- 145 Fox, A. 1964, 16.
- 146 Radford 1951, 60.
- 147 Thomas, A. C. 1959, 89; for Exeter: Bidwell 1979, 216.
- 148 Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 95.
- 149 Frere 1987, 370.

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- 150 Allen 1963.
- 151 Kenyon 1948, 124.
- 152 Clay in Clay and Mellor 1985, 30.
- 153 Clay and Mellor 1985, 29; Clay n.d., 21; summary forthcoming.
- 154 Rivet and Smith 1979, 443.
- 155 A survey of the Iron Age tribal territory and the later civitas, together with the sites therein, was carried out by Whitwell 1982.
- 156 *J.R.S.* 58 (1968), 186. The cheek piece of a cavalry parade helmet was found in Bath Lane: Clay and Mellor 1985, 64.
- 157 Legionaries may also have been present, but this in itself is not sufficient evidence to propose a fortress: for a legionary belt-plate see Webster 1958, 84.
- 158 Kenyon 1948, 10. Caution is perhaps necessary. An extensive cobbled layer has been found on top of the weathered, sandy old ground surface covering much of the central area of the town. It could be a natural feature: rain falling on a recently disturbed surface, perhaps caused by cultivation, appears to bring small stones or other bric-à-brac to the top, by washing smaller particles down into the interstices, so giving the effect of a

- cobbled surface, especially when subsequently compacted.
- 159 Hebditch and Mellor 1973, 7. The same cobble layer was recorded here as noted in n. 158.
- 160 Publication forthcoming.
- 161 *J.R.S.* 53 (1963), 134.
- 162 It had been cut into the foundations of an earlier timber building: *contra* Buckley and Lucas 1987, 40.
- 163 *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 113.
- 164 S.H.A. vii. *Hadriani* 19.2: *in omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit*. Fishwick has drawn attention to Hadrian's activities as a builder on his journeys through Gaul to, and from, Britain: Fishwick 1972b, 50.
- 165 Hebditch and Mellor 1973, 1.
- 166 Kenyon 1948.
- 167 Information kindly supplied by Brian Hartley who has told me that there is virtually no difference in the *termini post quos* of the two phases.
- 168 Kenyon 1948 pls. XI and XXVI.
- 169 Wachter 1971, 201.
- 170 Unpublished excavation by Leicestershire Museums.
- 171 Kenyon 1948, 40. Stephens 1985, 204 has calculated the labour required to dig the Raw Dykes.
- 172 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 183. It should, however, be noted that a piece of medieval Stamford ware has been recorded in the bank of the Raw Dykes, but from what position is not stated. If genuine it would clearly put an entirely different interpretation on the whole earthwork. It seems more likely though to have been a later intrusion, and there is a record in the Chamberlain's Accounts (RBL4, 248) of 1627–8 for work done on 'banckynge the Row Dikes', but it is not known where. I am grateful to Jean Mellor for this reference.
- 173 *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 113. For the ceiling see Davey and Ling 1981, 131.
- 174 *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 113.
- 175 The scheme of decoration is not unlike a representation of a theatrical proscaenium painted on the wall of a house at Herculaneum: Wheeler 1964, pl. 190, and reproduced in fig. 15 above. The artist in Leicester, although possibly using a copy-book which was over 70 years old, added his own touches, such as the cupid with the shock of red hair: Davey and Ling 1981, 123.
- 176 *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2447. 28a–r.
- 177 Information kindly supplied by Mr Leslie Cram who has prepared a full report for publication.
- 178 Haverfield 1918, 32; Smith, D. J. in Clay and Mellor 1985, 38 for the Blackfriars pavement; publication forthcoming for the Peacock pavement. Also Johnson 1979–80, 1.
- 179 *J.R.S.* 59 (1969), 215.
- 180 A very large ditch encountered in Causeway Lane running on a north–south alignment has also been thought to be an earlier town boundary (Leicestershire Archaeological Unit 1991).
- 181 *R.I.B.* 2244. This is one of the earliest dated milestones known in Britain; most date to the third and fourth centuries.
- 182 Buckley and Lucas 1987, 54. The present writer would dispute the interpretation placed on the section of his own excavation in Elbow Lane on the northern part of the circuit (p. 43). The layers attributed here to an early bank cannot be so. There was no indication whatever that they had been cut back for the insertion of the masonry wall, the robber trench of which shows a clear vertical cut in fig. 19. This must represent the original interior face of the wall against which the rampart had been piled, and against which, in the south-west corner of the robber trench, an unrobbed portion of the foundations still survived.
- 183 Buckley and Lucas 1987, 50.
- 184 Haverfield 1918, 10; Lucas 1978, 61.
- 185 *J.R.S.* 58 (1968), 186. Doubt has now been cast on this cobbling as a street: Buckley and Lucas 1987, 52.
- 186 Clay and Mellor 1985, 35; Buckley and Lucas 1987, 52. *Leicestershire Archaeological News* No. 4, 1992, 4.
- 187 e.g. Kenyon 1948, 38.
- 188 Information on the street kindly supplied by Jean Mellor. For the Mancetter road: McWhirr 1966–7, 1.
- 189 Blank 1971, 11.
- 190 *Cod Theod.* 9, 21, 6.
- 191 Lime-kiln: Clay and Mellor 1985, 5. Pottery: *Britannia* 8 (1977), 392; Mellor 1977, 59, and information kindly supplied by R. Pollard.
- 192 Haverfield 1918, 36.
- 193 *Britannia* 1 (1970), 286.
- 194 *Leicestershire Archaeological News* No. 4, 1992, 2. The figure may be that of Mercury in the form of *Mercurius Gebrinius* known from Bonn: Rüger 1972b, 258.
- 195 *Britannia* 8 (1977), 392.
- 196 *R.I.B.* 245.
- 197 *A.E.* 1944, no. 57; *C.I.L.* 16, 160.
- 198 Rivet 1964, 65; Reynolds in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 73.
- 199 Frere 1987, 193; Bogaers 1967, 233.
- 200 *C.I.L.* 7, 1335, 4.
- 201 Haverfield 1918, 25.
- 202 This was originally interpreted as an ophthalmic ointment stamp: *E.E.* 3, 147 no. 136, but Frere has pointed out that this is unlikely: *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2446.33 and has republished it as an unfinished die: *R.I.B.* 2.1, 2409.14.
- 203 *E.E.* 7, 1143.
- 204 Lucas forthcoming. See also *Britannia* 11 (1972), 367; 12 (1973), 336; *Current Archaeology* 81 (1981), 314. For cellars see Perring 1989, 279.
- 205 Part may have been detached to create a new administrative unit based on Water Newton: for a

- summary see Burnham and Wachter 1990, 90.
- 206 Buckley and Lucas 1987, 55.
- 207 Hebditch and Mellor 1973, 36.
- 208 Unpublished excavation by the writer. But see *J.R.S.* 49 (1959), 113.
- 209 Publication forthcoming.
- 210 Myres 1969, 76. The large cremation cemetery at Thurmaston, north of the town, is the prime example, but at least one urn is also known from just outside the town walls.
- WROXETER
- 211 Richmond in (eds) Foster and Alcock 1963, 255.
- 212 *R.I.B.* 291.
- 213 St Joseph 1953a, 54; 1961, 125; 1965, 85.
- 214 Webster in (ed.) Webster 1988, 123; Webster 1991, 35.
- 215 Webster 1991, 39.
- 216 Frere 1987, 104 n. 20.
- 217 Atkinson, D. 1970, 25.
- 218 Atkinson, D. 1970, 6.
- 219 As now proposed by Webster in (eds) Hanson and Keppie 1980, 292.
- 220 Bushe-Fox 1913, 21; 1916, 1.
- 221 Webster in (eds) Hanson and Keppie 1980, 292.
- 222 Frere 1987, 254 n. 3.
- 223 Duncan-Jones in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 28. See now Duncan-Jones 1990, 174–84.
- 224 Webster in (eds) Hanson and Keppie 1980, 292, where he suggests that, following the pattern of Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester and Exeter, the early town was established on the site of the legionary fortress; consequently the first forum might be expected to coincide with the principia, although it cannot be overlooked that the baths basilica might have been first built for a very different purpose from its ultimate use. But was the first forum of timber?
- 225 Stanford, in his excavations in the early 1970s, uncovered four-posted buildings which he concluded were small huts, and that they had been finally destroyed by fire, but whether on the arrival of the Roman army cannot as yet be determined. Part of a possible scabbard binding and a pilum head from the hillfort would suggest the presence of a military unit at some stage: Stanford 1973, 31.
- 226 Richmond in (eds) Foster and Alcock 1963, 260.
- 227 It is worth noting, not only in this connexion, but also in other similar cases, that there were normally no rights of expropriation resembling the modern compulsory purchase order: Suetonius, *Julius* 26.2; *Augustus* 56.2. Presumably the exception would have been where a local bylaw existed requiring derelict or demolished buildings to be rebuilt within a certain time, or payment of a forfeit: *Lex Ursonensis* 75 (*I.L.S.* 6087); *Lex Malacitana* 62 (*I.L.S.* 6089); *Lex Tarentini* 4 (*I.L.S.* 6086). However, Miss Reynolds has pointed out that Gaius, *Institutes* 11, 51 makes provision for the acquisition of land if it has been negligently vacated, if the owner dies without an heir or if he is a long time absent from it. See also Garnsey in (ed.) Finley 1976, 133.
- 228 Atkinson 1970.
- 229 *R.I.B.* 2.1, 2401.8.
- 230 Atkinson 1970, 177; *R.I.B.* 288.
- 231 Bushe-Fox 1913, *passim*.
- 232 Information from Katherine Hartley. Her dating for the activities of Sennius requires Atkinson's date of AD 155–65 for the fire to be revised.
- 233 Atkinson 1970, 129.
- 234 Kenyon 1938, 184.
- 235 Webster and Woodfield 1966, 229.
- 236 Wright 1872, 108.
- 237 Fox 1897, 147.
- 238 Kenyon 1938, 180.
- 239 For a summary see *Current Archaeology* 14 (1969), 82.
- 240 Kenyon 1938, pl. LXIVb.
- 241 Summary in Webster 1991, 78. Also annual accounts of the excavations in the 'Roman Britain' sections of *Britannia* 5 (1976)–22 (1991).
- 242 Insula numbers used in this chapter are after Webster and Stanley 1962–63, 114.
- 243 For comments on the further extension beyond the Bell Brook see Barker in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 109.
- 244 Webster and Stanley 1962–63, 121.
- 245 *J.R.S.* 54 (1964), 165, with a plan on p. 163, which shows the correct position of the bridge (*contra* Webster and Stanley 1962–63, 114).
- 246 Webster and Hollingsworth 1959, 133.
- 247 Webster and Stanley 1962–63, pl. XXI.
- 248 See Corbridge: *R.I.B.* 1144, 1164–5; Chester: *R.I.B.* 460; Chedworth: Richmond 1959, 23 and now see also Webster 1983, 10. There are many other examples.
- 249 Atkinson 1970, 121.
- 250 Bushe-Fox 1916, 13.
- 251 Vitruvius 8.6.2; for a full consideration see Ashby (ed. Richmond) 1935, Part 1, and also Hodge 1992, 273.
- 252 A number of excavators have investigated the defences, although even now a good deal more could be done. One recent study is Webster 1962, 27, but, now over 30 years old, it does not entirely accord with modern views on town defences. See also Barker in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 109 for a proposal that Wroxeter was never protected by a masonry wall, and that in the fourth century there may have been a reversion to the earlier line south of the Bell Brook. For the most recent excavations see Brown and Johnson 1976, 16 and 17 respectively.
- 253 Bushe-Fox 1914, 11; 1915, 13; 1916, 65.

- 254 Wright 1872, 159.
- 255 Atkinson 1970, 216.
- 256 Glass: Houghton 1972, 15; tanning: *Britannia* 9 (1978), 437.
- 257 Houghton 1962–63, 101.
- 258 Atkinson 1970, 195; Houghton 1961, 7.
- 259 Bushe-Fox 1914, 2.
- 260 For a suggested restoration see Lewis 1965, 69, 184. This use of the water channel suggests that by the time it had passed the temple it had become a drain carrying waste.
- 261 Lewis 1965, 71.
- 262 Richmond in (eds) Foster and Alcock 1963, 259.
- 263 Richmond in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 17.
- 264 Wachter 1974, 283.
- 265 A somewhat similar pattern of ditched enclosures has been observed at North Thoresby, Lincs. where a vineyard or orchard has been suggested: Webster, D., Webster, H. and Petch 1967, 55. Another pattern of boundaries 2 miles (2.5km) to the south-west of Wroxeter has been suggested as having the same function: *Britannia* 22 (1991), 250.
- 266 Atkinson 1970, 195. A possible amphitheatre is situated east of the town (information kindly supplied by Dr Webster), but a more recent study has shown this not to be the case: *Britannia* 25 (1994), 271.
- 267 Bushe-Fox 1916, 20.
- 268 Webster and Stanley 1962–3, 118.
- 269 *R.I.B.* 295.
- 270 *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2446.18; V.C.H. 1908, 249; *C.I.L.* 13.10021.48.
- 271 *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2446.14.
- 272 Wright 1872, 165. The scalpel would seem to fall into Jackson's Type 1, although it has a more distinctive handle: Jackson, R. 1986, 121.
- 273 Richmond in (eds) Foster and Alcock 1963, 260; *Not. Dig. occ.* 40.34.
- 274 Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, 56.
- 275 Barker 1975, 106; n.d.; 1979, 175; in (eds) Grew and Hobley 1985, 114.
- 276 Wright and Jackson, K. H. 1968, 296.
- 277 Fowler in (eds) Jesson and Hill 1971, 203.

Chapter 8 (pages 378–407)

- 1 Perhaps by remission of taxes or by cancellation of existing debts: *C.I.L.* 6.967.

CAERWENT

- 2 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.31.
- 3 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.32: *non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur.*
- 4 Tacitus, *Ann.* 17.3.

- 5 Richmond in (ed.) Foster and Daniel 1965, 159.
- 6 Nash-Williams in (ed.) Swoboda 1956, 108.
- 7 Hartley in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 56; Nash-Williams 1930, pl. LXXXIV.
- 8 Nash-Williams 1930, 231; summarized in Nash-Williams 1954a, 164.
- 9 Nash-Williams 1939, 55 and later comment by Manning 1988, 23.
- 10 Rivet and Smith 1979, 262 are inclined to see a Celtic derivation for the name. Was it transferred from Sudbrook to Caerwent in the Roman period?
- 11 *R.I.B.* 395; Boon 1972, 17.
- 12 Annual summaries in *Britannia* 13 (1982)–23 (1992), 'Roman Britain in . . .'. Also Brewer 1990, 75 and Farley 1984, 209. The street system and layout of buildings has been subjected to analysis by Walthew 1987, 201; the same objections as to his treatment of Silchester (p. 277) apply here.
- 13 Brewer 1990, 82.
- 14 Ashby 1906, 111; Ashby and Hudd 1909, 562; Nash-Williams 1954a, 164. Now see Brewer 1990, 82.
- 15 Brewer 1986, 49.
- 16 Nash-Williams 1930, 231.
- 17 Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1904, 297.
- 18 Nash-Williams 1930, 268.
- 19 *R.I.B.* 311. This is the only example known in Britain of an honorific inscription. For the career of Paulinus see Birley, A. R. 1967, 88 where the inscription is incorrectly attributed to Caerleon, and Birley, A. R. 1981, 188, where he does not (*contra* Brewer 1990, 81) specifically claim that Paulinus was a patron of the Silures, which, although possible, must remain in doubt. Paulinus' name is also coupled with that of his client, T. Sennius Sollemnis, on a remarkable inscription from Vieux, which was erected during the time that, or after, he held his last post in Britannia Inferior: *C.I.L.* 13.3162; Pflaum 1948.
- 20 Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1904, 115.
- 21 Bogaers 1967, 233.
- 22 Rivet in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 109.
- 23 As shown by Craster's excavations at the east gate (1953, 58) and Grimes' on the north sector (1931, 210). For revised views on the dating of the main circuits of fortification see Hartley in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 56 and Frere 1987, 242. Casey in (eds) Maloney and Hobley 1983, 122, who has suggested a date of post 330 for the wall, relying solely on the evidence of one coin from Nash-Williams' excavations, supposedly found in its construction level.
- 24 Nash-Williams 1930, 251; Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1902, 119; Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1904, 87; Ashby 1906, 111; Ward 1916, 1.
- 25 West gate: Nash-Williams 1954b, 231; east gate:

- Craster 1953, 58.
- 26 Nash-Williams 1930, 257.
- 27 Nash-Williams in (ed.) Swoboda 1956, 114.
- 28 Ashby and Hudd 1910, 4.
- 29 Brewer 1990, 78; *Britannia* 16 (1985), 259; 17 (1986), 369; 18 (1987), 307.
- 30 Nash-Williams 1954c, 93.
- 31 *R.I.B.* 309.
- 32 *R.I.B.* 310.
- 33 *R.I.B.* 949.
- 34 Gose 1955; for the inscriptions: Finke 1927, nos. 11–21 and Gose 1958.
- 35 Hudd 1912–13, 447. Trouble with land-owners is not a recent phenomenon, as the report on these excavations shows.
- 36 Lewis 1965, 197.
- 37 Boon 1962, 338. For a summary of early Christianity at Caerwent see Fox, A. 1946, 105 and Boon 1992b, 11.
- 38 Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1904, 104.
- 39 Tacitus, *Agric.* 21: *paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum.*
- 40 Martin and Ashby 1901, 301.
- 41 Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1902, 121.
- 42 Ashby, Hudd and Martin 1902, 138.
- 43 Brewer 1990, 76; *Britannia* 15 (1984), 270; 16 (1985), 259.
- 44 Nash-Williams 1930, 263. The dating evidence has recently been reassessed by Casey following the re-excavation of the north-west corner tower: 1983, 49; Casey in (eds) Maloney and Hobbey 1983, 121, where he argues for a date of construction post c. 350.
- 45 *Britannia* 23 (1992), 258.
- 46 Nash-Williams 1930, 235; for St Tathan (Tatheus) see Knight 1970–78, 29.
- 47 Nash-Williams 1930, 230.
- CARMARTHEN
- 48 *It. Ant.* 483.8.
- 49 *Geog.* 2.3.23.
- 50 Jackson in Rivet 1970, 77.
- 51 R.C.A.H.M. 1917, 248.
- 52 St Joseph 1961, 127.
- 53 The most recent, comprehensive survey is probably Davies, J. L. in (eds) Hanson and Keppie 1980, 255.
- 54 James, T. A. 1985, 28; James, H. J. 1989, 51. The first fort was reduced in size, perhaps during the reorganization of the Welsh garrisons early in Trajan's principate.
- 55 James, T. A. 1980, 9.
- 56 *Britannia* 20 (1989), 260.
- 57 James, H. J. in (ed.) Boon 1978, 66; James, T. A. 1980, 11.
- 58 A fortlet seems to have been left at Pumsaint, possibly to continue supervision of the gold-mines at Dolau-cothi: Jones and Little 1974, 3.
- 59 Jones 1969, 2; 1970, 4.
- 60 Lloyd 1939, 96.
- 61 James, H. J. and John 1986, 44.
- 62 Jones 1969, 3; Little 1971, 58.
- 63 Jones 1969, 3.
- 64 Jones 1969, 3.
- 65 James, H. J. in (ed.) Boon 1978, 63.
- 66 James, T. A. 1980, 14.
- 67 James, H. J. 1984, 51.
- 68 Jones 1969, 3; 1970, 4.
- 69 James H. J. 1984, 51.
- 70 For the type see Wachter 1971b, 200.
- 71 *Britannia* 17 (1986), 366.
- 72 It has been suggested that he was *comes Britanniarum*, if this office had been established so early. He is also Maccsen Wledig of the *Mabinogion*, but his association with Wales may owe more to fiction than to fact.
- * A new summary has been published: James, H. J. 1992, 5, and also in (ed.) Greep 1993, 93.
- BROUGH-ON-HUMBER
- 73 *Geog.* 2.3.17.
- 74 Richmond and Crawford 1949, 12.
- 75 *It. Ant.* 464.1. There are, however, difficulties in accepting the accuracy of this list: Rivet 1970, 41, and more recently Rivet and Smith 1979, 155, 437 and 443.
- 76 *R.I.B.* 707.
- 77 For the pre-World War II excavations see Corder 1934; 1935; Corder and Romans 1936; 1937; 1938; Corder and Richmond 1942, 5. For the post-World War II excavations see Wachter 1969; *Britannia* 9 (1978), 427; 10 (1979) 287.
- 78 Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 166.
- 79 Frere 1987, 234, 295.
- 80 Ramm 1978, 60.
- 81 Wachter 1969, 57–70.
- 82 Corder and Romans 1937, 15; 1938, 41.
- 83 Wachter 1969, 26.
- 84 Wachter 1969, 32.
- 85 Wachter 1969, 48.
- 86 Ramm 1978, 60.
- 87 Frere 1987, 295. Hence we might infer a local native sanctuary.
- 88 An inscription set up by C. Gracileius Similis, aedile of the *civitas Tungrorum*, was found at Gors-Opleeuw in the tribal territory, but nowhere near the capital at Tongres: *C.I.L.* 13,3599.
- 89 *pace* Ramm 1978, 60.
- 90 In the first century such sites abounded, especially where use was made of existing Iron Age hillforts, e.g. Brandon Camp, South Cadbury, Hembury and Waddon Hill. Later there were the classic examples of Newstead,

- and Bewcastle, where the fort was adapted to the shape of the hill top. The early military arrangements at places like Silchester and Chichester at present defy description, but might be similarly haphazard. It is clear that the army, when necessary, could improvise very readily, particularly when accommodating mixed, small or irregular units, such as, it might be suggested, occupying a naval base at Brough.
- 91 Recent general reviews include Dent 1983, 35; in (ed.) Halkon 1989; Didsbury 1990.
 - 92 Wachter 1969, 5–29, with revisions in Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 166.
 - 93 The evidence for the settlement at North Ferriby (Redcliff) has been reviewed by Didsbury 1990, 114. He has drawn attention to the extreme unreliability of Sheppard's dating of Romano-British pottery (Sheppard 1904, 5) and has concluded that there is no evidence to extend the life of the settlement much beyond the Flavian period. See also *Britannia* 20 (1989), 280, with a meaningful plan.
 - 94 But as already noted (p. 442 n. 116) good building stone as well as tiles can travel far. Cunliffe thought that stone from the Fishbourne palace had been plundered to build the Saxon Shore fort at Portchester (1971, I, 191), while the walls of Brough ended up incorporated in the defences of medieval Kingston upon Hull.
 - 95 Philp 1981, 18.
 - 96 Gosselin, Seillier, Florin and Leduc 1978, 18. There the late-Roman town occupied the same site as, and probably subsumed, the earlier fort of the fleet, as might be envisaged as happening at Brough, at least in the late third century, if not before.
 - 97 Ravenna, headquarters of the Adriatic Fleet, was the classic case, where, despite the town being a municipium, it remained subject to the naval prefect and possessed only *magistri*, more appropriate to a vicus than a chartered town. But if a larger detachment had been present at Brough, there could well have been a praetorium; hence the name in the Antonine Itinerary?
 - 98 Wachter 1975, 397, and n. 93.
 - 99 Wachter 1969, 71; *Britannia* 9 (1978), 427; 10 (1979), 287; Steedman 1991; also information kindly supplied by Dr Ben Whitwell.
 - 100 Wachter 1969, 64, 71.
 - 101 These proposals were first argued in Wachter in (ed.) Butler 1971, 165. Not a great deal has changed since then, and there is virtually no new information to be added.
 - 102 Smith, D.J. in (ed.) Stern 1965, 96; in (ed.) Rivet 1969, 102; Stead, Liversidge and Smith, D. J. 1973, 98; Smith, D. J. 1976, 270; Smith, D. J. in Stead 1976, 251. See also Neal 1981, 48.
 - 103 *Not. Dig. occ.* 40.31, where it is listed at Malton.
 - 104 Tomlin in Wachter 1969, 74.
 - 105 Wachter 1969, 4.
 - 106 Wachter 1969, 198 no. 704.
- ALDBOROUGH
- 107 Cartimandua has been the subject of numerous investigations: the orthodox versions include Richmond 1954, 43; Frere 1970b, 209. More recent treatments have been Hartley in (ed.) Branigan 1980, 2; Hanson and Campbell 1986, 73; Hartley and Fitts 1988, 15.
 - 108 Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.36.
 - 109 Hanson and Campbell have now conflated the two occasions, as often inferred from the Tacitean narrative, into one major event c. 69: 1986, 79.
 - 110 Wheeler originally considered that the large oppidum at Stanwick was the centre of Venutius, which was reduced by the army of Cerealis: 1954, 21. This view has been much modified by subsequent opinion: Turnbull 1984, 1; Hanson and Campbell 1986, 85.
 - 111 Hartley 1966, 16, updated in Hartley in (ed.) Butler 1971, 60.
 - 112 Pausanias, *Descr. Graeciae* 8.43.3: Antoninus 'deprived the Brigantes in Britain of most of their territory, because they too had entered on a war of aggression by invading the Genounian *part* (author's italics), subjects of the Romans'.
 - 113 Especially *R.I.B.* 28, 2110, 1322. The latter inscription has also been the subject of much discussion: Bogaers in (eds) Hartley and Wachter 1983, 24; Speidel 1987, 233.
 - 114 Askew 1951, 14; Todd 1966b, 147; Reece 1970, 95.
 - 115 As at Birrens: Robertson 1975, 283. And probably at Lancaster.
 - 116 Most writers seek Genounia almost anywhere in Britain, but seldom seem to look in Brigantia itself. Hind ranges from the Votadini to the Cornovii or Coritani (*sic*). Hartley 1966, 16, on the other hand, picked the area west of the Pennines, but that had always been under continuous military control, and therefore would not fit the sense implied by Pausanias.
 - 117 Hind 1977, 231: 'If the Brigantes were raiding against Roman interests they perhaps rather raided the more thoroughly Romanised lowlands to their south'. Quite, but perhaps not so far south as he imagined.
 - 118 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 1; *J.R.S.* 52 (1962), 166; Jones, M. U. 1971, 39. I am grateful to Colin Dobinson for the information on the recent excavations at Boroughbridge.
 - 119 The Devil's Arrows, first recorded by Ecroyd Smith 1852, 7.
 - 120 *J.R.S.* 52 (1962), 166. A military bath-house is a possibility.
 - 121 Ecroyd Smith 1852.
 - 122 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 1.

- 123 Charlesworth in (ed.) Butler 1971, 155.
- 124 I am very grateful to him for this information.
- 125 Charlesworth in (ed.) Butler 1971, 155.
- 126 *R.I.B.* 2276–8. There is some difference of opinion as to the find-spot of 2276: Ramm 1984, 43.
- 127 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 55.
- 128 Jones, M. U. 1971, 39.
- 129 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 55.
- 130 Ecroyd Smith 1852, pl. XVIII. The pavement was re-exposed in 1975 and subsequently lifted for preservation; a full record was then made: Smith, D. J. in (eds) Munby and Henig 1977, fig. 6; Neal 1981, 38. The figures on the pavement are thought to represent the Nine Muses on Mount Helicon; *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2448.5.
- 131 Smith, D. J. 1976, 11; *R.I.B.* 2.4, 2448.7.
- 132 Neal 1981, 37.
- 133 Toynbee 1962, 198. There is such a similarity between these three pavements that they could be the work of a single designer, although it has now been implied that the mosaic of the Wolf and Twins is a fake: Neal 1987, 14.
- 134 *J.R.S.* 57 (1967), 179.
- 135 *R.I.B.* 708.
- 136 *R.I.B.* 709–10.
- 137 *J.R.S.* 55 (1965), 204.
- 138 Burnham and Wachter 1990, 111.
- 139 I am grateful to Colin Dobinson for this information. See also *Yorkshire Arch. Soc. (Roman Antiquities Sect.) Bulletin* 7 (1990), 15; 8 (1991), 22; 9 (1992), 9; 10 (1993), 3.
- 140 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 12; Charlesworth in (ed.) Butler 1971, 162.
- 141 Myres, Steer and Chitty 1959, 15. A geophysical survey in 1984 showed a possible extension of this ditch (information from Colin Dobinson).

Chapter 9 (pages 408–21)

- 1 Some relevant surveys of the period include: Myres in (ed.) Grimes 1951, 221; Hawkes, C. in (ed.) Harden 1956, 91; Stevens 1957, 316; Stevens 1941, 353; Myres 1960, 21; Hawkes, S. C. and Dunning 1961, 1; Frere in (ed.) Wachter 1966, 87; Morris in (eds) Jarrett and Dobson 1966, 145; Evison 1966; Liebeschuetz 1967, 436; Myres 1969; Morris 1973; (ed.) Casey 1979; Johnson 1980; Reece 1980, 77; Jarrett 1983, 22; Arnold 1984; Brooks 1986, 77; Frere 1987 Chap. 16; Cleary 1989. This list is by no means exhaustive, as the subject of the end of Roman Britain has generated a massive literature.
- 2 Myres 1960, 31; Ward 1972, 277.
- 3 Liebeschuetz 1967, 436.
- 4 The chronology of fifth-century events is still very much a disputed matter, and no general agreement has

yet been reached. More recent opinions are: Morris in (eds) Jarrett and Dobson 1966, 145; Morris 1973; Thompson 1977, 303; 1979, 203; 1982, 453; 1983, 272; Miller 1978, 315; Wood 1987, 251; Jones and Casey 1988, 367; Burgess 1990, 185. Because of this lack of agreement the dates used here are the 'traditional' ones. Correcting factors can be applied as necessary, according to the whim of the reader.

- 5 The extraordinary variety and richness of this source of evidence has become more apparent since Frere published the fascicules of *R.I.B.* 2.
- 6 Mann 1971, 218. That study has been extended by Hamp 1975, 150, to which Schmidt in (eds) Neumann and Untermann 1980, 19 and Thomas 1981, 61 have now added considerably.
- 7 *De vita Christiana*, attributed by Morris to the period c. A.D. 411. Doubts have been cast by Liebeschuetz 1967, 436, on whether the passage refers to Britain at all. Even if it does not, the general picture described may not be so far removed from the truth when applied to Britain.
- 8 Myres 1960, 21. The two protagonists were apparently Vortigern and Ambrosius Aurelianus. See also Ward 1972, 277. The rise of the Pelagian heresy in Britain is reputed to have been the cause of the two visits of St Germanus. Thompson, however, considered that it was not a significant factor in the political sense: 1977, 303; 1979, 203; The whole case for and against has been thoroughly reviewed by Thomas 1981, 53.
- 9 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 317.
- 10 Thompson 1958, 2; 1965, 131.
- 11 e.g. in Germany: Ammianus Marcellinus 18.2.
- 12 This section of the chapter was severely criticized by Todd 1977, 319, when it was first published. His article 'Famosa Pestis and fifth-century Britain', was impeccably argued and referenced, but he came to the startling conclusion that there cannot have been a serious epidemic in Britain in the fifth century. In so doing he clearly cannot have read the chapter as a whole, which he demonstrated by taking as his own (1977, 322), points already used by the present writer; more especially he largely ignored the warning of the final paragraph (p. 421). Now the only fundamental certainty about archaeology, and to a lesser extent history, is that it is quite impossible to prove that something did *not* happen; such is the nature of the evidence. All properly-instructed undergraduates are most likely to be made well aware of this limitation in the first-year course. Our ignorance caused by this certainty can only be corrected by the steady expansion of information derived from more excavations and improved techniques. For instance, and as an example, when this chapter was first written in 1972, the black rat was thought to have been a Norman introduction; now it has been discovered in

several Roman contexts (p. 187). At that time also, it was not thought possible that fleas might be extracted from excavated material, but they have, and even individual species have been identified (p. 187). Both are vectors of plague and other diseases. Now viable bacteria (presumably anaerobic) have been recovered from ocean sediments several million years old (*S.B.A.C. Newsletter* 6 (1993), 3). Experience tells us that often in archaeology, once someone makes a new discovery, it becomes repeated more and more frequently elsewhere. What will come next? It is extremely dangerous to adopt a 'flat-earth' policy in the face of such progress, since it will completely inhibit further advances in knowledge.

Todd also argued that the proposals made in this chapter went far beyond probability; but that is a mathematical impossibility. Moreover, he failed to address the main question: what caused the eclipse of Romano-British language and culture in lowland Britain? Consequently, while again referring the reader to the final paragraph (p. 421), the present writer remains totally unrepentant!

- 13 Hirsch 1883–86, I, 126; Sticker 1908–10, I, 21, and more recently reviewed by Gilliam 1961, 225. A review of the possible diseases of antiquity caused by bacteria and viruses has been made by Hare in (eds) Brothwell and Sandison 1967, 115.
- 14 Procopius 2.22–23; Hirsch 1883–86, I, 494; Biraben and LeGoff 1969, 1492; Bratton 1981, 113 and 174.
- 15 Hydatius 126; *Chron. Min.* 2.24.
- 16 *Chron. Min.* 2.8–2.26.
- 17 *de excidio Britanniae* 21.
- 18 Morris in (eds) Dobson and Jarrett 1966, 151.
- 19 Stevens 1941, 363; Myres in (ed.) Grimes 1951, 228. In 1989, a pewter tablet was found in Upper Thames Street, London. On it were inscribed 30 lines of Greek capital letters, intended to protect the bearer from an unspecified 'plague'. It is likely to date to the fourth century and consequently cannot be tied to any specific epidemic, but it certainly sheds light on the problems discussed here and demonstrates that they did occur. I am grateful to Francis Grew for drawing my attention to it and to Roger Tomlin for allowing me to use this unpublished information.
- 20 Evagrius 2.6. I am grateful to Mr C. E. Stevens for this reference.
- 21 Zinsser 1935, 143. He mistakenly places the epidemic in the Danubian provinces and also confuses the authors, attributing the source to Eusebius.
- 22 (eds) Latham and Matthews 1972. Nearly 69,000 supposedly died in London alone and over a quarter of a million in Naples. Hecker estimated that a quarter of the inhabitants of Europe died during the Black Death, but in many parts the gross mortality exceeded this figure: Hecker 1844, 30.
- 23 Armand 1858.
- 24 This has been well-demonstrated by McNeill 1977, 120, especially with respect to the earlier epidemics of the second and third centuries: 'Thereafter the macro-parasitic elements in Roman society became agents of further destruction to population and production, and the resulting disorders, famines, migrations, concentrations and dispersals of human flotsam and jetsam, in turn, created fresh opportunities for epidemic diseases to diminish population still more. A vicious circle thus arose that lasted throughout several centuries, despite some periods of partial stabilization and local population recovery.' The situation as applied to Britain could not have been better described.
- 25 Todd 1977, 322: Hydatius 'simply had no knowledge of affairs in Britain'.
- 26 Fowler in (eds) Jesson and Hill 1971, 203.
- 27 Ammianus Marcellinus 16.2.12. The implication is clear, despite the phraseology: once someone entered a town, they were trapped and did not return.
- 28 Collingwood and Myres 1937, 434. This remark has been fortified by more recent investigations in many towns. Apart from Canterbury, where the existence of an early band of foederati is easily justified, there is still remarkably little to show serious Anglo-Saxon settlement in any town, despite the accumulating evidence for contraction or desertion. Although towns are mentioned generally in the Chronicles, remarkably few are mentioned by name and none apparently was the site of any battle. It is also essential to distinguish between the invited foederati and the later immigrants who came and settled of their own free will. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to do so archaeologically.
- 29 Frere in (ed.) Wacher 1966, 98; Frere 1987, 362. However, Thomas has now shown that the Church in Britain during the fifth century was somewhat stronger than had previously been thought: 1981, 240.
- 30 Jackson 1953, 76 for Latin loan words taken into Welsh.
- 31 *Chron. Min.* 1.660.
- 32 Somewhat curiously Todd came to the same conclusion 'independently': 1977, 322. He commented that if the Saxons had avoided falling victims to an epidemic 'they showed an uncommonly acute knowledge of the aetiology of disease.' They did; they avoided towns.
- 33 During the Great Plague of London, refugees were often greeted with open hostility by the inhabitants of the surrounding rural areas.
- 34 Webster 1991, 137.
- 35 Todd 1977, 323, n. 18, quoting various authors. He assumes, on no evidence whatever, that they were related to the nearby medieval church. Yet he also, quite

rightly, draws attention to other scattered burials inside the town, at least some of which probably belong to the Roman period. Perhaps there was an epidemic after all? Todd (1977, 324) also presupposes that, had there been an epidemic, there would be far more instances of bodies lying in abandoned buildings or hurriedly interred. This is not necessarily so. As long as people remained alive, the dead would have been disposed of. Only the last few miserable survivors, probably already disease-ridden, would have been left to lie where they fell. So much is clear from the descriptions of the Great Plague.

36 Burnham and Wachter 1990, 58.

37 Thomas in (eds) Barley and Hanson 1968, 97; Thomas 1981, 307.

38 A vivid picture of Roman Britain in dissolution might be inferred from the late-Saxon poem, *The Ruin*; there is even a mention of pestilence. See Cunliffe, B. 'Earth's Grip Holds Them' in (eds) Hartley and Wachter 1983, 67–83.

39 Despite Todd's short-sighted strictures. Without considering probabilities there can be no advance in knowledge.

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